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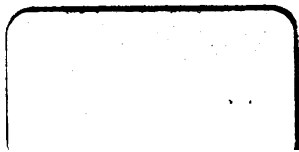
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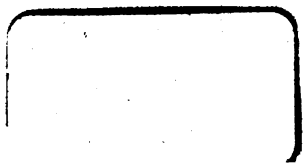
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FROM THE EARLIEST TIMES TO THE REVOLUTION
IN 1688

BASED ON THE HISTORY OF

DAVID HUME

INCORPORATING THE CORRECTIONS AND RESEARCHES OF RECENT HISTORIANS
CONTINUED TO THE TREATY OF BERLIN
IN 1878

NEW EDITION, REVISED AND CORRECTED

By J. S. BREWER, M.A.

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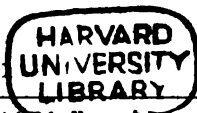
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PREFACE.

THE STUDENT'S HOME was originally published in 1858. Its object was to supply a long-acknowledged want in our School and College Literature—a STUDENT'S HISTORY OF ENGLAND in a volume of moderate size, free from sectarian and party prejudice, containing the results of the researches of the best modern historians, tracing more particularly the development of the Constitution, and bringing out prominently the characters and actions of the great men of our country. That this object has been attained is attested by the approval the Work has received from those most competent to express an opinion upon the subject, by its continued use in many of our best Public Schools and Colleges, and by the very great and constant demand for new editions of the book. But the progress of events, and the publication of many important historical documents, public and private, previously unknown, induced the Editor to subject the Work to a thorough revision; and, in order to render the book as perfect as possible, he called to his aid the late PROFESSOR BREWER, who, possessing an unrivalled knowledge of *all* periods of English History, was, perhaps, the highest authority upon the subject in the present day. He bestowed unwearied pains upon the revision of the Work, and left it ready for publication a

few weeks before his lamented death. A short time previously, he gave, in a private letter written to the Editor, the following account of his labours and the principles which guided him in the revision. The italics are Mr. Brewer's.

"I have brought," he says, "the Work down to the Treaty of Berlin, of course with the brevity compatible with your wish that the Work should not exceed its original dimensions. On the whole, I think it is the most handy and complete Manual of English History which exists for Schools,—and experience will prove it to be so. To keep the Work to its title and its size, to introduce the corrections necessitated by the progress of original research, to remove positive misstatements, has required no small amount of care and judgment. But I have been guided, to the best of my ability, by historical truth, by the investigations of *recent trustworthy* historians, by the wants of the student, and by my own researches, now of some years' standing. In the most anxious of all periods—that of the seventeenth century—I have been guided by Ranke and Rawson Gardiner, whose authority is not only the highest for that period, but to my mind—and I *know* what I am saying—is now the *only* authority worth regarding. The research, the industry, the accuracy, the candour of Rawson Gardiner are unquestionable, though he is in politics and religion inclined to the Parliament strongly, and has no liking for the Stuarts: but his more equitable way of considering the great controversies of the times must eventually prevail against the less careful statements and the prejudices of Brodie, Macaulay, Forster, and others I need not name.

"The popularity of the Work must depend on its merits

for accuracy and ability, and its sufficiency as a good Manual. Competitive examinations have entirely put it out of any schoolmaster's power to exclude a thoroughly good History from his schoolroom, because he may have a sentimental dislike to some of its statements. I am fully convinced that the road to success is by careful investigations and temperate narrative, showing the reader that there is another side to the question than that which some recent writers have presented.

"Wherever there was *fair* evidence for Hume's statements, I have retained them, and still more frequently Hume's estimate of motives and characters, *when he had the facts* before him, because, though not entirely free from prejudice, he had excellent good sense and sound judgment."

The present History, unlike some others of the same class, gives as full an account of Celtic and Roman Britain as the limits of the work would allow. Mr. Brewer strongly disapproved of the modern fashion of ignoring the Roman occupation of Great Britain, and starting at once from the Anglo-Saxon invasion. He pointed out, in an article which he wrote in the *Quarterly Review*,* that the Celtic and Roman occupation of the island was closely connected with its subsequent history; that the Saxon Conquest, though a change of the highest moment, did not break up society; and that the Saxon State was built upon the ruins of the past.

As much prominence as possible is given in the present Work to the rise and progress of the Constitution; but in order to economize space, and at the same time not interrupt the narrative, much important information upon

* See *Quarterly Review*, vol. 141, p. 295, *seqq.*

this subject is inserted in a smaller type in the "Notes and Illustrations," where the student will find an account of the "government, laws, and institutions of the Anglo-Saxons," of the "Anglo-Norman Constitution," of the "origin and progress of Parliament," and of other matters of a similar kind. Several constitutional documents, such as the Petition of Right and the Bill of Rights, are printed at length. These Notes and Illustrations, which contain discussions on various other historical and antiquarian subjects, have been drawn up mainly with the view of assisting the student in further enquiries; and with the same object a copious list of authorities is appended.

NOTE BY THE AMERICAN EDITOR.

In the portions of this volume relating to America are a few errors and some important omissions. The errors have been corrected and the omissions supplied in some Supplementary Notes, which may be found immediately preceding the Index. At the head of each note, the page in the text to which it refers is given; while in the text the number of the Note in the Supplement making corrections or additions is referred to.

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* The exact date of James II.'s abdication is technically reckoned from his flight from Whitehall on December 11, when he threw the great seal into the Thames and dissolved the forms of legal government.

† According to the *Old Style*, then used in England, this date fell within the year 1688, as the new year began on March 25. But it was always the custom to reckon an *historical year* beginning on January 1.

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FROM THE REVOLUTION OF 1688 TO THE YEAR 1878.

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HISTORY OF ENGLAND.



Stonehenge.

BOOK I.

THE BRITONS, ROMANS, AND ANGLO-SAXONS.

B.C. 55—A.D. 1066.

CHAPTER I.

THE BRITONS AND ROMANS.

§ 1. Earliest notices of Britain. § 2. The earliest inhabitants of Britain were Celts of the Cymric stock. § 3. Religion of the Britons. § 4. Knights and bards. § 5. Manners and customs of the Britons. § 6. British tribes. § 7. Cæsar's two invasions of Britain. § 8. History till the invasion of Claudius. § 9. Caractacus. § 10. Conquest of Mona; Boadicea. § 11. Agricola. § 12. The Roman walls between the Solway and the Tyne, and between the Clyde and the Forth. § 13. Saxon pirates; Carausius. § 14. Picts and Scots. Departure of the Romans. § 15. Appear to Aëtius. *Groans of the Britons*. The Saxons called in. § 16. Condition of Britain under the Romans. § 17. Christianity in Britain.

§ 1. THE south-western coasts of Britain were probably known to the Phœnician merchants several centuries before the Christian era. The Phœnician colonists of Tartessus and Gades in Spain, and especially of Carthage, were attracted to the shores of Britain by its abundant supply of tin, a metal of great importance in antiquity from the extensive use of bronze for the manufacture of weapons of war and implements of peace. It would seem that this metal was originally obtained from India, since the Grecian name for tin is of Indian origin, and must have been brought into Greece, together with the article itself.* Accordingly, when the voyagers obtained tin in Cornwall and Devon, whose high and indented shores might easily be mistaken for islands, these parts were called the Cassiterides or the Tin-islands, a name by which they were known to Herodotus† in the fifth century before the Christian era. Later writers mention the Britannic Islands as Albion and Ierne‡ including in the former England and Scotland, in the latter Ireland. The origin of the word Britain is disputed,§ but that of Albion is perhaps derived from a Celtic word signifying "white," a name probably given to the island by the Gauls, who could not fail to be struck with the chalky cliffs of the opposite coast.

In addition to the Phœnician merchants, the Greek colonists of Massalia (Marseilles) and Narbo (Narbonne) carried on a trade at a very early period with the southern parts of Britain, by making overland journeys to the northern coast of Gaul. The principal British exports seem to have been tin, lead, skins, slaves, and hunting-dogs employed by the Celts in war. When the Britons became more civilized, corn and cattle, gold, silver, and iron, and an inferior kind of pearl, were added to the list. An interesting account of the British tin-trade is given by Diodorus Siculus, a contemporary of Julius Cæsar.|| Diodorus relates that the inhabitants near the promontory of Belerium (Land's End), after the tin was formed into cubical blocks, conveyed it in waggons to an island named Ictis (supposed to be St. Michael's Mount), since at low tides the space between that island and Britain became dry. At Ictis the tin was purchased by the merchants and carried over to Gaul.

§ 2. The fabulous tale of the colonization of the island by Brut the Trojan, the great grandson of Æneas, deserves no other attention beyond the influence it has exercised on English literature. It

* The Greek name for tin is *kassiteros* (*κασσιτερος*), which evidently comes from the Sanscrit *kastira*.

† III. 115.

‡ The native name of Ireland seems to have been *Eri*, or *Erin*, as to this day. It

is also called *Iris*, *Ivernia*, and *Hibernia*.

§ It is probably from a Celtic word, *brith* or *brit*, "painted," because the inhabitants stained their bodies with a blue colour extracted from wood.

|| v. 22.

has no claim to be admitted even as a traditional element in the history of Britain. There can be no doubt that the inhabitants of Britain, when it was first known, were Celts, who peopled the island from the neighbouring continent. The Celts were divided into two great branches, the Gael and the Cymry, the former of whom now inhabit Ireland and the highlands of Scotland, and the latter the principality of Wales. It has been thought by some that traces of an earlier Gaelic population might be found in parts of England, Wales, and the Scottish lowlands; but the more cautious of modern enquirers are inclined to believe that the great mass of the Britons, like the Gauls of the continent, were Cymry,* and that the Welsh are descended from the ancient inhabitants. In proof of this it may be sufficient to mention that most of the Celtic words which still exist in the English language are clearly to be referred to the Cymric and not to the Gaelic dialect.

The Gallic origin of the ancient Britons is expressly affirmed by Cæsar, who says † that the maritime parts of the island were inhabited by Belgic Gauls, who had crossed over from the mainland for the sake of plunder. The language, the manners, the government, the religion of both were the same; and many tribes in Britain and Belgic Gaul had similar names. But the inhabitants of the interior, he adds, were indigenous, according to tradition; from which we can only infer that the earlier immigrations of the Celts took place long before the memory of man; and that the less civilized tribes had been driven inland before the Belgic invaders. Tacitus, who derived his information from his father-in-law Agricola, supposed ‡ that the red hair and large limbs of the Caledonians indicated a Germanic origin; and that the dark complexion of the Silures, their curly hair, and their position opposite to Spain, furnished grounds for believing that they were descended from Iberian settlers from that country. But these are evidently mere conjectures, to which Tacitus himself seems to have attached little importance, for he adds that upon a careful estimate of probabilities we must believe that it was the Gauls who took possession of the neighbouring coast.§

§ 3. The connection of the Britons with the Celts of Gaul is further shown by their common religion. Cæsar, indeed, was of opinion that Druidism had its origin in Britain, and was transplanted thence into Gaul; and it is certain that in his time Britain was the chief

* This is the plural of the Welsh *Cymro*; and the country of Wales is called *Cymru* (federation), Latinized into *Cambria*.

† Bell. Gall. v. 12. Belgic Gaul was the region between the Rhine, the Seine, and the Marne. Its people, the *Belgæ*, were

a superior race to the *Galli* between the Seine, the Marne, and the Loire.

‡ Agricola. c. 11.

§ The question of an Iberian, or Basque, settlement in the south-west is still open to discussion.

seat of the religion and the principal school where it was taught. But this circumstance only shows that the common faith of the Celt had been preserved in its greatest purity by the remotest and most ancient tribes, who had been driven by the tide of emigration into this island.

The religion of the Britons was a most important part of their government, and the Druids, who were their priests, possessed great authority among them. Besides ministering at the altar and directing all religious duties, they presided over the education of the youth; they enjoyed immunity from war and taxes; they possessed both civil and criminal jurisdiction; they decided all controversies between states as well as among private persons, and whoever refused to submit to their decrees was subjected to the severest penalties. The sentence of excommunication was pronounced against the offender; he was forbidden access to the sacrifices or public worship; he was debarred all intercourse with his fellow-citizens; he was refused the protection of the law; and death itself became an acceptable relief from the misery and infamy to which he was exposed. Thus the bonds of government, which were naturally loose among so rude and turbulent a people, were strengthened by the terrors of religion.

No species of superstition was ever more terrible than that of the Druids. Besides the severe penalties which it was in the power of the priests to inflict in this world, they are said to have inculcated the eternal transmigration of souls. They practised their rites in dark groves or other secret recesses. To throw a greater mystery over their religion, they communicated their doctrines to the initiated only, and strictly forbade them to be committed to writing. In the ordinary concerns of life, however, when writing was necessary, they employed Greek characters or a sort of hieroglyphics formed from the figures of plants. Of the nature of their rites, except their veneration for the oak and the mistletoe, little is known. When a mistletoe was discovered growing upon an oak, a priest severed it with a golden knife; on which occasion a festival was held under the tree, and two milk-white bulls were offered in sacrifice. The Druids worshipped a plurality of gods, to whom Cæsar, after the Roman fashion, applies the names of the deities of his own country. The attributes of the god chiefly worshipped among them appear to have resembled those of Mercury.*

* The stupendous ruins of Stonehenge, situated in Salisbury Plain, and of Avebury, in Wiltshire, were formerly supposed to be the remains of Druidical temples, but they are not mentioned by any ancient writer. It is quite uncertain

to what age we should refer these and other rude stone monuments of the pre-historic Britons, such as the *cromlechs*, which were once called Druidical altars, but are now proved to have been tombs. In the compound word *stone-henge*, the latter

They inculcated reverence for law and fortitude under suffering. They taught their disciples to observe the stars and to investigate the secret powers of nature. A term of twenty years was commonly devoted to the acquisition of the knowledge which they imparted. They chose their own high-priest, but the election was not unfrequently decided by arms.

In some countries, human sacrifices formed one of the most sanguinary features of Druidical worship. The victims were generally criminals, or prisoners of war, but, in default of these, innocent persons were sometimes immolated; and in the larger sacrifices immense figures made of plaited osiers were filled with human beings and then set on fire. The spoils of war were often devoted by the Druids to their divinities; and they punished with horrible tortures all those who dared to secrete any portion of the consecrated offering. These treasures, kept in woods and forests, were secured by no other guard than the terrors of religion; and this conquest over human cupidity may be regarded as more extraordinary than any acts of courage and self-devotion to which men were prompted by their exhortations. No idolatrous worship ever obtained such an ascendancy over mankind as that of the ancient Gauls and Britons; and the Romans, finding it impossible after their conquest to reconcile these nations to the laws and institutions of their masters, so long as Druidism maintained its authority, were at last obliged to abolish it by military force; a violence which had never in any other instance been practised by these tolerating conquerors.

§ 4. The British bards were a sacred order next to the Druids. They sung the genealogies of their princes, and composed lyric as well as epic and didactic poetry, accompanying their songs with an instrument called the *chrotta* or *crowder*. Next to the Druids, the chief authority was possessed by their chieftains, or heads of their clans—the *equites*, as Cæsar calls them.*

§ 5. Already, before the arrival of Cæsar, the south-eastern parts of Britain had made the first and most requisite step towards a civil settlement; and the Belgic Britons, by tillage and agriculture, had greatly increased. Other inhabitants of the island still maintained themselves by pasture: they were clothed with skins of beasts: they dwelt in round huts constructed of wood or reeds, reared in the forests and marshes with which the country abounded. They easily shifted their habitations, actuated either by

half, *henge*, probably signifies the impost, which is suspended on two uprights, and consequently the word might be used in any case in which one stone was sus-

pended on two or more others.—*Guest* in *Proceedings of Philological Society*, vol. vi. p. 33.

* *De Bell. Gall.* vi. 13-17.

the hopes of plunder or the fear of an enemy. Even the convenience of feeding their cattle was a sufficient motive for removing; and as they were ignorant of all the refinements of life, their wants and their possessions were equally scanty and limited.

The Britons tattooed their bodies, staining them blue and green with woad, as a sort of "war-paint;" a custom long retained by the Picts. They wore checkered mantles like the Gaul or Scottish Highlander; their waists were circled with a girdle, and metal chains adorned the breast. The hair and moustache were suffered to grow, and a ring was worn on the middle finger, after the fashion of the Gauls. Their arms were a small shield, javelins, and a pointless sword. They fought from chariots (*esseda*, *covi*...) having scythes affixed to the axles. The warrior drove the chariot, and was attended by a servant who carried his weapons. The dexterity of the driver excited the admiration of the Romans. He would urge his horses at full speed down the steepest hills or along the edge of a precipice, and check and turn them in full career. Sometimes he would run along the pole, or seat himself on the yoke, and instantly, if necessary, regain the chariot. Frequently after breaking the enemy's ranks he would leap down and fight on foot; meanwhile the chariot was withdrawn from the fray, and posted in such a manner as to afford a secure retreat in case of need. Thus the Britons were enabled to combine the rapid evolutions of cavalry with the steady firmness of infantry. Cæsar describes the British towns as mere clusters of huts, defended by their position in the centre of almost impenetrable forests. They were secured by a deep ditch, and a fence or wall of felled trees.*

§ 6. The Britons were divided into many small nations or tribes. As their chief property consisted in their arms and their cattle, it was impossible, after they had acquired a relish for liberty, for their princes or chieftains to establish despotic authority over them. Their governments, though monarchical, were free, like those of other Celtic nations; and the common people seem to have enjoyed more freedom than among the nations of Gaul from whom they were descended. Each state was divided into factions: it was agitated with jealousy or animosity against its neighbour: and while the arts of peace were yet unknown, war was the main occupation, and formed the chief object of ambition, among the people.†

* But Cæsar's observation was limited, and British earthworks, enclosing permanent habitations, are found in open situations, and especially on hill-tops.

† The British tribes with whom the Romans became acquainted by Cæsar's

invasion were mainly the following:—

1. The *Cantii*, under four princes, inhabited Kent. They derived their name from the Celtic *Caint*, or open country.

2. The *Trinovantes* were seated to the north of the Thames, and between that

§ 7. At the close of the fourth campaign in his Gallic wars, CÆSAR invaded Britain with two legions in the end of August, B.C. 55. Aware of his intention, the natives were sensible of the unequal contest, and endeavoured in vain to appease him by submission. After some resistance, he landed, with two legions (about 8000 men), either at or near Deal,* obtained some advantage over the Britons, obliged them to promise hostages for their future obedience, but was constrained by the necessity of his affairs and the approach of winter, to withdraw his forces into Gaul. Relieved from the terror of his arms, the Britons neglected the performance of their stipulations; and Cæsar resolved next summer (B.C. 54) to chastise them for their perfidy. He landed unopposed, apparently at the same spot, with five legions, numbering above 20,000 men; and though he found a more regular resistance from the Britons, who were now united under Cassivellaunus,† one of their potty princes, he discomfited them in every action. Advancing into the country, he passed the Thames in the face of the enemy at a ford, probably Cowey Stakes, just above Walton, in spite of the piles which the Britons had driven into the bed of the river.‡ The valiant defence of Cassivellaun was frustrated by the submission of the Trinobantes and other tribes. Cæsar took and burned the forest fortress at Verulamium, the modern St. Albans; restored his own ally, Mandubratius, to the sovereignty of the Trinobantes; and having compelled the inhabitants to fresh submission, he returned with his army into Gaul.

§ 8. The civil wars which ensued prepared the way for the establishment of imperialism in Rome, and saved the Britons from the impending yoke. Augustus was content with levying duties on British commerce in the ports of Gaul, and with embassies sent from the island. Apprehensive lest the same unlimited extent of dominion, which had subverted the republic, might also overwhelm the empire, he recommended his successors never to enlarge the territories of the Romans. Tiberius, jealous of the fame which might be acquired by his generals, made the advice of Augustus a pretext for inactivity. Almost a century elapsed before another Roman force appeared in Britain; but the natives during this

river and the Stour, in the present counties of Middlesex and Essex.

3. The *Cenimagni*, perhaps the same as the Iceni of Tacitus, dwelt in Norfolk, Suffolk, and Cambridgeshire.

4. The *Negotiaci* inhabited parts of Hants and Berks.

5. The *Ancalites* and *Bibroci* inhabited parts of Berks and Wilts.

6. The *Casgi* appear to have been the

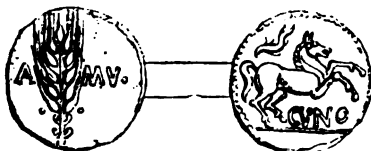
tribe of which Cassivellaunus was the chief, and the same as the *Catuvellauni* in Herts, with their capital at Verulamium.

* See Notes and Illustrations (A).

† Later Welsh writers call him *Caswallon*.

‡ The historian Bede mentions the remains of these piles as existing in his own time, in the eighth century.

period kept up an intercourse with Rome. By this means, as well as from their commerce with Gaul, where the Roman power had been completely established, they derived some tincture of Roman civilization; and the coins of Cunobelin, the Cymbeline of



Gold Coin of Cunobelin or Cunobellinus.

Obverse: (C)AMV (Camulodunum); ear of corn.

Reverse: CVNO (Cunobellinus); horse to right.

Shakespeare, who ruled at Camulodunum (*Colchester*), as well as those of Tasciovanus, probably his father, display the influence of Roman art,* and a knowledge of the Latin alphabet.

The mad sallies of Caligula, in which he menaced

Britain with invasion, served only to expose himself and the empire to ridicule. At length a British exile named Bericus instigated the emperor CLAUDIUS to undertake the reduction of the island, and AULUS PLAUTIUS was despatched thither (A.D. 43) at the head of four legions, augmented with Gallic auxiliaries. He marched through the southern counties to the Thames, which he crossed, probably at Wallingford, gaining a great battle over the sons of Cunobelin, and pursued the Britons to the marshes about London.† Claudius himself, finding matters sufficiently prepared for his reception, took a journey into Britain and received the submission of several British states, the Cantii, Atrebates, Regni, and Trinobantes, who were induced by their possessions and more cultivated manner of life to purchase peace at the expense of liberty. Claudius took the city of Camulodunum (*Colchester*), where a colony of veterans was subsequently established; and the south-eastern parts of Britain were formed into a Roman province.‡ In this invasion Vespasian, the future emperor, distinguished himself, and at the head of the Second Legion fought thirty battles, stormed twenty towns, and subdued the Isle of Wight.

§ 9. The other Britons, under the command of Caractacus, a son of Cunobelin, still maintained an obstinate resistance, and the

* There are many other coins, inscribed with names of British princes, furnishing materials for a conjectural account of the political state of various tribes. Others, the rudeness of which shows native workmanship, confirm Cæsar's statement that the Britons used money before his invasion. (Bell. Gall. v. 12, where *summo a. re.* is the genuine reading.) Their types, borrowed from Greek coins, seem to prove that the art was derived from the Greek colonies

in Southern Gaul.—See Evans's *Ancient British Coins*.

† There is some reason to suppose that London (*Londinium*, "the hill of the marsh") had its origin from the camp which Claudius pitched on the high ground of the present city, which then rose above the marshes formed by the unembanked Thames.

‡ Of course the emperor claimed all Britain as belonging to this province.

Romans now made little progress till OSTORIUS SCAPULA was sent over (A.D. 50). Under SCAPULA a line of Roman camps was drawn across the island, from the Severn to the marshes of the Nen. The Iceni* were reduced after a desperate and brilliant struggle; the league of the Brigantes† was surprised and dispersed by the rapid march of the Roman general, and the Roman eagles dominated over the greater part of Britain. But the Silures and Ordovices‡ still held out, and it was not till after nine years of warfare that the camp of Caractacus was stormed, and his residence was captured by the Romans, and with it his wife and family.§ Caractacus himself sought shelter at the court of Cartimandua, queen of the Brigantes, whom he had formerly befriended, but by whom he was treacherously surrendered to the conquerors (A.D. 50). He was conveyed to Rome, where his magnanimous behaviour procured him better treatment than the Romans usually bestowed on captive princes. But even after the capture of their leader the Silures still held out, and offered so determined a resistance that Ostorius is said to have died of vexation.

§ 10. The Romans did little towards the further subjugation of the island till the appointment of SEXTONIUS PAULINUS, in the reign of Nero, A.D. 58. After three years of successful warfare, he resolved on reducing the island of Mona, or Anglesey, the chief seat of the Druids, which afforded a shelter to the disaffected Britons. The infantry crossed the strait in shallow vessels, taking the cavalry in tow where the water was too deep to afford a footing for the horses. The Britons endeavoured to obstruct their landing by force of arms and the terrors of religion. Women intermingled with the soldiers ran up and down with flaming torches in their hands, and, tossing their dishevelled hair, struck no less terror into the astonished Romans by their howlings and their cries, than did the solemn array of the Druids, with uplifted arms, uttering prayers and imprecations on the invaders. But Suetonius, exhorting his troops to disregard the menaces of a superstition they despised, impelled them to the attack, drove the Britons off the field, burned the Druids in the fires they had prepared for their enemies, destroyed the consecrated groves and altars; and having thus triumphed over the religion of the Britons, he thought his future progress would be easy in reducing the people to subjection. But the Britons, taking advantage of his absence, rose in arms; and, headed by Boadicea, queen of the Iceni, whose daughters had been

* Norfolk, Suffolk, and Cambridgeshire.

† Between the Humber and the Tyne.

‡ The Silures inhabited South Wales; the Ordovices North Wales.

§ Perhaps near *Caradoc*, situated on a hill in Shropshire near the confluence of the Chan and Teme.

defiled and herself scourged with rods by the Roman tribunes, sacked and burnt Camulodunum, the colony of their insulting conquerors. Suetonius hastened to the protection of London, already a flourishing commercial town; but found on his arrival that it would be requisite for the general safety to abandon the city to the merciless fury of the enemy. London was reduced to ashes; such of the inhabitants as remained in it were cruelly massacred; the Romans and all other strangers were put to the sword without distinction. The same fate befel Verulamium. No less than 70,000 persons suffered death, with cruel tortures, in the sack of the three cities; and the Britons, by rendering the war thus bloody, seemed determined to cut off all hopes of peace or composition with the enemy. This cruelty was revenged by Suetonius in a great and decisive battle (A.D. 61), where 80,000 of the Britons are said to have perished. Boadicea herself, rather than fall into the hands of the enraged victor, put an end to her life by poison. Suetonius was recalled soon after.

§ 11. After a brief interval Cerialis received the command from Vespasian (A.D. 70), and by his bravery propagated the terror of the Roman arms. Julius Frontinus succeeded Cerialis both in authority and reputation; but the man who finally established the dominion of the Romans in this island was JULIUS AGRICOLA, who governed it seven years (A.D. 78-85), in the reigns of Vespasian, Titus, and Domitian.

This able general formed a regular plan for subjugating Britain, and rendering its acquisition useful to the conquerors. After subduing the Ordovices, and again reducing Mona, which had revolted, he carried his victorious arms northwards. In the third year of his government he marched far into Caledonia, the region now called Scotland; and in the following year he erected a line of fortresses between the firths of the Clyde and the Forth. He extended his conquests along the western shores of Britain, and even meditated an expedition into Ireland. In the sixth and seventh years of his administration he made two incursions into Caledonia, in the latter of which he gained a great and decisive victory over the inhabitants under their leader Galgacus, at the foot of the highland hills.* During the last year of his government his fleet took possession of the Orkneys, and confirmed the opinion that Britain was an island. But whilst occupied with these military enterprises he neglected not the refinements of peace. He introduced laws and civilization

* The place of the battle is unknown. The *Mons Grampius* (or, as the best MSS. have it, *Groupius*) of Tacitus has no name answering to it in native Scotch

geography; but, at the revival of learning, the name was transferred from the pages of Tacitus to the range now called the Grampians.

among the Britons, taught them the arts and conveniences of life, reconciled them to the Roman language and manners, instructed them in letters and science, and employed every expedient to render the chains which he had forged for them both easy and agreeable. Taught by experience how unequal their own force was to resist the Romans, the inhabitants gradually acquiesced in the dominion of their masters, and were incorporated into that mighty empire.

§ 12. This was the last durable conquest made by the Romans; and Britain, once subdued, gave no further disquietude to the victor. The Caledonians alone, defended by barren mountains, sometimes infested the more cultivated parts of the northern frontiers. To repel their attacks, Hadrian, who visited this island (A.D. 120), built a stone wall and an earthen rampart between the river Tyne and the Solway Firth, called the Roman or Picts' Wall, of which considerable remains still exist.* Lollius Urbicus (A.D. 139), under Antoninus Pius, erected another rampart of earth between the firth of Forth and Alcluith (Dunbarton) on the Clyde, called the Wall of Antoninus, and now known by the name of *Græme's Dyke*. But these fortifications did not prove adequate to check the incursions of the Caledonians and Mæatæ,† who at length became so formidable, that the proprætor, Virius Lupus, was not only obliged to buy off their attacks, but even to solicit the presence of the aged emperor SEVERUS himself. Severus came accordingly, attended by his two sons, Caracalla and Geta (A.D. 208); and, although he was so afflicted with the gout that it was necessary to carry him in a litter, he proceeded through an almost impassable country to the extremity of the island, with the loss of 50,000 men. Having made a treaty at the firth of Cromarty with the natives, by which they agreed to cede a considerable portion of their territory, he returned to York, where he shortly afterwards expired, A.D. 211. Immediately after his death, his son Caracalla, eager to grasp the empire, entered into a truce with the northern tribes, and hastened back to Rome.

§ 13. Except, however, on its northern frontier, Britain under the Roman dominion enjoyed profound tranquillity, till in the third century of our era it began to be disturbed by new enemies. These were the Frank and Saxon pirates, whose descents upon the eastern and southern coasts at last became so troublesome, that the western emperor, Maximian, fitted out a fleet at Boulogne for its defence (A.D. 286 ‡). But his commander, Carausius, fortifying the great

* See Notes and Illustrations (B).

† All the Britons north of the Roman frontier were called by the collective name of *Caledonians*. The Mæatæ seem

to have been the people between the walls of Hadrian and Antoninus.

‡ A century later we find this coast, from the Wash to Sussex, defended by a

power with which he was thus invested by an alliance with the Saxons themselves, asserted his own supremacy in Britain, and thus compelled Maximian to acknowledge him as his associate in the empire. In 294 Carausius was assassinated by his own officer Allectus, who in turn usurped the imperial title and retained it till 296, when he was defeated by the army which Constantius Chlorus led against him. Constantius Chlorus died at York, in 306, where his son, Constantine the Great, assumed the title of Cæsar.

§ 14. In the early times of the Roman dominion in Britain, the northern parts of the island were inhabited by the Caledonians and Mæatæ, but in the beginning of the fourth century these names were supplanted by the Picts and Scots, wild and savage tribes, whose destructive inroads were long a terror to the civilized inhabitants of Britain. The name of Picts (*Picti*, i.e. painted) appears to have been only a new Latin term for those ancient Caledonian tribes who preserved their independence under the Romans, and maintained possession of the northern parts of the island till the later invasion of the Irish Scots.* All ancient writers agree in representing Ireland as the proper home of the Scots; and for several centuries that island bore the name of Scotia. The Scots who invaded Roman Britain appear to have made their inroads by sea on the north-western shores, having perhaps established themselves on parts of the Caledonian coast and the adjacent islands.

In the year 367, under the reign of Valentinian I., the Scots and Picts, from the west and north, and the Frank and Saxon pirates, landing on the south-eastern shores, overran the Roman province, and penetrated as far as London. They were repulsed the next year by Theodosius, father of the emperor of the same name. Theodosius recovered the district between the walls of Hadrian and Antoninus, which he named Valentia, in honour of his master. Under his son, Theodosius I., Maximus, having gained great reputation in fighting against the Picts and Scots, was saluted emperor by his soldiers, established a Western Roman empire at Trèves, and was even acknowledged by Theodosius. He was taken prisoner at Aquileia and put to death, A.D. 388.†

But this enterprise helped to weaken Britain, while she began to be more and more infested by the Picts, Scots, and Saxons. Stilicho, the general of Honorius, afforded temporary succour in 396; but soon afterwards, Gaul being already overrun by the Alani,

line of castles, garrisoned by a legion under a commander called "Count of the Saxon Shore" or "Border," that is, the coast exposed to the Saxon descents.— See Notes and Illustrations (C).

* See Notes and Illustrations (D).

† The legend that under Maximus a colony of British warriors established itself in Armorica (Brittany) is a mere fable.

Suevi, and Vandals, he withdrew one legion from Britain,* and the two that remained appear to have been led out of the island by one of those rebellious officers, who successively assumed the title of emperor. The year in which Rome was sacked by the Goths, under Alaric, marks also her final loss of Britain (A.D. 410).

§ 15. The incursions of the northern barbarians were now renewed,† and in 443 the unhappy Britons made a last appeal to Rome. Aëtius the patrician sustained at that time, by his valour and magnanimity, the tottering ruins of the empire, and revived for a moment among the degenerate Romans the spirit, as well as the discipline, of their ancestors. The British ambassadors carried to him the letter of their countrymen, which was inscribed, *The Groans of the Britons*. The tenor of the epistle was suitable to its superscription. "The barbarians," say they, "on the one hand chase us into the sea; the sea on the other throws us back upon the barbarians; and we have only the hard choice left us of perishing by the sword or by the waves." But Aëtius, pressed by the arms of Attila, the most terrible enemy that ever assailed the empire, had no leisure to attend to the complaints of allies whom generosity alone could induce him to assist. After forty years of confusion, under the name of independence, the despairing Britons, guided, it is said, by the counsels of Vortigern, a powerful prince in the south of Britain, and by the example of the Armoricans, resolved on calling in the aid of the piratical Saxons, and thus repelling the Picts and Scots by means of tribes as barbarous as those by whom they were molested (A.D. 449 or 450).

§ 16. Under the Roman dominion‡ Britain had attained to great prosperity. Agriculture was carried to such a pitch, that the island not only fed itself, but large quantities of grain were also exported to the northern provinces of the empire. Its builders and artisans were in request upon the continent. The country was traversed by four excellent roads, constructed by the Romans, probably on the lines of older British roadways. These were Watling Street, leading from the Kentish coast at Rutupiae to London, and thence into Wales, and, by another branch, to the Wall, and beyond it into Caledonia; Ikenild or Ryknild Street, proceeding

* The XXth Legion doubtless, which does not appear in the *Notitia*.

† The story of the "Alleluia victory," so called because a party of Picts, Scots, and Saxons fled without a blow when St. Germain, bishop of Auxerre, and his priests raised the cry of "Alleluia" (A.D. 429), seems to be a legendary addition to the simple fact that St. Germain visited

the island to repress the Pelagian heresy. He came again for the same purpose in 446, and he may on his return have been the bearer of the supplication to Aëtius, for we know that he died at Ravenna (the place where Valentinian III. held his court) in 448.

‡ See Notes and Illustrations (E).

from the Wall at the mouth of the Tyne, through York, Derby, and Birmingham, to St. David's; Irmin or Hermin Street, running from St. David's to Southampton; and the Fossway, between Cornwall and Lincoln; besides a network of minor roads. Roman civilization in Britain was more complete than is commonly supposed, though its traces are now few, in comparison with those of other provinces. Bede, and before him, Gildas, speak of the Roman towns, lighthouses, roads, and bridges, as existing in their times. Many remains of Roman buildings were visible in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, which have since disappeared. London, York, Chichester, Chester, and Lincoln retain portions of Roman walls; the amphitheatres of Dorchester, Cirencester, and Silchester are still visible. The remote Caerleon on the Usk (*Isca Silurum*), as well as Bath, had their theatres, temples, and palaces. The grand remains of walls at Burgh Castle (Norfolk), Richborough, Lymne (*Portus Lemanis*), and Pevensey, attest the strength of the Roman castles on the Saxon coast. Even now, in London and other places once occupied by the Romans, if the spade of the workman penetrates to an unusual depth below the soil, fragments of pottery, tessellated pavements, and other objects, are frequently discovered, which testify the presence of its former owners. So when the Angles and Saxons established themselves in Britain, they must have dwelt among Roman remains, and gazed with wonder on the magnificent trophies of Roman art.

At the same time, it must be remembered that the Roman occupation of Britain was chiefly military, and that the country was never completely Romanized like the provinces of Gaul and Spain. The natives living at a distance from the towns continued to speak their own language; the number of Latin words which have found a permanent place in the Welsh language is comparatively small; and almost the only traces of the Roman occupation, existing in modern English, are confined to the word or termination *chester*, *caster*, &c. (from *castra*, "camp"), which appears in Caistor (near Norwich), Manchester, Lancaster, &c.; to *coln* (*colonia*), which is found in Colchester and Lincoln; to *foss* (*fossa*, "ditch"), in the Fossway and Foston; and to the two words *street*, from *stratum* or *strata*, and *port*, from *portus*, "harbour." * The condition of England under the Romans has been well compared by a modern writer to that of Ireland as it existed under English rule in the 17th century. "The towns were entirely peopled by the conquerors: they alone

* All these elements mark military occupation. *Wall*, found in the names of places near Roman fortifications, comes probably from *vallum*, but it has also an

English root. *Port* appears also in names, as *Portchester*; and *port* (for *porta*, gate) is used in some cities, as for the gates of Edinburgh.

were capable of holding municipal privileges or power: and the country was covered with the houses of gentry and landholders, who were all descended either from the old conquerors or new settlers. The peasantry only were British—that class who were in ancient times equally slaves under one race of rulers or another, and who were only spurred into insurrection by political agitators or by foreign invasions. Still, as in Ireland, the peasantry, having no attachment to their lords, were easily excited to revolt; and a successful inroad of the Caledonians would always be attended by a corresponding agitation among the Britons.” *

§ 17. Christianity was introduced into Britain at an early period; in all probability, however, not through Rome, but from the East, by means of the Mediterranean commerce carried on through Gaul. It is known that the latter country had numerous Christian congregations in the second century. Tradition ascribes the adoption of Christianity in Britain to a prince Lucius, or Lever-Maur (the Great Light), who flourished some time in the latter half of the second century. Under Diocletian, Britain reckons the martyrdom of St. Alban at Verulam, and of Aaron and Julius, two citizens of Caerleon on the Usk. This “city of legions” (*Civitas Legionum*) and the commercial and military capitals of London and York (*Eboracum*) are named as the three archiepiscopal sees of Britain. At the first council of Arles, in 314, three British bishops appeared, namely, Eborius of York, Restitutius of London, and Adelfius, probably of Caerleon. In the observance of Easter Day the British differed from the Romish and followed the Eastern church. The monastery of Bangor, near Chester, was founded at an early period: its name (*ban gor*, or “the great choir”) was a generic one for a monastery, and thus we find more than one Bangor in Britain. Some of the British ecclesiastics were famous for their learning and acuteness. Pelagius, the opponent of St. Augustine, and founder of the sect which bore his name, is said to have been a Briton whose real name was Morgan (*i.e.* “near the sea”), whilst his disciple Celestius was an Irishman. St. Germain, bishop of Auxerre, and Lupus, bishop of Troyes, were sent over to Britain by pope Celestine to confute the Pelagians in 429; and St. Germain paid a second visit in 446 with Severus, bishop of Trèves.

The connection of Britain with the Western church continued when its political union with Rome had been severed. Christianity, extirpated from England by the heathen conquerors, survived in Wales. Meanwhile, at the very time when Britain was lost to Rome, IRELAND

* *Edinburgh Review*, vol. xciv. p. 200.
But to these causes must undoubtedly be added that of religion; for those of the

Britons who still adhered to their ancient faith would make common cause with Pagan invaders.

appears in our history as receiving the Christian faith through the ministry of Palladius and St. Patrick, natives of Britain, but sent by the Roman bishop to the "*Scots in Ireland*" (A.D. 432).^{*} While England was ravaged by the heathen conquerors, Ireland is depicted, in colours probably much brighter than the truth, as peacefully enjoying the light and learning which earned for her the fond name of the "Island of the Saints."[†]

^{*} The story of the conversion of the southern or lowland Picts, as early as 396, by St. NINIAN OF NYNIA is doubtful.

[†] The origin of this boasted title has been traced, with great probability, to the old Greek form of the native name *Éri*, namely, *ἡ ἱερα νῆσος*, "the sacred island," popular tradition pointing to the west

from time immemorial as the seat of the blessed. The native annals show no age in which Ireland was not the scene of feuds and wars, from the time when one of its chiefs fled to Agricola, to that when Dermot Macmorrogh invited its conquest by Henry II.

NOTES AND ILLUSTRATIONS.

A. CÆSAR'S VOYAGES TO BRITAIN.

The subject of Cæsar's two voyages to Britain has given rise to much controversy. In relating his first voyage Cæsar merely says that he sailed from the country of the Morini, without specifying the precise spot; but there can be little doubt that he started from the same place as in his second expedition, namely, the Portus Itius, which is supposed by D'Anville, who has been followed by most modern writers, to be Wissant, just east of Cape Grisnez, about halfway between Boulogne and Calais. In his first expedition Cæsar must have landed on the 27th of August, since he tells us that it was full moon on the fourth day after his arrival in Britain; and it has been calculated by the astronomer Dr. Halley that this full moon fell on the night of the 30th of August (*Philosophical Transactions*, abridged to the end of the year 1700 by John Lowthorpe, vol. iii. p. 412). Dr. Halley maintained that Cæsar landed at Deal, and his opinion has been adopted by almost all subsequent writers; but Mr. Lewin has urged strong arguments for supposing that Cæsar landed at *Lymane* (near Hythe), the Roman Portus Lemanis, afterwards one of the castles of the Saxon coast (*The Invasion of Britain by Julius Cæsar*, 2nd edition, 1862). There is less to be said for the entirely new hypothesis of Sir George B. Alry, the Astronomer-Royal, who supposes that Cæsar sailed from the estuary

of the Somme and landed at the beach of Pevensey, on the coast of Sussex, near the spot where William the Conqueror disembarked nearly eleven centuries afterwards. The reader will find the arguments of Sir George in the *Archæologia*, vol. xxxiv. p. 231, seq.

At whichever place he landed there can be little doubt that the British camp stormed by Cæsar (on his second invasion) was on the high ground about the Stour at Wye (probably at *Challock Wood*), and that he marched along the line of the old British track skirting the south edge of the North Downs, which was called in the Middle Ages the *Pilgrim's Way*, and, after crossing the Thames, up the valley of the Coln, to Verulamium (St. Albans). He had Mandubratius for his guide. He certainly did not march by the line of the later Watling Street (the modern Dover road); and it is only by pure invention, or a gross blunder (the source of which may be traced), that fabulous historians (such as Geoffrey of Monmouth) bring him to London, which he left far on his right. His return to the coast was evidently by the same route as his advance.

B. THE ROMAN WALLS.

1. The Roman fortification which crosses England from the Solway Firth to the River Tyne, consists of a stone wall and an earthen rampart (or rather double, and in some places triple, lines of ram-



parts, with ditches) running generally parallel with one another, at the distance of 60 or 70 yards; but the distance varies greatly with the nature of the ground. Dr. Bruce proves, in his work on the "Roman Wall," that the stone wall and the turf vallum both belong to one and the same fortification, and that they were erected by the emperor Hadrian at one and the same time, the former to check the Caledonians, the latter to repress any hostile attempts of the southern Britons. It is impossible in the limits of this note to cite the evidence by which Dr. Bruce sustains this view against the unfounded opinion that, as the vallum of Hadrian was not sufficient to check the Caledonians, it was strengthened, or rather superseded, by the wall of Severus. The inscriptions prove that the whole works, including the great camps along the line, and the supporting stations to the north and south, were Hadrian's, and that the part of Severus was limited to considerable repairs. The wall must not be conceived of as a mere defence, but a military base for operations on both sides of it. The castles along it have gates to the north, and the many coins found there prove that the ground north of the wall was maintained down to the time of Carausius (296-294). On the same evidence, and that of the important list of stations on the Wall in the *Notitia Imperii*, we know that the Wall itself was held till the reign of Honorius, and the final withdrawal of the legions.

2. Along the line of the northern "Wall of Antoninus" (*Grimes'*, or more properly *Grimes*, i.e. the "boundary," *Dyke*) many inscriptions have been found, mentioning the work done by cohorts of the three legions (IInd, Vth, and XXth), and one which has the name of LOLLIVS URNICUS as Prætorian Prefect of Antoninus Pius.

It should be observed that Gildas, Bede, and Nennius connect the name of Severus with the northern wall, while they greatly confuse the two.

C. THE COMES LITTORIS SAXONICÆ.

Lapenberg, Kemble, and several others maintain that this officer derived his name, not from defending the coast which was exposed to the invasions of the Saxon pirates, but from his command-

ing the Saxons who were settled along the coasts of Britain before the arrival of Hengist and Horsa in 450. But there seems no objection to the ordinary interpretation which has been adopted in the text. Dr. Guest correctly remarks that, as the Welsh marches in Shropshire and the Scotch marches in Northumberland were so called, not because they were inhabited by Welshmen or Scotchmen, but because they were open to the incursions of these two races, and were provided with a regular military organization for the purpose of repelling their incursions, so, for precisely similar reasons, the south-eastern coast of Britain was called the Saxon Shore, or Frontier. The title first occurs in the *Notitia Utriusque Imperii* (a work compiled about the beginning of the fifth century), where the Saxon Shore is also called the Saxon Frontier (*Limes Saxonicus*). The *Notitia* gives a list of the forces which held the nine great castles from Branodunum (*Brancaester*), on the north coast of Norfolk, to Portus Adurni (perhaps *Aldrington*, at the mouth of the Adur) in Sussex. The other seven were Gariannonum (*Burgh Castle*, on the Yare), Othona (*Ilkancester*, just below the Blackwater), Regulbium (*Reculver*), and Rutuplae (*Richborough*), which defended the two mouths of the Stour, then a strait cutting off Thanet; Portus Dubris (*Dover*); Portus Lemanis (*Lymne*); Anderida (*Pevensey*). They were garrisoned by detachments and auxiliaries of the Second Legion, the head-quarters of which had been moved from Caerleon on the Usk to Richborough, to protect the communication with the continent. The walls at Burgh, Richborough, and Pevensey, may be traced by their splendid ruins. Some of these castles (as at Richborough, Dover, and Lymne) date, doubtless, from the earliest time of the Roman occupation; but there are grounds for ascribing the final organization of the system of defence to Theodosius, the general of Valentinian I.

D. THE SCOTS AND PICTS.

From the second to the eleventh century the Scots are mentioned as the inhabitants of Ireland, and that island bore the name of Scotia. This is clearly proved by the authorities collected by

Zeuss, *Die Deutschen und die Nachbarstämme*, p. 568. Thus Claudian says—

"Sotorum cunabulo sedit glaciis Ierne."

Le IV. Cons. Hon. XI.

"Me juvit Stilicho, totum cum Scotis Iernon Morit."

De Laud. Stilich. II. 251.

The Gaelic spoken by the Scotch Highlanders is the same language as the Erse spoken by the Irish, and there can be no doubt that it was brought into Britain by the Irish Scots.

E. GOVERNMENT AND DIVISIONS OF BRITAIN UNDER THE ROMANS.

Britain, like the other distant provinces of the empire, was under the immediate superintendence of the emperor, and not of the senate. It was formed into a Roman province by the emperor Claudius after the campaign of A.D. 43, and was governed at first by a Legatus of consular rank: its financial affairs were administered by a procurator. It was subsequently divided by Septimius Severus into two parts, Britannia Superior and Inferior, each governed by a Præses.

The later organization of Britain is explained in the *Notitia Imperii*. When Diocletian divided the empire into four Præfectures, Britain formed the third great diocese in the præfecture of the Gauls, of which the Præfectus Prætorio resided, first at Trèves, and afterwards at Arles. Britain was governed by a Vicarius, who resided at Eboracum (York), and was subdivided into four provinces, Britannia Prima, Britannia Secunda, Flavia Caesariensis, and Maxima Caesariensis: to which a fifth, Valentia, was added by Theodosius in A.D. 368. The exact extent of these provinces is very uncertain, and the detailed situation of them in most maps rests mainly upon the so-called work of Richard of Clarendon, a monk of the 14th century, a shameless forgery by Charles Bertram in the 18th century.

ROMAN MILITARY COMMANDERS. The military forces were originally under the command of the Legatus, but after the separation of the civil and military administration of the provinces by Diocletian, they were placed under three chief military officers, who bore the titles of *Comes Britanniarum*, *Comes Littoris*

Saxonici per Britanniam, and *Dux Britanniarum*. The title of *Comes*, or Companion, was the highest, and the *Comes Britanniarum* had the chief command of the military forces in Britain. The *Comes Littoris Saxonici* has been already spoken of. The *Dux Britanniarum* had charge of the wall of Hadrian and the command of the troops in the northern part of the province.

At the time of the *Notitia* the Roman army in Britain consisted of about 20,000 men. The four legions sent over by Claudius were these:—II. *Augusta*; IX. *Hispana* or *Victrix*; XIV. *Gemina*; XX. *Valeria Victrix*; and the first and last remained in Britain during the four centuries of the Roman rule. The IXth was twice cut to pieces, in the revolt of Boadicea and under Agricola in Caledonia. The XIVth was twice withdrawn, by Nero and finally by Vespasian. The VIth (*Victrix*), when brought over from Germany (probably with Hadrian), made up the permanent force of three legions, with their auxiliaries, including barbarians from all parts of the empire. (This last fact is important in considering the influence of the Roman occupation on the population of Britain.) The VIth legion always had its head-quarters at York for the defence of the Northern Frontier. It bore the chief part in building the Wall, aided by detachments from the IInd and XXth. The XXth was, after several removes, permanently fixed at Deva (*Chester*), the *Civitas Legionum* of North Wales (or *Cuerleon on the Dee*), keeping watch on the mountaineers, and garrisoning the castles on the Cumbrian coast within the Wall. It had disappeared at the time of the *Notitia*. The IInd, with which Vespasian overran the south and west, was fixed among the mountains of South Wales, at Ica Silurum, the southern *Civitas Legionum* (*Cuerleon on the Usk*), whence it was finally transferred to Rutupia (*Richborough*), to guard the passage to the continent and the castles of the Saxon Shore. There was a third *Civitas Legionum* in Mid-Britain (*Leicester*, from the A.S. *Lege-caester*, as *Chester* also was called); but it does not seem to have been the permanent head-quarters of any legion. The auxiliary troops, as we learn from their inscriptions, were a very *colluvies gentium*—Spaniards, Gauls, Batavians, Dalmatians,

Pannonians, Dacians; besides Asiatics, who brought the worship of the Sun-god into Britain; and there was even a body of Parthian cavalry on the Severn at Uriconium (*Wroster*). Britons served abroad, but of native troops serving in the island, as the *Catuvellauni* and *Dumnonii*, among the builders of the Wall, the notices are few.

F. AUTHORITIES.

Some of the classical authorities respecting the early history of Britain have been alluded to in the preceding pages, and most of the passages bearing on the subject in the Greek and Latin writers, as well as in the ancient English authors, will be found collected in the *Monumenta Historica Britannica*, vol. i. 1849. The earliest English writer, *Bede* (A.D. 730), in his *Ecclesiastical History and Chronicle*, chiefly follows, for the Roman period, Jerome's version of the *Chronicle* of Eusebius, and other Latin chroniclers, the late and inaccurate Latin historians, Eutropius and the *Universal History* of Orosius, which comes down to A.D. 417. The *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle** follows Bede, and so do the later chroniclers, Florence of Worcester, Henry of Huntingdon, etc.; but those who wrote after the Norman Conquest are infected by the fabulous legends derived from Geoffrey of Monmouth. The *Welsh Chronicles* have few incidents of any value, but there are two early British writers professedly belonging to the age following the Roman dominion: (1.) GILDAS THE WISE, of whose life we have various accounts, appears in any case to have been a British ecclesiastic of high birth, born (as he himself tells us) in the year of the great battle of Mount Badon (516), and his death is placed in A.D. 570. His *Liber Querulus de Excidio Britannie*, which has come down to us in a very imperfect state, seems to have been written in Armorica (*Brittany*), where he had taken refuge from the advancing English conquerors, about A.D. 560. It is a history of Britain from the

Roman invasion to his own time, followed by a most obsequious letter to the British princes of Wales, written in a very inflated style. The work is printed in the *Monumenta Historica Britannica*. It has also been edited by the Rev. Joseph Stevenson, for the English Historical Society, 1838. (2.) The *Historia Britonum*, from the Creation to 687, ascribed to NENNIVS, is less trustworthy. It is often ascribed to Gildas, from whose work much of it is taken. It appears to be the production of an anonymous author, copied and interpolated by a scribe, perhaps named Nennius, in A.D. 858. The author professes to have collected his materials from the traditions of his elders, the monuments of the ancient Britons, the Latin chroniclers (Isidorus, Jerome, Prosper, &c.), and from the histories of the Scots and Saxons. It contains interesting traditions found here for the first time, but mixed with at least the germ of the fables collected by Geoffrey of Monmouth. It is edited in the *Monumenta Historica Britannica*, and by Mr. Stevenson. The most important modern works on Roman Britain are:—Camden's *Britannia*; Horsley's *Britannia Romana*; Stukely's *Stonehenge*; Whittaker's *History of Manchester*; Lappenberg's *History of England*, translated by Thorpe; *The Early and Middle Ages of England*, by Professor Pearson; Algernon Herbert's *Britannia under the Romans*; Bruce's *Roman Wall*; Böcking's *Notes on the Notitia Dignitatum*, vol. II. p. 496; Guest, *On the Early English Settlements in South Britain*, published in the *Proceedings of the Archaeological Institute*, meeting at Salisbury, 1849; also, *On the Four Roman Ways, On the Landing of Julius Caesar*, and *On the Campaign of Aulus Plautius*, in the *Archæological Journal*, vols. xiv., xxi., xxiii.; besides many papers by different authors in various antiquarian publications; Roach Smith's *Collectanea and Antiquities of Lyme, Richborough, and Reculver*; Wright's *The Celt, the Roman, and the Saxon*; Gibbon's *Decline and Fall*; and Dean Merivale's *History of the Romans under the Empire*.

* See Note D at end of chapter iv.

§ 1. THE people who ultimately succeeded in establishing themselves in this country were a branch of the Germanic race, and, under the general name of Saxons, inhabited the north-western coast of Germany, from the Cimbric Chersonesus, or present Denmark, to the mouths of the Rhine. The Germanic tribes have always been divided into two great branches, to which modern writers have given the name of *High German* (the people in the interior or higher parts of Germany) and *Low German* (the people in the lower parts of the country near the coast). The invaders belonged to the Low Germanic branch, and their language was closely allied to that of the modern Dutch. The Low Germanic tribes (called by Tacitus by various names, among whom the *Chauci** were dominant) were known to the Romans by the general name of *Saxons*. At the period of which we are speaking, we find them divided into three principal tribes, the Saxons proper, the Angles, and the Jutes.

I. *The Saxons.*†—The Saxons are first mentioned in the second century by Ptolemy, who places them upon the narrow neck of the Cimbric Chersonesus, and in three islands opposite the mouth of the Elbe. Thence their power extended westward as far as the mouths of the Rhine. Among the tribes absorbed by them were the Frisians, who probably formed the majority of the Saxon invaders of England, though they are only mentioned under the general name of Saxons.‡ The country south of the Thames, with the exception of Kent and the Isle of Wight, was occupied by the Saxons proper or Frisians, who founded the kingdoms of the South Saxons (*Sut-seaxe*, whence *Sussex*), of the West Saxons (*West-seaxe*, *Wes-sex*), and of the East Saxons (*East-seaxe*, *Es-sex*), the last including the Middle Saxons (whence *Middle-sex*).

II. *The Angles* (*Angle* or *Engle*) seem to have been a more numerous and powerful race, as they peopled a larger district of Britain, and at length gave their name to the whole land.§ The language which, with slight dialectic variations, was common to all the German invaders, was called *English* (*Englisc*), even before the island was called *England* (*Engla-lund*). The Angles settled

* These *Chauci*, and the *Frisii*, who appear as closely connected with them in Tacitus, seem to have the best claim to have been the ancestors of the English people. Their character and manners are described by Tacitus (Germ. 34, 35).

† Their name is usually derived from the large knife or short sword, *seax* or *sax*, which they carried.

‡ See Notes and Illustrations (A).

§ The Saxon kingdom of Wessex after-

wards obtained the political supremacy, and hence the name of Anglo-Saxon was given to the whole nation, whose kings assumed the title of *Rex Anglo-Saxonum*, i.e. of the *Angles* and *Saxons*. In some old documents England is called *Saxonía*, but this name is usually confined to the Saxon settlements. The original abode of the Saxons in Germany was called *Old Saxony* by the English.

in *East Anglia*, or the eastern counties north of Essex; in *Northumbria*, or all the region east of the central ridge,* from the Humber to the Forth; and penetrated into *Mercia*, that is, the border-land of the purer Anglian and Saxon settlements embracing the midland counties. The Angles are first mentioned by Tacitus † as claiming to be the noblest and most ancient of the tribes on the Baltic. The origin of their name is involved in obscurity; but may probably be traced in the much more powerful tribe of the *Angrivarii* (i.e. *Angre* or *Angle-warc*, "the Angle people"), whom Tacitus places on the Weser and the Elbe, in the rear of the Frisians and Saxons. These answer well to the *Angli*, whom Ptolemy describes as the greatest tribe of the interior of Germany. The early English writers supposed the Angles to have come from the Cimbric Chersonesus, where they inhabited a district called *Angel*, between the Saxons and the Jutes. There is still a district which bears this name between the river Schley and the Flensburg Fiord in Sleswig; but this region was much too small to have supplied the migration to Britain, and its people are rather a remnant than the source of the great Anglian race.

III. *The Jutes*.—These invaders were not so numerous even as the Saxons, and occupied only Kent, the Isle of Wight, and part of Hampshire. They came from the peninsula of Jutland, which is now inhabited by the Danes; but it is probable that the possessions of the Germans, who at present people the southern part of the peninsula, extended further north in ancient times, and there are reasons for believing that the Jutes were Goths, who, like the Saxons and Angles, were also a Low Germanic race. The Jutes seem to have been more closely connected with the Angles than with the Saxons; and the first Jutish settlers in Kent are also called Angles in the earliest records. Bede speaks collectively of the people to whom the Britons sent for aid as "the race of the Angles or Saxons." ‡

§ 2. The German races who invaded Britain were Pagan barbarians. Their religion, which was common to them with the Scandinavians, seems to have been a compound between the worship of the celestial bodies and that of deified heroes. This fact will appear from the names they applied to the days of the week, which custom has still retained among us. Thus *Sunnandæg* and *Monandæg*, Sunday and Monday, were named after the two great luminaries. The name of Tuesday is derived from *Tiw*, probably the same as the *Tuisco* of Tacitus, the national deity of the Teutons.

* This ridge, running north and south from the Cheviots to the Peak Forest in Derbyshire, is called the *Dorsum Britannicæ* or *Pennine Chain*.

† *Germania*, c. 40.

‡ *Anglorum sive Saxonum gens*, Bede, H. E. i. 15.

Wodnesday, or Wednesday, was sacred to Woden or Odin, the god of war, common to all the Teutonic and Scandinavian races. That he must have been a deified hero and king appears from the circumstance that those leaders, whose kindred formed the royal houses among the Anglo-Saxons, for the most part derived their descent from Woden. *Thunresday* ("thunder's-day"), or Thursday, was named after the god Thor, the thunderer, equivalent to the Greek and Roman Jove, who wielded a hammer instead of a thunder-bolt. *Frya-day*, or Friday, was sacred to the goddess Freya, the northern Venus and consort of Woden. Lastly, Saturday derived its name from *Sætere*, who, from the attributes with which he is represented, viz. a fish and a bucket, appears to have been a water-god.

Besides these, the Anglo-Saxons had many other deities. They believed in the immortality of the soul and the existence of a supernatural world; but their worship, though fanciful and superstitious, was not tainted with so much cruelty as disfigured that of the Druids. Their sensual notions of a future state were calculated, like those of the Mahometans, to inspire them with a contempt for death. They believed that if they obtained the favour of Woden by their valour (for they made less account of other virtues) they should be admitted after this life into his hall, and, reposing on couches, should satiate themselves with ale or mead from the skulls of their enemies whom they had slain in battle. Incited by this idea of paradise, which gratified at once the passion of revenge and that of intemperance, the ruling inclinations of barbarians, they despised the dangers of war, and increased their native ferocity against the vanquished by their religious prejudices.

§ 3. The ships, or "keels" (*ceolas*), of the Saxons appear at an ancient period to have been rudely constructed of a few planks surmounted with wattled osiers and covered with skins; and in these frail vessels they fearlessly trusted themselves without a compass to the winds and waves of the stormy ocean which washed their shores; but in the fifth century their ships may have been enlarged in size and improved in solidity of construction. The arms of the Anglo-Saxons were targets worn on the left arm, spears, bows and arrows, swords, battle-axes, and heavy clubs furnished with spikes of iron. Sidonius, the bishop of Clermont, has described the terror inspired by these barbarians. "We have not," he says, "a more cruel and more dangerous enemy than the Saxons. They overcome all who have the courage to oppose them. They surprise all who are so imprudent as not to be prepared for their attack. When they pursue, they infallibly overtake: when they are pursued, their escape is certain. They despise danger: they are inured to shipwreck: they are eager to purchase booty with the peril of their

lives. Tempests, so dreadful to others, are to them subjects of joy. The storm is their protection when they are pressed by the enemy, and a cover for their operations when they meditate an attack. Before they quit their own shores, they devote to the altars of their gods the tenth part of the principal captives; and when they are on the point of returning, the lots are cast with an affectation of equity, and the impious vow is fulfilled.* Such were the barbarians who were now approaching the British shores.

§ 4. *First settlement of the German invaders, A.D. 450.*—The first arrival of the Saxon tribes in England is commonly placed either in the year 449 or 450.† Of the manner of their coming and their first proceedings in the island we find two sets of traditions, those of the British and those of the English writers, which vary in many important particulars. According to the former, the two Jutish leaders, Hengest and Horsa, being banished from their native country, and wandering about with their followers in three vessels in quest of new habitations, were invited by the British king, Vortigern, to assist him against the Scots and Picts. For the services which he had rendered, Hengest and his followers were rewarded with the Isle of Thanet, separated at that time by a broad estuary from the rest of Kent.‡ Hengest now sent over to his native country for reinforcements, and also caused his daughter Rowena, who was celebrated for her beauty, to be conveyed to the land of his adoption. At a great feast given by the Saxons, Vortigern beheld Rowena, received from her hands the wassail cup, and, captivated by her charms, renounced Christianity for her sake, and ceded to Hengest the remainder of Kent in return for her hand. His indignant subjects now deposed Vortigern, and placed his son Vortimer on the throne, who defeated Hengest in three great battles, and compelled him to retire for some years from Britain. Rowena having contrived to poison Vortimer, Vortigern again ascended the throne, and recalled his father-in-law Hengest; but as the Britons refused to reinstate him in his possessions, a conference of 300 of the chiefs of each nation was appointed to be held at Stonehenge in order to settle the points in dispute. In the midst of the discussion Hengest suddenly exclaimed to his followers, “*Nimath eowre seaxas*” (take your knives), and 299 Britons fell dead upon the spot. Vortigern alone was spared, for whose ransom three provinces, afterwards known as Essex, Sussex, and Middlesex,

* *Sidon.* viii. 6, quoted by Lingard, i. p. 73.

† The invasion is placed by Bede and the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* in the first year of the reign of the emperor Marcian, which corresponds to A.D. 450. though

they wrongly call it A.D. 449. The date must not be taken as a *fact* in chronology, but as a calculation of the early writers (chiefly Bede) from certain data, not all of which are consistent.

‡ See Notes and Illustrations (B).

were demanded. Over these Hengest reigned, and was succeeded by his son Octa, called in the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* Æsc.

In this narrative British and Roman traditions are confounded with the old Saxon Saga of the manner in which the Saxons gained possession of Thuringia. The principal assertion of the narrative, that Hengest received the three provinces mentioned as the ransom of Vortigern, is of all the least true, as they did not fall under the Saxon dominion till a much later period. These stories seem to have been invented by Welsh authors in order to palliate the ineffectual resistance made at first by their countrymen, and to account for the rapid progress and licentious devastations of the Saxons.

§ 5. The accounts of the conquerors themselves, as recorded by Bede, the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*,* and others, are more to be relied upon.† According to these authorities, which differ in minor details, Vortigern invited the Angles to his assistance in 449. They landed at Hypwines-fleet, "fought against the Picts, and had victory whithersoever they came." Sending to their country for reinforcements, a larger army landed in the country, consisting of Old Saxons, Angles, and Jutes. After an easy triumph, the victorious Jutes invited their countrymen beyond the sea to come and take possession of a fertile island, which the sloth and cowardice of the inhabitants had rendered them unable to defend. Several battles were fought. At the battle of Æglesford, the lowest ford on the Medway (the present Aylesford), Horsa was slain (A.D. 455).‡ Two years after, another great battle was fought between the Saxons and Britons at Greganford (Crayford) in Kent, when the Saxons, led by Hengest and his son, surnamed Æsc (or the Ash), gained a signal victory. The Britons were completely driven out of Kent, and Hengest and his son assumed kingly power. In 465 Hengest and Æsc gained a great victory over twelve British chieftains near

* See Notes and Illustrations to chapter iv. (C).

† Lappenberg, Sir Francis Palgrave, and Kemble regard the whole account of the Anglo-Saxon conquest as of no historical value, and maintain that we have no real history of the Anglo-Saxons till their conversion to Christianity, 150 years later. Hengest and Horsa, it is said, are mythical personages, Hengest (*Hengst*) and Horsa being the Teutonic names for stallion and horse. There are, however, good reasons for believing that the commonly received account of the conquest is based upon historical facts. See Dr. Guest in the *Proceedings of the Archaeo-*

logical Institute for 1849. It is to be observed that there must have been old English records, which are followed independently by Bede and the *Chronicle*. Bede expressly says that he used such authorities; and the *Chronicle*, which generally follows Bede, gives events (especially details of the conquest) not found in the earlier writer.

‡ According to Bede, the monument of Horsa was still to be seen in his time in the eastern part of Kent; and two miles north of Aylesford, at a place called Horsted, a collection of flint-stones is pointed out as the tomb of Horsa.

Wippedsfleet (Ebbes-fleet?): eight years later they "fought against the Welsh (i.e. the Britons) and took spoils innumerable, and the Welsh fled from the Angles like fire" (A.D. 473).^{*} According to British accounts, the Britons rallied under Ambrosius Aurelianus† and Vortimer, the son of Vortigern, who won three great battles, and drove the invaders back to Thanet. Hengest died in the 40th year after his arrival in Britain, and was succeeded by Æsc, who reigned 24 years, and won more territory from the Britons. He was the founder of the dynasty of the Æscings, or Ashings,‡ sons of the Ashtree, the name given to the kings of Kent.

§ 6. *Second Settlement of the German invaders, A.D. 477.*—In the year 477, four years after the decisive victory of Hengest, Ella (Ælla, or Ælle), with his three sons, Cymen, Wlencing, and Cissa, landed with a body of Saxons from three ships at the place afterwards called Cymenes-ora (Shoreham), upon the eastern side of Chichester harbour in Sussex; but the Britons were not expelled, till after many battles, by their warlike invaders. The most graphic record in the whole story of the conquest is that of the capture of the old Roman town of Anderida, or Andredes-ceaster (Pevensey), by Ella and Cissa, "who slew all that dwelt therein, nor was a single Briton left there" (491). Ella assumed the title of king of the *South-Saxons* or *Sussex*, and extended his dominion over the modern county of Sussex and a great part of Surrey. Ella is said to have died between 514 and 519. He was succeeded by his son Cissa, in whose line the kingdom of Sussex remained for a long period, though we know not even the name of any of his successors. The capital of this kingdom was Chichester (Cissa-ceaster, the fortress or city of Cissa), the British and Roman *Regnum*. To these German invaders is due the division of Sussex into *rapes*, which again are divided into *hundreds*.

§ 7. *Third settlement of the German invaders, A.D. 495.*—The third body of German invaders were, like the last, also Saxons. They landed in 495, under the command of Cerdic and his son Cynric, at a place called Cerdices-ora, which was probably at the head of the Hamble creek, on the eastern side of Southampton Water. None of the invaders met with such vigorous resistance, or exerted so much valour and perseverance in pushing their conquests. Cerdic did not make much progress till six years later, after calling in further aid from the continent. In 514 Cerdic was reinforced by

^{*} The *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* is the authority for all these battles.

† He is represented as the leader of the Romanized Britons, in opposition to

Vortigern.

‡ The termination *-ing* is the sign of the Anglo-Saxon patronymic.

the arrival of his nephews, Stuf and Wihtgar, who are also represented as Jutish leaders. Cerdic's power now became more formidable; many districts were conquered, and among them the Isle of Wight, which Cerdic bestowed on his nephews (530). It was not, however, till his great victory over the Britons at Cerdices-ford (or Charford, in Hampshire), in 519, that Cerdic assumed the royal title and erected the kingdom of the *West-Saxons* or *Wessex*. Cerdic's further progress towards the west was checked by a great defeat which he received in the following year at Mount Badon* from Arthur, prince of the Damnonii, whose heroic valour now sustained the declining fate of his country. This is that Arthur so much celebrated in the songs of British bards, and whose military achievements have been blended with so many fables as even to have given occasion for entertaining a doubt of his real existence. But, though poets disfigure the lineaments of history by their fictions, and use strange liberties with truth where they are the sole historians, as among the Britons, they have commonly some real foundation for their wildest exaggerations.

Cerdic died in 534, leaving his dominions to his son Cynric, who ruled till his death in 560, and considerably extended his kingdom, the capital of which was Wintan-ceaster, or Winchester, the Roman Venta Belgarum. Cynric was succeeded by his son Ceawlin, who took from the Britons the great Roman cities of Gloucester, Cirencester, and Bath (577), and extended his conquests up the valley of the Severn, as well as to the north of the Thames.†

§ 8. *Fourth settlement of the German invaders*, A.D. 526.—These invaders were also Saxons. They founded the kingdom of the *East-Saxons* or *Essex*, to which the *Middle-Saxons* or *Middlesex* also belonged. Eadwin was the first king of Essex; but his son Sledda, who married a daughter of Æthelberht of Kent, appears as a subject of his father-in-law; and Essex, though styled a kingdom, seems always to have been subject to the neighbouring kings.

§ 9. *Fifth settlement of the German invaders*.—The four preceding invasions had been made by the Jutes and Saxons; but the next two settlements consisted of Angles. Towards the middle or end of the sixth century, for the exact date is unknown, some Angles, apparently divided into two tribes, the *North-Folk* and

* Mount Badon is usually identified with Bath; but Dr. Guest adduces strong reasons for believing it to be Badbury, near Blandford, in Dorsetshire. (*Ut supra*, p. 63.) The year of the battle of Mount Badon was also that of the birth of Gildas, who exults over the "slaughter of the villains" (*de furef'fortis*). He represents

it as separating a time of conflict and disaster from one of comparative repose, during which, however, the Britons grew more and more corrupt.

† See Dr. Guest's "English Conquest of the Severn Valley," in the *Archæological Journal* for 1862, vol. xix. pp. 193, foll.

the *South-Folk*, founded the kingdom of East Anglia, comprising the modern counties of *Norfolk* and *Suffolk*, and parts of Cambridgeshire and Huntingdonshire. Hardly anything is known of the history of East Anglia. Uffa is said to have been the first king, and his descendants were styled Uffingas, just as the race of Kentish kings were called *Æscingas*.

§ 10. *Sixth settlement of the German invaders, about A.D. 547.*—The country to the north of the Humber had been early separated into two British states, namely, *Deifyr* (*Deora-rice*), extending from the Humber to the Tyne, and *Berneich* (*Beorna-rice*), lying between the Tyne and the Forth. These names, afterwards Latinized into *Deira* and *Bernicia*, were retained till a late period. The two countries were separated by a vast forest occupying the district between the Tyne and the Tees, or the modern county of Durham. According to a tradition preserved by Nennius, Hengest sent for his son Ohta, and for Ebissa the son of Horsa, who came over in forty ships, and settled in the north of Britain, up to the confines of the Picts. It cannot be doubted that the Angles had occupied parts of Northumbria at an early period; though it was not till the conquests of Ida, who fought his way southward from the Lothians, that the Angles obtained the supremacy (547). Ida became king of Bernicia, and transmitted his power to his son; and a separate Anglian kingdom was founded in Deira by Ella. These two kingdoms remained for some years in a state of hostility with one another; but they were united in the person of Æthelfrith or Ædelfrid, grandson of Ida, who had married a daughter of Ella, and who expelled her infant brother Edwin. It was not, however, till the restoration of Edwin, in 617, that the united kingdoms seem to have assumed the name of Northumbria, which was for some time the most powerful of the Anglo-Saxon states.

§ 11. The country to the west of East Anglia and Deira was known by the name of the *March* or boundary, and was invaded by Anglian chieftains, who were for some time subject to the kings of Northumbria. It was erected into an independent state by Penda, about 626, under the name of the *March* or *Mercia*, which was subsequently extended to the Severn, and comprised the whole of the centre of England. It was divided by the Trent into North and South Mercia.

§ 12. Thus, after a century and a half, was gradually established in Britain what has been called the Heptarchy, or seven Anglo-Saxon kingdoms, namely Kent, Sussex, Wessex, Essex, East Anglia, Mercia, and Northumbria. The term is not strictly correct, for there were never exactly seven independent kingdoms co-existent; and, if the smaller and dependent ones are reckoned, the number

must be considerably increased. The Britons, or ancient Celtic inhabitants, driven into the western parts of the island, formed several small states. In the extreme south-west lay *Damnonia*, called also *West Wales*, the kingdom of Arthur, occupying at first the



Map of Britain, showing the Settlements of the Anglo-Saxons.

present counties of Cornwall and Devonshire, but limited at a later period, after the separation of Cernau, or Cornwall, to Dyvnaint, or Devonshire. In Somersetshire, Wiltshire, and Dorsetshire, conquered by the West Saxons at an early period, a large native population still maintained its ground. This was likewise the case

in Devonshire long after its occupation by the Saxons; whence the inhabitants of that district obtained the name of the "Welsh kind." *Cumbria*, or *Wales*, was divided into several small kingdoms or principalities. The name of Welsh (*Wealas*) was the German term for foreigners, or those who speak another language, and *Wälsch* is still applied by the Germans to the Italians. The history of the Celts who dwelt in *Cumbria*, to the north of Wales, is involved in obscurity. *Cumbria*, or Cumberland, properly so called, included, besides the present county, Westmoreland and Lancashire, and extended into Northumbria, probably as far as the modern Leeds. *Caerleol*, or *Carlisle*, was its chief city. North of *Cumbria*, between the two Roman walls, and to the west of the kingdom of *Bernicia*, were situated two other British kingdoms: *Reged*, in the southern portion of the district, nearly identical perhaps with *Annandale*, in *Dumfriesshire*; and *Strathclyde*, embracing the counties of *Dumbarton*, *Renfrew*, and *Dumfries*, and probably also those of *Peebles*, *Selkirk*, and *Lanark*. These kingdoms were sometimes united under one chief, or *Pendragon*, called also *Tiern*, or *tyrannus*, who, like other British princes, regarded himself as the successor, and even as the descendant, of *Constantine* or *Maximus*. The Welsh called all the *Angles* and *Saxons* by the name of *Saxons*, as they call the *English* to this day.

Besides the Britons who found shelter in these western and mountainous regions from the fury of the *Saxon* and *Anglian* invaders, great numbers of them, under the conduct of their priests and chieftains, abandoned their native shores altogether, and settled in *Armorica*, on the western coast of *France*, which from them derived its subsequent name of *Bretagne*, or *Brittany*.

The completeness of the conquest made by the *Anglo-Saxons* is inferred from the fact that their language forms to this day the staple of our own; but with regard to their treatment of the conquered land, and their relations towards the natives, we are almost entirely in the dark. It is usually stated that the *Saxons* either exterminated the original population, or drove them into the western parts of the island; but there are good reasons for believing that this was not uniformly the case; and we may conclude from the *Welsh* traditions, and from the number of *Celtic* words still existing in the *English* language, that a considerable number of the *Celtic* inhabitants remained upon the soil as the slaves or subjects of their conquerors.*

§ 13. As it would be useless to follow the obscure and often doubtful details of the several *Anglo-Saxon* states, we shall content ourselves with selecting the more remarkable events that occurred

* This subject is more fully discussed in the Notes and Illustrations (C).

down to the time when all the kingdoms were united under the authority of Egbert. The title of *Bretwalda*, or *Brytenwealda*, that is, supreme commander or emperor of Britain, which was given or assumed by him, is assigned in the *Chronicle* to seven earlier kings, whose supremacy among the Anglo-Saxon sovereigns affords some bond of connection to their histories.*

The first who held this sort of supremacy, according to Bede,† was Ella, king of the South Saxons. Ceawlin, king of the West Saxons, or Wessex, the grandson of Cerdic, was the second. The Æscing, Æthelberht‡ of Kent, disputed the supremacy with him, but was overthrown in a great battle at Wibbandun (Wimbledon), which won Surrey for Wessex (568). Ceawlin united many districts to his kingdom; but, from some unknown cause, the termination of his reign was singularly unprosperous. His own subjects, and even his own relations, with the Britons and Scots, united against him. He was defeated in a great battle at Wodesbeorg (probably Wanborough, near Swindon, in Wilts), in the year 592, and died in exile two years afterwards.

§ 14. After the expulsion of Ceawlin, Æthelberht of Kent obtained the supremacy, to which he had for so many years aspired. The most memorable event of his reign was the introduction of Christianity among the Anglo-Saxons, for the reception of which the mind of Æthelberht had been prepared through his marriage with the Christian princess Bertha, daughter of Charibert, the Frank king of Paris. But the immediate cause of its introduction was an incident which occurred at Rome. It happened that Gregory, who afterwards, under the title of the Great, occupied the papal chair, had observed in the market-place of Rome some Anglian youths exposed for sale, whom the Roman merchants, in their trading voyages to Britain, had bought of their mercenary parents. Struck with the beauty of their fair complexions and blooming countenances, Gregory asked to what country they belonged. Being told that they were *Angles*, he replied that they ought more properly to be denominated *angels*: for it was a pity, he said, that the prince of darkness should enjoy so fair a prey, and that so beautiful an exterior should cover a mind destitute of internal grace and righteousness. Inquiring

* The existence of the *Bretwaldas*, at least in the earlier times, is disputed by Mr. Hallam and Mr. Kemble. The title itself occurs, for the first and only time, in the *Chronicle*, in connection with the supremacy of Egbert, "the eighth king that was *Bretwalda*," and then the other seven are named. The list is taken from the passage in Bede, where he names Æthelberht as the third among the kings

of the English race who held some sort of supremacy over all the provinces south of the Humber; the limitation applying of course only to the first four, not to the three Northumbrians.

† "Imperium hujusmodi," Bede, H. E. II. 5.

‡ Usually called Ethelbert, the corrupt form of the name.

further concerning the name of their province, he was informed that it was Deira, a district of Northumbria. "Deira," replied he, "that is good! They are called to the mercy of God from his anger (*de ira*). But what is the name of the king of that province?" He was told it was Ælla, or Alla. "Allelujah!" cried he; "we must endeavour that the praises of God be sung in their country." Moved by these auguries, which appeared to him so happy, Gregory determined to undertake himself a mission into Britain, and, having obtained the Pope's approbation, prepared for the journey; but his popularity at home was so great, that the Romans, unwilling to expose him to such dangers, opposed his design; and he was obliged for the present to lay aside all further thoughts of executing his pious purpose.*

After his accession to the pontificate, Gregory, anxious for the conversion of Britain, sent Augustine, a Roman monk, with forty associates, to preach the gospel in this island. Terrified with the danger of propagating the faith among so fierce a people, of whose language they were ignorant the missionaries stopped some time in Gaul, and sent back Augustine to lay the hazards and difficulties of the undertaking before the pope, and crave his permission to return. But Gregory exhorted them to persevere; and Augustine, on his arrival in Kent in the year 597, found the danger much less than he had apprehended. Æthelberht, already well disposed towards the Christian faith, assigned him a habitation in the Isle of Thanet, and soon after admitted him to a conference. Encouraged by his favourable reception, and seeing now a prospect of success, Augustine proceeded with redoubled zeal to preach the gospel to the people of Kent. Numbers were converted and baptized, and the king himself was persuaded to submit to the same rite. Augustine was consecrated archbishop of Canterbury, was endowed by Gregory with authority over all the British churches, and in token of his new dignity received the pall from Rome (601). Christianity was soon afterwards introduced into the kingdom of Essex whose sovereign, Sæberht or Sebert, was Æthelberht's nephew; and through the influence of Æthelberht, Mellitus, who had been the apostle of Christianity in Essex, was appointed to the bishopric of London, where a church dedicated to St. Paul was erected, as some say, on the site of a former temple of Diana. Sebert also erected on Thorney Island, which was formed by the branches of a small river falling into the Thames, a church dedicated to St. Peter, where West-

* This celebrated story is told by Bede (H. 1), and is copied from him, with slight variations, by other mediæval writers. The names indicate that the

legend is nothing more than a monkish and poetical version of the introduction of Christianity into the North Anglian settlements of the island.

minster Abbey now stands. In Kent the see of Rochester was founded by Augustine, and bestowed upon Justus.

§ 15. The marriage of Æthelberht with Bertha, and, much more his adoption of Christianity, brought his subjects into connection with the Franks, Italians, and other nations of the continent, and tended to reclaim them from that gross ignorance and barbarity in which all the Saxon and Anglian tribes had been hitherto involved. Æthelberht also, with the advice of his counsellors, enacted a body of laws, the first written laws promulgated by any of the German conquerors. He governed the kingdom of Kent 51 years, and, dying in 616, left the succession to his son Eadbald, who possessed neither the abilities nor the authority of his father. The supremacy among the Anglo-Saxon kingdoms south of the Humber passed to the fourth *Bretwalda*, Redwald, king of the East Angles (586-624). The protection afforded by Redwald to young Edwin, the rightful heir of the kingdom of Deira, brought him into collision with Æthelfrith, king of Northumbria. It has been already mentioned that Æthelfrith had united Deira to Bernicia, by seizing upon it at the death of Ella, whose daughter he had married, and expelling her infant brother Edwin. Redwald marched into Northumbria, and fought a battle with Æthelfrith, who was defeated and killed, on the banks of the Idle in Nottinghamshire (617). His sons, Eanfrid, Oswald, and Oswy, yet infants, were carried into the land of the Picts, and Edwin was restored to the crown.

§ 16. Edwin subsequently became the fifth *Bretwalda*, and all the Anglo-Saxon states, with the exception of Kent, acknowledged his supremacy. He distinguished himself by his influence over the other kingdoms, and by the strict execution of justice in his own. He reclaimed his subjects from the licentious life to which they had been accustomed; and it was a common saying that during his reign a woman with her infant might go on foot from sea to sea without fear of violence or robbery. A remarkable instance has been transmitted to us of the affection borne him by his servants. His enemy, Cwichelm, king of Wessex, finding himself unable to maintain open war against so powerful a prince, determined to use treachery against him, and employed one Eomer for that purpose. The assassin, having obtained admittance on pretence of delivering a message from Cwichelm, drew his dagger and rushed upon the king. His thegn Lilla, seeing his master's danger, and having no other means of defence, interposed his own person between the king and Eomer's dagger, which was pushed with such violence, that it wounded Edwin through the body of his faithful attendant (626).*

* Bede, II. 9.

This event, as well as the birth of a daughter the same night, is said to have hastened Edwin's conversion to Christianity. After the death of his first consort, a Mercian princess, Edwin had married Æthelburga, the daughter of Æthelberht, king of Kent. This lady, emulating the glory of her mother Bertha, who had been instrumental in converting her husband and his people to Christianity, carried Paulinus, a learned bishop, along with her; and, besides stipulating for toleration in the exercise of her own religion, which was readily granted her, she used every effort to persuade the king to embrace it. Her exertions, seconded by those of Paulinus, were successful. Edwin was baptized on Easter Day, A.D. 627, at York, in a wooden church hastily erected for the occasion, and dedicated to St. Peter. Subsequently York was raised into an archbishopric; Paulinus was appointed the first northern metropolitan, and a handsome church of stone was built for his cathedral. From York, as a centre, Christianity was propagated, though not without some vicissitudes, throughout the neighbouring Anglian countries.

§ 17. Evil days for Northumbria were now approaching. Edwin was slain in battle by Penda, the powerful king of Mercia (633). Northumbria was divided into two separate kingdoms, and the people, with their monarchs, relapsed into Paganism. In 634 Oswald, the son of Æthelrith, again united the kingdoms of Northumbria, and restored the Christian religion, in which he and his brothers had been brought up during their exile among the Picts. For, while South Britain was overrun by heathen conquerors, Christianity had been firmly planted among the Scots and Picts by the missionaries led from Ireland by St. Columba, who had his chief seat in the sacred island of Hii (Iona).^{*} Oswald was also acknowledged as the sixth *Bretwalda*, and reigned, according to the expression of Bede, over the four nations of Britain—the Angles, the Britons, the Picts, and the Scots. His reign, however, was short. He became involved in a war with Penda, A.D. 642, and, like Edwin, was defeated and slain. His corpse was treated with great brutality; but he was canonized by the church as a saint and martyr; his scattered limbs were collected as relics, and were held to be endowed with miraculous powers. Penda penetrated as far as Bamborough, the residence of the Northumbrian princes on the coast of Northumberland; but, after a fruitless siege, he was obliged to retire and evacuate the kingdom.

§ 18. On the death of Oswald his brother Oswy succeeded to his kingdom and to the dignity of *Bretwalda*. He defeated and slew the formidable Penda in a great battle near Leeds, in 655. The

^{*} St. Columba died in the same year in which Augustine came to England (597).

reign of Oswy was rendered memorable by a most destructive pestilence called the *yellow plague*, which, commencing in 664, ravaged the whole island for twenty years, with the exception of the northern Highlands. Oswy died in 670, and with him the dignity of *Bretwalda* expired, till it was revived by Egbert.

His warlike successor, Ecgfrith, maintained and increased his power over Mercia; but his ambition to subdue the land of the Picts led to the destruction of his army and his own death on the moor of Nechtansmere (685). The blow was fatal to the supremacy of Northumbria; but her decline was gilded by the dawning glories of English literature. The last half of the seventh and the first half of the eighth century saw the foundation of the monasteries of Whitby, Jarrow, and Wearmouth, and the great school of learning at York; and produced the poems of CÆDMON and the history of BEDE.* But this very culture tempted the Northumbrian kings to lay down the sword for the cloister; and during most of the eighth century the annals of Northumbria present little more than a series of seditions, usurpations, and murders. Agriculture was neglected; the land was desolated by famine and pestilence. To fill up the measure of its calamities, the Northmen landed in Lindisfarn in 793 and in the following year at Ecgferthes-Minster (probably Wearmouth), plundering and destroying the churches and monasteries in those places. After the death of Æthelred (A.D. 795) universal anarchy prevailed in Northumbria; and the people, having by so many fatal revolutions lost all attachment to their government and princes, were well prepared for subjection to a foreign yoke. This was finally imposed upon them by Ecgbricht or Egbert, king of Wessex; to the history of which kingdom, as finally swallowing up all the rest, we must now hasten.

§ 19. The history of the kings of Wessex presents nothing remarkable till we arrive at the reign of Ine or Ina, who ascended the throne in 688. Ina was remarkable for his justice, policy, and prudence. He treated the Britons of Somersetshire and the adjoining districts (the *Wealas*, or Welsh-kind), whom he had subdued, with a humanity hitherto unknown to the Saxon conquerors. He allowed the proprietors to retain possession of their lands, encouraged marriages and alliances between them and his ancient subjects, and granted them the privilege of being governed by the same laws. These laws he augmented and ascertained; and, though he was disturbed by some insurrections at home, his long reign of 37 years may be regarded as one of the most glorious and most prosperous in the annals of the Anglo-Saxons. In the decline of his age he made a pilgrimage to Rome, where he died in 728.

* See Notes and Illustrations to chapter iv.

Egbert was the fourth in descent from Ingild, Iua's brother ; and being a young man of the most promising hopes, gave great jealousy to the reigning king, Beorhtric (or Brihtric), both because he seemed by his birth better entitled to the crown, and had acquired in an eminent degree the affections of the people. Egbert, sensible of his danger from the suspicions of Brihtric, secretly withdrew into Gaul, where he was well received by Charles the Great, or *Charlemagne*, king of the Franks. By residing in the court and serving in the armies of that prince, the most able and most generous that had appeared in Europe during several ages, Egbert acquired those accomplishments which afterwards enabled him to make such a shining figure on the throne.

It was not long before Egbert had an opportunity of displaying his natural and acquired abilities. Brihtric was accidentally killed by partaking of a cup of poison which his wife Eadburga, daughter of Offa, king of Mercia, had mixed for a young nobleman who had acquired her husband's friendship, and had on that account become the object of her jealousy. Egbert was now recalled from Gaul by the nobility of Wessex, and ascended the throne of his ancestors, A.D. 800. His future career may have been shaped by the example of Charles the Great, who, in the year of Egbert's recall, was crowned at Rome by pope Leo III., as Augustus or Emperor of the West (Christmas Day, 800). Egbert turned his arms against the Britons in Cornwall and Wales, but was recalled from these conquests by an invasion of his dominions by Beornwulf, king of Mercia. To explain that circumstance, and close the history of the other Anglo-Saxon states, we must here take a retrospective glance at the events that had happened in Mercia.

§ 20. After the death of Penda, the history of Mercia presents little of importance till we arrive at the long reign of Æthelbald (716-755). This sovereign appears to have possessed as much power as any of the Bretwaldas, though he is not called by that title. He distinguished himself by many successful conflicts with the Britons, against whom he united under his standard East Anglia, Kent, Essex, and for a while also Wessex. At one period he asserted his supremacy over all England south of the Humber, and in a charter of the year 736 signs himself "King of Britain." He was defeated at Burford in 752 by the West Saxons, and perished three years after. Æthelbald, after a short period of usurpation by Beornred, was succeeded by Offa, the most celebrated of all the Mercian princes. This monarch, after he had gained several victories over the other Anglo-Saxon princes, turned his arms against the Britons of Cambria, whom he repeatedly defeated (776). He settled the level country to the east of the mountains, between

the Wye and the Severn, with Anglians; for whose protection he constructed the mound or rampart between the mouth of the Dee and that of the Wye, known as Offa's Dyke, traces of which may still be discerned. The king of Mercia had now become so considerable, that Charles the Great entered into an alliance and friendship with him. As Charles was a great lover of learning and learned men, Offa, at his desire, sent to him Alcuin, a Northumbrian monk much celebrated for his scholarship. Alcuin received great honours from Charles, and even became his preceptor in the sciences. Charles, in return, made Offa many costly presents.

But the glory and successes of Offa were stained by the treacherous murder of Æthelberht, king of the East Angles, whilst sojourning at his court as a suitor for his daughter, and by his violent seizure of Æthelberht's kingdom in 792. Overcome by remorse, Offa endeavoured to atone for his crime by liberality to the church. He founded the monastery of St. Albans. He engaged to pay the sovereign pontiff a yearly donation for the support of an English college at Rome, and imposed the tax of a penny on each house possessed of thirty pence a year.* This imposition, levied afterwards on all England, was commonly denominated *Peter's-pence*: and though conferred at first as a gift for the maintenance of a college, it was afterwards claimed as a tribute by the Roman pontiff.

Offa died in 796. The reigns of his successors deserve little attention. Mercia, instead of continuing to be the leading state among the Anglo-Saxons, fell rapidly into decay; through its internal dissensions, and was thus easily reduced by the arms of Egbert, to whose history we must now return.

§ 21. Egbert had already possessed the throne of Wessex for nearly a quarter of a century, when his dominions, as before noticed, were invaded by Beornwulf, king of Mercia. Egbert defeated the invaders at Ellendun (823), and subdued with facility the tributary kingdoms of Kent and Sussex; while the East Angles, out of hatred to the Mercian government, immediately rose in arms, and put themselves under the protection of Egbert. To engage the Mercians more easily to submission, Egbert allowed Wiglaf, their countryman, to retain the title of king, while he himself exercised the real sovereignty (828). The anarchy which prevailed in Northumbria, as already related, tempted him to carry his victorious arms still further; and the inhabitants, unable to resist his

* Less trustworthy authorities consider Offa's liberality as only a confirmation of that of Ina, king of the West-Saxons, who is also said to have founded a school

at Rome, and to have laid for its support a tax of one penny under the name of *Rom-feoh*, or *Rome-scot*, on every house in his kingdom.

power, and desirous of possessing some established form of government, were forward, on his first appearance, to send deputies, who submitted to his authority, and swore allegiance to him as their sovereign, at Dore, in Derbyshire. Egbert, however, still conceded to Northumbria, as he had done to Mercia and East Anglia, the power of electing their own kings, who paid him tribute and were dependent on him. These three subordinate kingdoms remained under their own sovereigns, as vassals of Egbert, till they were swallowed up by the Danish invasion.

Thus all the Anglo-Saxon kingdoms were united under the supremacy of one king, nearly 400 years after the first arrival of the Anglo-Saxons in Britain. This event took place in the year 827.

NOTES AND ILLUSTRATIONS.

A. THE FRISIANS TOOK PART IN THE SAXON INVASION OF BRITAIN.

This appears from the following facts:—1. Procopius says (Bell. Goth. iv. 20) that Britain was inhabited in his time (the 6th century) by three races, the Angles, Frisians, and Britons. The omission of the Saxons, and the substitution of the Frisians, can be accounted for only on the supposition that *Frisians* and *Saxons* were convertible terms. 2. The traditions of the Frisians and Flemings claim Hengest as their ancestor, and relate that he was banished from their country. 3. In old German poetry it is expressly stated that the Frisians were formerly called Saxons. 4. Many English words and some grammatical forms are more closely allied to those of the old Frisic than to those of any other German dialect. For instance, the English sign of the infinitive mood, *to*, is found in the old Frisic, and not in any other German dialect. On this subject see Davies "On the Races of Lancashire," in the *Transactions of the Philological Society* for 1855.

B. THE ISLE OF THANET.

The Isle of Thanet was in Anglo-Saxon times, and long afterwards, separated from the rest of Kent by a broad strait,

called by Bede the *Wudu-sæm*. The Stour, instead of being a narrow stream, as at present, was then a broad river, opening into a wide estuary between Sandwich and Ramsgate, in the direction of Pegwell Bay. Ships coming from France and Germany sailed up this estuary, and through the river, out at the other side by Reculver. Ebbes Fleet is the name given to a farmhouse on a strip of high ground rising out of Minster Marsh (Stanley, *Memorials of Canterbury*, p. 13). *Thanet* is the German name of the island. The Welsh name was *Rutim*, which probably signified a foreland, and is still preserved in the compound *Ramsgate*. In East Kent the gaps in the line of cliff which lead down to the shore are called gates; hence *Ramsgate* is the gate or pass leading into *Rutim* (Gosse, in *Proceedings of the Archaeological Institute* for 1849, p. 32).

C. CELTIC WORDS IN THE ENGLISH LANGUAGE.

Mr. Davies, in the valuable paper already referred to, remarks: "The stoutest assertor of a pure Anglo-Saxon or Norman descent is convicted by the language of his daily life of belonging to a race that partakes largely of Celtic blood. If he calls for his coat (*W. cota*, Germ. *rock*).

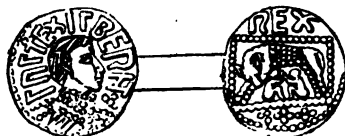
or tells of the *basket* of fish he has caught (W. *bagawad*, Germ. *korb*), or the *cart* he employs on his land (W. *cart*, from *car*, a drag or sledge, Germ. *wagen*), or of the *pranks* of his youth or the *prancing* of his horse (W. *prank*, a trick; *prancio*, to frolic), or declares that he was *happy* when a gowmanan at Oxford (W. *hap*, fortune, chance; Germ. *glück*; W. *gun*), or that his servant is *pert* (W. *pert*, spruce, dapper, insolent); or, descending to the language of the vulgar, he affirms that such assertions are *balderdash*, and the claim a *sham* (W. *baldordidus*, idle, prating; *siom*, from *shom*, a deceit, a sham), he is unconsciously maintaining the truth he would deny.

A long list of Celtic words in the English language will be found in Mr. Davies's essay, and also in another valuable paper by the late Mr. Garnett, likewise published in the *Transactions of the Philological Society* (vol. i. p. 171). It appears that a considerable proportion of the English words relating to the ordinary arts of life, such as agriculture, carpentry, and in general indoor and outdoor service, come from the Celtic. The following,

which might be multiplied almost indefinitely, may serve as samples:—

English.	Welsh.
basket	bagawad.
bran	bran (a skin of wheat).
croak, crockery	crochan (a pot).
drill	rhili (a row).
flannel	gwianen (from gwian, wool).
gown	gwn (a robe).
ham	ham (a border).
lath	lath (a rod).
mattock	matog.
pail	paol.
peck	peg.
pitcher	pisser (a jug).
ridge	rhic, rhig.
solder	sawdarlaw (to join, cement).
tackle	taci (instrument, tool).

Mr. Davies also calls attention to the fact that in the Lancashire dialect (and the same holds good of other dialects) many low, burlesque, or obscene words can be traced to a Celtic source, and this circumstance, together with the fact that no words connected with law, or government, or the luxuries of life, belong to this class, is distinct evidence that the Celtic race was held in a state of dependence or inferiority.



Silver Penny of Æthelberht, king of Kent.

Obverse: ÆTHELBERT . . .; bust right. Reverse: REX; wolf and twins. (This coin, if genuine, is an evident imitation of those of Rome.)



Golden Ring of Æthelwulf in the British Museum. It is decorated with a blueish-black enamel, firmly incorporated into the metal by fusion.

CHAPTER III.

THE ANGLO-SAXONS FROM THE UNION OF ENGLAND UNDER EGBERT TILL THE REIGN OF CANUTE THE DANE, A.D. 827-1016.

- § 1. State of the kingdom. § 2. Invasion of the Danes. Death of Egbert. § 3. Reign of Æthelwulf. His journey to Rome. § 4. Revolt of Æthelbald. § 5. Reigns of Æthelbald, Æthelberht, Æthelred. Continued invasions of the Danes. § 6. Accession of Alfred. Successes of the Danes. Flight of Alfred. § 7 Alfred defeats the Danes. Their settlement in East Anglia. The Danelagh. § 8. Wise regulations of Alfred. New Danish war. Death of Alfred. § 9. His character. His love of learning. § 10. His policy and legislation. § 11. Reign of Edward the Elder. § 12. Reign of Æthelstan. His conquests, power, and foreign connections. § 13. Reign of Edmund I. His assassination. § 14. Reign of Edred. St. Dunstan; his character and power. § 15. Reign of Edwy. His quarrel with St. Dunstan. § 16. Reign of Edgar. His good fortune. § 17. Reign of Edward. His assassination. § 18. Reign of Æthelred II. Invasion of the Danes. Danegeld. § 19. Massacre of the Danes. § 20. Conquest of England by Sweyn. Flight of Æthelred. § 21. Death of Sweyn and return of Æthelred. Invasion of Canute. Death of Æthelred. § 22. Division of England between Canute and Edmund Ironside. Murder of the latter.

§ 1. EGBERT, A.D. 827-836.—Although England was not firmly cemented into one state under Egbert, as is usually represented, yet the power of this monarch and the union of so many provinces opened the prospect of future tranquillity. It now appeared more than probable that the Anglo-Saxons would henceforth become formidable to their neighbours, and not be exposed to their inroads and devastations. Indeed, in the year 830, Egbert led his victorious army into North Wales, penetrated into Denbighshire, laid waste the country as far as Snowdon, and reduced the Isle of Anglesey to subjection. Of all the territory that had been comprised in Roman Britain, Strathclyde and Cumbria alone were free from vassalage to the crown of Egbert. But these expectations were soon overcast

by the appearance of the Northmen (832), who during the next two centuries kept the Anglo-Saxons in perpetual disquietude, committed the most barbarous ravages, permanently established themselves in many parts of the country, and founded a new race of kings.

§ 2. These pirates and freebooters inhabited the Scandinavian kingdoms of Denmark, Norway, and Sweden; and the hordes which plundered England were drawn from all parts of both the Scandinavian peninsulas. It was, however, chiefly the Danes who directed their attacks against the coasts of England; the Norwegians made their descents for the most part upon Scotland, the Hebrides, and Ireland; while the Swedes turned their arms against the eastern shores of the Baltic. These Scandinavians were in race and language closely connected with the Anglo-Saxons. The language of all the Scandinavian nations differs only slightly from the dialects of the Germanic tribes. Both races originally worshipped the same gods, and were distinguished by the same love of enterprise and freedom. But while the Anglo-Saxons had long since abjured their ancient faith, and had acquired the virtues and vices of civilization, their Scandinavian kinsmen still remained in their savage independence, still worshipped Odin as their national god, and still regarded the plunder of foreign lands as their chief occupation and delight. In the ninth century they inspired the same terror as the Anglo-Saxons had done in the fifth. Led by the younger sons of royal houses, the Vikings * swarmed in all the harbours and rivers of the surrounding countries. Their course was marked by fire and bloodshed. Buildings sacred and profane were burnt to the ground; multitudes of people were murdered or dragged away into slavery. The terrified inhabitants fled at the approach of the enemy, and beheld in them the judgment of God foretold by the prophets. Their national flag was the figure of a black raven, woven on a blood-red ground, from whose movements the Northmen augured victory or defeat. When it fluttered its wings, they believed that Odin gave them a sign of victory; but if the wings hung down, they imagined that the god would not prosper their arms. Their swords were longer and heavier than those of the Anglo-Saxons, and their battle-axes are described as formidable weapons.

These terrible Northmen appeared nearly simultaneously on the coasts of England, France, and Russia. They wrested from the French monarch one of his fairest provinces, which was called Normandy after them; and they founded in Russia a dynasty which reigned over that country above 700 years † Their first appearance

* *Viking* is in Danish a naval warrior, a pirate.

† For their settlement in Normandy

see chapter v. The Norse dynasty in Russia was founded at Novgorod by Rurik in 862.

in England is placed by the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* under the year 787; but it was not till the latter part of Egbert's reign that they commenced their regular and systematic ravages of the country. At first they made merely brief and rapid descents upon the coasts, returning to their northern homes with the plunder they had gained; but they soon began to take up their abode in England for the winter, and renewed their devastations in the spring. While England was trembling at this new evil, Egbert, who alone was able to provide effectually against it, unfortunately died (A.D. 836), and left the government to his son Æthelwulf.

§ 3. ÆTHELWULF, 836-858.—This prince had neither the abilities nor the vigour of his father, and was better qualified for governing a convent than a kingdom. He began his reign with a partition of his dominions, and delivered to his eldest son, Æthelstan, the newly conquered provinces of Essex, Kent, and Sussex. No inconvenience seems to have arisen from this partition, as the continual terror of the Danish invasions prevented all domestic dissension. These incursions now became almost annual, and, from their sudden and unexpected nature, kept the English in continual alarm. The unsettled state of his kingdom did not hinder Æthelwulf from making a pilgrimage to Rome, and taking with him his fourth and favourite son, Alfred, then only six years of age (853). He passed a twelvemonth there in exercises of devotion, and in acts of liberality to the church. Besides giving presents to the more distinguished ecclesiastics, he made a perpetual grant of 300 *manseas** a year to that see; one-third to support the lamps of St. Peter's, another for those of St. Paul's, a third to the pope himself. It has been maintained by some writers that Æthelwulf first established tithes in England,† but this is founded on a misinterpretation of the ancient charters. Tithes were of earlier origin; but Æthelwulf appears to have established the first poor-law, by imposing on every ten hides of land the obligation of maintaining one indigent person.

§ 4. On his return from Rome (856) Æthelwulf married Judith, daughter of the French‡ king Charles the Bald, though she was then only twelve years of age; but on his landing in England he met with an opposition he little expected. His eldest son, Æthelstan, being dead, Æthelbald, his second son, who had assumed the government, formed, in concert with many of the nobles, a project

* The *mancus* was a silver coin of about the weight of a half-crown.

† What Æthelwulf appears to have done was to subject the royal demesnes to payment of tithes, from which they were exempt before.

‡ The name of *France* may now first be

properly used. The kingdom of France may be dated from the establishment of Charles the Bald as king of the West Franks, in the partition between him and his brothers, Lothair and Lewis, of the dominions of their grandfather, Charles the Great (843).

for excluding his father from the throne. The people were divided between the two princes, and a bloody civil war, joined to all the other calamities under which the English laboured, appeared inevitable, when Æthelwulf consented to a compromise. Retaining the eastern portion of Wessex and Kent, the least considerable, as well as the most exposed to invasion, he conceded the rest to Æthelbald.

§ 5. ÆTHELBALD, ÆTHELBERHT, and ÆTHELRED, A.D. 868-871.—Æthelwulf died in 868, and was buried at Winchester; dividing his kingdom *by will* between his two sons, Æthelbald and Æthelberht. Æthelbald, to the scandal of the age, married his stepmother Judith; but dying soon after, his brother Æthelberht united Kent, Surrey, and Sussex to the kingdom of Wessex (860). At his death, Æthelred, fourth son of Æthelwulf, ascended the throne (866). Under these monarchs the Danes continued their ravages with renewed vigour, and penetrated into the very heart of the country. Not contenting themselves with mere incursions, they conquered a large part of England. In 867 they took York; the next year they assaulted Nottingham; in 870 they defeated and took prisoner Edmund, the king of East Anglia, to whom they proposed that he should renounce the Christian faith and rule under their supremacy. As this proposal was rejected with scorn and horror, the Danes bound the king naked to a tree, scourged and wounded him with arrows, and finally beheaded him. The constancy with which Edmund met his death caused him to be canonized as a saint and a martyr; and the place where his body was buried took the name of St. Edmundsbury, i.e. "St. Edmund's town" (Bury St. Edmund's), where a splendid monastery was erected in his honour. Thus ended the old line of the Uffingas, and East Anglia became a Danish possession. Led by Hålfðán and another king into Wessex, the Danes fought no less than nine battles in one year. Æthelred died at Easter, 871, and was succeeded by his brother Alfred.

§ 6. ALFRED, A.D. 871-901. This monarch, who was born at Wantage in Berkshire, in 849, had already given proofs of those great virtues and shining talents, by which he saved his country from utter subversion and ruin. His genius was first fired by the recital of Saxon poems, which he soon learned to read, and he then proceeded to acquire the knowledge of the Latin tongue. In his twentieth year he took the field along with his brother against the pagan invaders, and it was owing to his intrepidity and courage that his countrymen gained a signal victory over the Danes at Ashdown in Berkshire (871). On the death of Æthelred soon afterwards, he was called to the throne in preference to his brother's children, as well by the will of his father as by the wishes of the whole nation and the urgency of public affairs.

After an indecisive battle at Wilton, the Danes withdrew from Wessex for a time. But in 874 they gained full possession of Mercia, on the flight of Burhred, Alfred's brother-in-law. Thus ended the independent kingdom of Mercia; and the Danes were now masters of the three great Anglian kingdoms, leaving to Alfred only Wessex, Kent, and Essex. The year 875 is distinguished as the date of the first naval victory known to have been won by an English king, when "Alfred went out to sea with a fleet, and fought against the crews of seven ships (in Swanage bay), and one of them he took and put the rest to flight." But fresh swarms of Northmen continually poured into the kingdom, and in 876 Wessex was again invaded by a great fleet and army under Guthorm, or Guthrum (in Danish *Gormhinrige*, "the mighty serpent"). Overpowered by superior numbers, Alfred was at length obliged to relinquish the ensigns of dignity, dismiss his servants, and seek shelter in the meanest disguises from the pursuit and fury of his enemies (878). "On a time," if we may trust the story, "being forced to hide himself with a cow-herd in Somersetshire, as he sat by the fire preparing his bow and shafts, the cow-herd's wife baking bread on the coals, threw the king's bow and shafts aside and said: 'Thou fellow, why dost thou not turn the bread which thou seest burn; thou art glad to eat it ere it be half baked.' This woman thought not it had been king Alfred, who had made so many battles against the Danes."

§ 7. At length, collecting a few followers, Alfred retired into the centre of a bog formed by the stagnating waters of the Tone and the Parrett, in Somersetshire. Here, finding two acres of firm ground, he secured himself by a fortification, and still more by unknown and inaccessible roads which led to it, and by the forests and morasses with which it was environed. He called this place *Æthelingacigg*, or the Isle of Princes; and it now bears the name of Athelney.* From this retreat he made frequent and unexpected sallies upon the Danes, who often felt the vigour of his arm, but knew not from what quarter the blow came. Thus encouraged, his followers were prepared for more important victories. Seven weeks after Easter, Alfred sallied from Athelney, and was joined by the men of Somersetshire, Wiltshire, and Hampshire at "Egbert's stone" (now Brixton), on the borders of Selwood Forest. The English, who had hoped to put an end to their calamities by servile submission, had found the insolence and rapacity of the conqueror more in-

* A beautiful gold-enamelled jewel, found at this spot, and now in the Ashmolean Museum at Oxford, has the inscription "*Ælfred mec heht gewurcan*"

(*Alfred had me wrought*). According to the testimony of his biographer, Asser, Alfred encouraged goldsmiths.

tolerable than all past fatigues and dangers. Alfred led them to Ethandūn (Edington, near Westbury), where the Danes were encamped; and taking advantage of his previous knowledge of the place, he directed his attack against the most unguarded quarter of the enemy. The Danes, surprised to see an army of English, whom they considered as totally subdued, and still more astonished to hear that Alfred was at their head, made but a faint resistance, notwithstanding the superiority of their number, and were soon put to flight with great slaughter. The remainder of the routed army, with their prince, was besieged by Alfred in a fortified camp to which they fled; but, being reduced to extremity by want and hunger, they had recourse to the clemency of the victor, and offered to submit. Alfred spared their lives, and even formed a scheme for converting them from mortal enemies into faithful subjects and confederates. As the kingdom of East Anglia was desolated by the frequent inroads of the Danes, he now proposed to recompense it by settling in it Guthrum and his followers, who might serve him as a defence against any future incursions of their countrymen. But before he ratified these mild conditions with the Danes, he required, as a pledge of their submission, that they should embrace Christianity. Guthrum, with thirty of his officers, had no aversion to the proposal, and were admitted to baptism. The king answered for Guthrum at the font, and gave him the name of Athelstan. This treaty was made at Wedmore, near Athelney (A.D. 878). The greater part of the Danes settled peaceably in their new quarters. They had for some years occupied the towns of Derby, Leicester, Stamford, Lincoln, and Nottingham, thence called the *Five Boroughs*. Alfred ceded to the new converts a considerable part of the kingdom of Mercia, retaining however the western portion, or country of the Hwiccas, in Gloucestershire. It would, however, be an error to suppose that the Danes ever really became his subjects. On the contrary, they formed an independent state, retaining their own laws and institutions, down to the latest times of the Anglo-Saxon monarchy. The general boundary between the Danes and Anglo-Saxons was the old Roman road called Watling Street, which ran from London across England to Chester and the Irish Channel. The province of the Danes lying to the north and east of that road was called *Danelagh*, the *Danes' Law* or community. Receiving fresh accessions of numbers from their own country, the Danes were long able to bid defiance to all the efforts of the Anglo-Saxon monarchs to reduce them to complete obedience.

§ 8. After the treaty with Guthrum, Alfred enjoyed tranquillity for some years. He employed the interval in restoring order to his dominions, shaken by so many violent convulsions; in

establishing civil and military institutions; in habituating the minds of men to industry and justice; and in providing against the return of like calamities. After rebuilding the ruined cities, particularly London, which had been destroyed by the Danes in the reign of Æthelwulf, he established a regular militia for the defence of the kingdom. He increased his fleet both in number and strength, and trained his subjects to the practice as well of sailing as of naval action. He improved the construction of his vessels, which were higher, swifter, and steadier than those of the Danes, and nearly double the length, some of them having more than 60 rowers. A fleet of 120 ships of war was stationed upon the coast; and being provided with warlike engines, as well as with expert seamen, both Frisians and English—for Alfred supplied the defects of his own subjects by engaging able foreigners in his service—he maintained a superiority over those smaller bands with which England had so often been infested. Notwithstanding these precautions, as the northern provinces of France, into which Hasting, the famous Danish chief, had penetrated, were afflicted with a grievous famine, the Danes set sail from Boulogne with a powerful fleet under his command, landed upon the coast of Kent, and committed most destructive ravages (893). It would be tedious to narrate the events of this new war, which occupied the attention of Alfred for the next few years. It is sufficient to relate that, after repeated defeats in different parts of the island, the small remains of the Danes either dispersed themselves among their countrymen in Northumbria and East Anglia, or had recourse again to the sea, where they exercised piracy under the command of Siegfried, a Northumbrian. After Alfred had succeeded in restoring full tranquillity to England, he died (October 26th, 901), in the vigour of his age and the full strength of his faculties, and was buried at Winchester, after a glorious reign of 30 years and a half, in which he deservedly attained the appellation of **ALFRED THE GREAT**, and the title of **Founder of the English Monarchy**.

§ 9. The merits of this prince, both in private and public life, may with advantage be contrasted with those of any monarch which the annals of any age or nation can present us. His civil and his military virtues are almost equally the objects of our admiration. Nature, as if desirous that so bright a production of her skill should be set in the fairest light, had bestowed on him every bodily accomplishment, vigour of limbs, dignity of shape and air, with a pleasing, engaging, and open countenance. When Alfred came to the throne he found the nation sunk into the grossest ignorance and barbarism, occasioned by the continued disorders in the government, and the ravages of the Danes.

Monasteries were destroyed, the monks butchered or dispersed, and their libraries burnt; and thus the only seats of learning in those ages were totally subverted. Alfred himself complains that on his accession he knew few even of the clergy south of the Thames, and not many in the northern parts, who could interpret the Latin service. He invited the most celebrated scholars from all parts of Europe; he established schools for the instruction of his people; and he enjoined by law all freeholders possessing two hides of land, or more, to send their children to school for instruction.* But the most effectual expedient employed by Alfred for the encouragement of learning was his own example, and the assiduity with which, notwithstanding the multiplicity and urgency of his affairs, he employed himself in the pursuit of knowledge. He usually divided his time into three equal portions: one was devoted to sleep, food, and exercise; another to study and devotion; a third to the despatch of business. To measure the hours more exactly, he made use of burning tapers of equal length, which he fixed in lanterns, an expedient suited to that rude age, when dialling and the mechanism of clocks and watches were totally unknown. By such regular distribution of his time, though he often laboured under great bodily infirmities, and had fought in person 56 battles by sea and land, he was able, during a life of no extraordinary length, to acquire more knowledge, and even to compose more books, than falls to the lot of the most studious men, though blessed with the greatest leisure and application, and born in more fortunate ages. He translated into Anglo-Saxon the histories of Orosius and of Bede; to the former he prefixed a description of Germany and the north of Europe, from the narratives of the travellers Wulfstan and Ohthere. To these must be added a version of Boethius's *Consolation of Philosophy*, besides several other translations which he either made or caused to be made from the Confessions of St. Augustine, St. Gregory's Pastoral Instructions, Dialogues, &c. Nor was he negligent in encouraging the mechanical arts. He invited from all quarters industrious foreigners to repopulate the country, which had been desolated by the ravages of the Danes. He introduced and encouraged manufactures, and suffered no inventor or improver of any ingenious art to go unrewarded. He prompted men of activity to betake themselves to navigation, to push commerce into the most remote countries, and to acquire riches by promoting industry among their fellow-citizens. He set apart a seventh portion of his own revenue for maintaining a number of workmen, whom he constantly employed in rebuilding the ruined cities and mon-

* The foundation of the University of Oxford has sometimes been erroneously attributed to Alfred.

asteries. Such was the popular estimate of his character; and thus, living and dead, next to Charlemagne, Alfred was long regarded as the greatest prince that had appeared in Europe for several ages, and as one of the wisest and best that ever adorned the annals of any nation.

§ 10. Alfred's great reputation has caused many of the institutions prevalent among the Anglo-Saxons, the origin of which is lost in remote antiquity, to be ascribed to his wisdom: such as the division of England into shires, hundreds, and tithings, the law of frankpledge, trial by jury, etc.; some of which were certainly anterior, and others subsequent, to his time. Even the code of laws which he undoubtedly promulgated was little more than a new collection of the laws of Æthelberht, Offa, and Ina; into which, with the assistance of his *witan*, or wise men, he inserted a few enactments only of his own.

§ 11. By his wife, Ealhswith, daughter of a Mercian ealdorman, Alfred left two sons and three daughters. The younger, Æthelward, inherited his father's passion for letters, and lived a private life. The elder, Edward, succeeded to his father's power, being the first of that name who sat on the English throne.

EDWARD I., 901-925.—Immediately on his accession, Edward, usually called EDWARD THE ELDER, had to contend with Æthelwald, son of king Æthelred, the elder brother of Alfred, who, insisting on his preferable title to the throne, armed his partisans and took possession of Wimborne. On the approach of Edward, however, Æthelwald fled into Northumberland, where the people declared in his favour. Having thus connected his interests with the Danish tribes, he went beyond sea, and, collecting a body of these freebooters, excited the hopes of all those who had been accustomed to subsist by rapine and violence. He was also joined by the East Anglian Danes and the men of the Five Boroughs; but Edward overthrew them in several actions, recovered the booty they had taken, and compelled them to retire into their own country. Æthelwald was killed in battle (905).

The rest of Edward's reign was a scene of continued and successful action against the Danes, in which he was assisted by the activity and prudence of his sister Æthelfled, widow of Æthelred, ealdorman of Mercia. The submission of the Danes in that province, as well as of East Anglia, and the acknowledgment of Edward's supremacy by the Welsh, effected the first union of Southern Britain under an English king (922). In Edward's last year, the *Chronicle* adds, that not only all the Northumbrians—English, Danes, and Northmen—but the Strathclyde Welsh and the Scots, with their kings, "chose him for father and for lord." From this time his

successors generally style themselves "*King of the Angles*," or *King of the Anglo-Saxons*, that is, of all the Anglian and Saxon states, and not merely *King of the West Saxons*.* Edward died in the year 925, and was succeeded by Æthelstan, his natural son, who was thirty years old—his legitimate children being of too tender years to rule a nation so much exposed to foreign invasion and domestic convulsions. He was crowned at Kingston.

§ 12. ÆTHELSTAN, 925-940.—This monarch likewise gained numerous victories over the Danes, and is justly regarded as one of the ablest and most active of the early English kings. He completed his father's work by annexing Northumbria, on the death of its Danish ruler, whose son fled to Constantine II., king of the Scots (927). His signal victory over the united host of the Scots, Danes, and Strathclyde Welsh, at the battle of *Brunanburh*, is celebrated in an Anglo-Saxon war-song (937).† Æthelstan made many good laws, which were really for the most part new enactments, and not mere repetitions of older customs or codes. Among them was the remarkable one, that a merchant who had made three long voyages on his own account should be admitted to the rank of a thane or gentleman. This shows that commerce was now more honoured and encouraged than it had formerly been, and implies at the same time that some of the English cities had risen to a considerable pitch of prosperity and importance. At this time a more extensive intercourse sprang up with the continent, as is shown by the manifold relations of Æthelstan with foreign courts. Several foreign princes were intrusted to his guardianship and educated at his court, among whom was his own nephew Louis, son of his sister Edgiva and Charles the Simple, king of France.

§ 13. EDMUND I., called the ELDER, 940-946.—Æthelstan died at Gloucester in the year 940, and was succeeded by his half-brother, Edmund, who was only 18 years old at his accession, and 24 at his death; yet he lived and reigned long enough to win the title of EDMUND THE MAGNIFICENT. A second song of triumph in the *Chronicle* celebrates the conquest over the revolted Danes of Northumbria and Mercia, and the recovery of the Five Boroughs; by "King Edmund, ruler of the Angles, protector of kinsmen, the refuge of warriors" (941). He also conquered Cumberland from the Britons (945), and conferred that territory on Malcolm,

* There is, however, no strict uniformity in their designation. Æthelstan styles himself "*King of all Britain*;" "sometimes of all Albion." Edmund, Edred, and Edwy prefer the titles, *King of the Angles and other circumjacent people*. The last uses the title of *King of the Angul-Saxons, North-*

umbrians, etc. Edgar is *King of all Britain, or all Albion*.

† The song is preserved in the *Chronicle*. The site of the battle is unknown; but it must have been in Northumbria, and near the coast.

king of Scotland, on condition that he should do homage, and protect the north from all future incursions of the Danes. Edmund was assassinated at Pucklechurch, in the year 946, by Liofa, a notorious outlaw, whom he had sentenced to banishment, but who had the boldness to enter the hall where the king himself was dining, and seat himself at the table among his attendants. On his refusing to leave the room, the king seized him by the hair; but the ruffian, pushed to extremity, drew his dagger, and gave Edmund a wound of which he expired immediately. He was buried at Glastonbury, by St. Dunstan, the abbot.

§ 14. EDRED, 946-955.—As Edmund's issue was young and incapable of governing the kingdom, his brother Edred was raised to the throne. He completed the conquest of the Northumbrian Danes, who had revolted, and invited Eric, the son of Harold Blaataud of Denmark, to be their king. The reign of this prince, like those of his predecessors, was disturbed by the rebellions and incursions of the Danes. After subduing them, Edred, instructed by experience, took greater precautions against their future revolt. He fixed English garrisons in their most considerable towns, and placed over them an English governor,* who might watch all their motions, and suppress any insurrection on its first appearance.

Edred, who must have been very young, was guided, as his brother had been, by the great minister Dunstan, whom Edmund had made abbot of Glastonbury (943). The best evidence of Dunstan's ability is furnished by the brilliant success of Edred and Edgar, who followed his counsels, and the disasters of Edwy, who quarrelled with him. He was born of noble parents, near Glastonbury, and in the school of that monastery he studied with an ardour which for a time apparently unsettled his brain. Treated with scorn by the courtiers of Æthelred, he was persuaded by his kinsman Alphege, bishop of Winchester, to become a monk. The stories told of his asceticism seem to be exaggerated and opposed to his genial nature, his love of music and society, and his activity in work, both with head and hands, in which he was followed by a train of pupils. He returned to court on the accession of Edmund; was falsely accused; and, finding his fortune blasted by such scandals, he was on the eve of returning to the cloister, when a narrow escape which befel the king in hunting struck him with

* This governor was not called *Ealdorman*, but by the Danish title of *Earl* (*Jarl*). Under Edgar the earldom was divided into three parts; the southern, between the Humber and Tees, the old kingdom of Deira, becoming the earldom of York. The northern, or Lothian, from the

Tweed to the Forth, was probably granted to the Scotch king Kenneth; the middle part, between Tees and Tweed, formed the new earldom of Northumberland, from which the part between Tees and Tyne was afterwards taken as the patrimony of St. Cuthbert and bishopric of Durham.

remorse for his suspicions, and on the same day Edmund made Dunstan abbot of Glastonbury. The new abbot turned his attention to the reform of the monasteries, and the revival of learning, which had again fallen since the time of Alfred. He adopted the more rigid rules maintained by the Benedictines of Gaul, and introduced them into the convents of Glastonbury, Abingdon, and elsewhere. These religious houses had fallen into ruins during the incursions of the Danes, and their congregations had been dispersed. It was Dunstan's object to restore them, and to replace the secular clergy, who had taken possession of the revenues, by the monastic. His progress was somewhat retarded by the death of Edred, who expired at Frome, in 955, after a reign of nine years. His children being infants, his nephew Edwy, son of Edmund, was raised to the throne.

§ 15. EDWY, 955-958.—Edwy, at the time of his accession, was not above fifteen or sixteen years of age.* According to the story, told some forty years afterwards, he had become entangled in an intrigue with a lady, who desired to secure his hand for her daughter, called Elgiva. On the day of his coronation, when his nobility were banqueting in a great hall, Edwy, forgetful of the dignity due to the occasion, had retired to this lady's apartment. This slight to the ealdormen, bishops, and great men was regarded as a gross insult, and two of their number were deputed to remonstrate with the king, and persuade him to reassume his seat at the banquet. Dunstan, with the bishop of Lichfield, proceeded to the apartment, upbraided Edwy for his absence, and, with bitter reproaches to the lady, brought back the king into the presence of the nobles with no little roughness. Edwy, at the suggestion of the lady, found an opportunity of revenge; and, either on the complaint of discontented monks of Glastonbury, or some charge affecting the administration of the late king's treasure, which had been placed in that abbey, Dunstan was driven out of England, and fled to Ghent (956).†

Headed by Odo the archbishop, a Dane, the Northumbrians and the Mercians rose in rebellion, and proclaimed Edgar, the brother of Edwy, as their king (958). They were joined by the East Anglians, and in short by all England north of the Thames. Edgar recalled Dunstan, and, in a council assembled at Bradford, gave him the sees of London and Worcester. Dunstan would have excused himself in this violation of the canons, but his objections were overruled by others, who referred to the examples of St. John and St. Paul. Even in

* Both Æthelweard (the only contemporary historian who was not a priest or monk) and Henry of Huntingdon speak

well of Edwy, and lament his early death.

† The whole story is traditional, and is told in different ways.

the southern provinces the monastic party now gained the ascendancy. Edwy, finding it vain to resist, was obliged to consent to a divorce from Elgiva, which was pronounced by Odo, archbishop of Canterbury (958). The fate of the unhappy Elgiva is unknown; for the tales of inhuman cruelties inflicted on her by the primate's order, as well as of the murder of Edwy, are found only in late and doubtful authorities. It is only known for certain, that Edwy's divorce was followed by the death both of the archbishop and the king in 958 or 959. He was succeeded by his brother Edgar.

§ 16. EDGAR, 959-975.—Edgar, surnamed the *Peaceable*, already king of the Mercians and Northumbrians (957), now succeeded to Wessex, with the consent of the whole kingdom.* One of his first acts was to promote Dunstan to the archbishopric of Canterbury. Of the first five years of his reign we have no memorials, except of his co-operation in the ecclesiastical reforms then in progress. To restore the monks, he displaced and degraded the secular clergy; he favoured the scheme for dispossessing the secular canons of all the great churches; and he bestowed preferment on none but their partisans. Above forty Benedictine convents are said to have been founded or repaired by Edgar. These merits have procured for him the highest panegyrics from the monkish historians. Freed from all disturbance on the side of the Danes, Edgar was enabled to employ his vast armaments against the neighbouring sovereigns; and the king of Scotland, the princes of Wales, of the Isle of Man, and of the Orkneys, were reduced to submission.† After his coronation at Bath (972), he led his forces to Chester, where he was attended by six or eight vassal kings, who rowed his barge up the Dee to the abbey of St. John the Baptist, Edgar holding the helm.

The virtues of Edgar have been exaggerated by the monastic annalists. Even the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, which again breaks forth into song in his praise, confesses that he loved foreign vices; and brought heathen manners and pernicious people into the land. Of the severity with which he enforced order we have an example in the devastation of Thanet (969).‡ But the general excellence of his rule is attested by his extant laws, and by the consolidation of the various people under his authority. "One thing I would have common," he declared in the assembled Witan, "to all my subjects,

* Florence of Worcester.

† In his charters, Edgar assumes the titles of "King of the Angles and all the nations round about, "Ruler and Lord of the whole Isle of Albion," "*Basileus* and *Imperator* of all Britain." The Greek

Βασιλεὺς (king) was the title of the Emperor of the East, as *Imperator* was of the Western Emperor.

‡ The people had plundered some Norse traders, who were under the king's protection.

to English, Danes, and Britons in every part of my dominions; that both rich and poor possess without molestation what they have rightly acquired, and that no thief find refuge for securing his stolen property." His reign forms an epoch in English history, and in the growth of monastic influence.

It is popularly stated that the extirpation of wolves in England was effected in this reign by converting the money payment imposed upon the Welsh princes into an annual tribute of 300 wolves' heads; but these animals were found in the island at a much later period.

§ 17. Edgar died in the year 975, in the thirty-third year of his age, leaving two sons: Edward, aged thirteen, whom he had had by his first wife, Æthelfleda; and Æthelred, then only five, by Elfrida. There can be no doubt that the former had the best claim to the succession; and though Elfrida attempted to raise her son to the throne, Edward was crowned at Kingston by the vigorous determination of Dunstan.

EDWARD II., called the MARTYR, 975-979.—The kingdom was now again divided into two parties, and the short reign of Edward presents nothing memorable except the struggles between Dunstan and the Benedictines on the one hand, and the secular clergy on the other, who in some parts of Mercia had succeeded in expelling the monks. To settle this controversy several synods were held, and Dunstan is said to have wrought miracles.

The death of young Edward was memorable and tragical.* He was hunting one day in Dorsetshire, and being led by the chase near Corfe Castle, where his stepmother Elfrida resided, he took the opportunity of paying her a visit, unattended by any of his retinue, and thus presented her with the opportunity she had long desired. Mounting his horse to depart, he called for a cup of wine, and while he was holding it to his lips, a servant of Elfrida approached and stabbed him behind. The prince, finding himself wounded, put spurs to his horse, but growing faint from loss of blood, he fell from the saddle, his foot stuck in the stirrup, and he was dragged along until he expired. Tracked by the blood, his body was found and privately interred at Wareham. The youth and innocence of this prince, with his tragical death, obtained for him the appellation of "Martyr."

§ 18. ÆTHELRED II., 979-1016.—Æthelred II., the son of Elfrida, called by historians "the Unready,"† now ascended the throne,

* This is the story of William of Malmesbury. The early authorities agree as to the place, but not as to the persons who instigated the murder.

† This epithet means "counsellless" or "bad counsellor," a play upon the name of Æthelred "noble in counsel," who ruined his country through want

at the early age of ten. Dunstan, who placed the crown on his head at Kingston, lived nine years longer, and died May 19, 988. A period, however, was approaching, when the heat of ecclesiastical disputes had to give place to the more important question respecting the very existence of the nation. Shortly after Æthelred's accession, the Danes and Northmen renewed their incursions, and Æthelred's long reign presents little else than a series of struggles with those piratical and pagan invaders. He adopted the fatal expedient of buying off their attacks, thus foolishly inviting their renewal.* In the year 993, having by their previous incursions become well acquainted with the defenceless condition of England, the Danes made a powerful descent under the command of Sweyn, king of Denmark, and of Anlaf or Olaf, afterwards king of Norway; and, sailing up the Humber, they spread devastation on every side. The following year they ventured to attack the centre of the kingdom; entered the Thames with 94 vessels, laid siege to London, and threatened it with total destruction. But the citizens, firmly united among themselves, made a bolder defence than the nobility and gentry; and the besiegers, after suffering the greatest hardships, were disappointed in their attempt. The Danes proceeded to plunder other quarters, until they were bought off with 16,000 pounds of silver. But in a few years they returned again, and in 997, and the five following years, committed dreadful devastations in various parts, till bought off again by another payment of 24,000 pounds. This tribute gave rise to an odious and oppressive impost, which, under the name of *Danegeld*, or Dane-money, continued to be levied on the laity long after the occasion for its imposition had ceased. Observing the close connection maintained among all the Danes, however divided in government or situation, Æthelred, being now a widower, made his addresses to Emma, sister to Richard II., duke of Normandy, in the hope that such an alliance might serve to check the incursions of the Northmen. He succeeded in his suit: the princess came over to England and was married to Æthelred in 1002. She received the English name of *Ælfgifu* or Elgiva. From this marriage may be dated the Norman influence in England. The French language began to be spoken at the court, and the French followers of Emma were placed in high offices, both in church and state.

§ 19. Shortly after this marriage, Æthelred formed a design of

of counsel" or "evil counsel," a term which the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* expressly applies to his foolish policy towards the Danes (*s. a.* 1011: "All these calamities befell us through unrode.") There can be little doubt of the origin of this epithet.

but it is never applied to this king by the earliest and best authorities.

* He was not the first of the Anglo-Saxon kings who had recourse to this expedient.

murdering the Danes throughout his dominions. But though ancient historians speak of this massacre as universal, such a representation of the matter is absolutely impossible, as the Danes formed a large part of the population of Northumbria and East Anglia, and were very numerous in Mercia. The animosity between the inhabitants of English and Danish race had, from repeated injuries, risen to a great height; especially through the conduct of those Danish troops which the English monarchs had long been accustomed to keep in pay for their excellence as soldiers. These mercenaries, who were quartered about the country, committed many acts of violence. They had attained to such a height of luxury, according to later English writers, that they combed their hair once a day, bathed themselves once a week, and frequently changed their clothes! Secret orders were given to commence the massacre on the festival of St. Brice (November 13th, 1002). The rage of the populace, excited by so many injuries, sanctioned by authority, and stimulated by example, spared neither sex nor age, and was not satiated without the tortures as well as death of the unhappy victims. Even Gunhilda, sister to the king of Denmark, who had married earl Palling, and had embraced Christianity, was seized and condemned to death, after she had seen her husband and her children butchered before her face. In the agonies of despair, this unhappy princess foretold that her murder would soon be avenged by the total ruin of the English nation.

§ 20. Never was prophecy more strictly fulfilled, and never did barbarous policy prove more fatal to its authors. Sweyn and his Danes appeared the next year off the western coast, and took full revenge for the slaughter of their countrymen. Twice was Æthelred reduced to the infamy of purchasing a precarious peace. At length, towards the close of 1013, Sweyn being virtually sovereign of England, and, the English nobility everywhere swearing allegiance to him, Æthelred, equally afraid of the violence of the enemy and of the treachery of his own subjects, fled into Normandy, whither he had already sent queen Emma and her two sons Alfred and Edward.

§ 21. The king had not been above six weeks in Normandy when he heard of the death of Sweyn, who expired at Gainsborough before he had been crowned, or had found time to establish himself in his newly acquired dominions. He is not reckoned among the kings of England, but is called by the chroniclers "Sweyn the Tyrant" (*i.e.* Usurper). The English prelates and nobility, or the Witan, as they were called, taking advantage of this event, sent over a deputation to Normandy inviting Æthelred to return. He complied, and was joyfully received by the people, in the spring of

1014, with a promise of greater fidelity on their part and of juster government on his. On his death-bed at Gaineborough, Sweyn, with the approbation of the assembled Danes, named his son Canúte,* who had accompanied him in the expedition, as his successor. But on the approach of Æthelred, who displayed on this occasion unwonted celerity, Canute embarked with his forces for Denmark. A ray of hope seemed now to dawn on England, but it was only transient. Æthelred soon relapsed into his usual incapacity and indolence; and the kingdom became a scene of internal feud, treachery, and assassination. In 1015 Canute returned with a large fleet and overran Wessex. Edmund, the king's eldest son, made fruitless attempts to oppose his progress; but, unsupported by his father and the nation, he was obliged to disband the greater part of his army and retire with the remainder to London, where Æthelred had shut himself up. Hither also Canute directed his course, in the hope of seizing Æthelred's person; but the king expired before his arrival, after an unhappy and inglorious reign of 37 years.

§ 22. EDMUND IRONSIDE, April 23rd to Nov. 30th, 1016.—By the small party who had remained faithful to the royal cause, Edmund, whose hardy valour procured him the name of Ironside, was now elected king. Meanwhile Canute had arrived at London, where, as the bridge impeded his operations, he caused a canal to be dug on the south bank of the river, through which he conveyed his ships. He also surrounded the city on the land side with a deep trench, hoping by these means to cut off the supplies. But these measures failing, as well as a general assault, Canute proceeded to the western districts, where Edmund was engaging the Danes with considerable success. But, after the total defeat of his army at Assington in Suffolk, the Danish and English nobility obliged the two kings to come to a compromise, and divide the kingdom between them. Canute obtained Mercia, East Anglia, and Northumbria, which he had entirely subdued; the southern parts were assigned to Edmund. This prince died about a month afterwards, on the 30th of November, murdered, as was said, by the machinations of Edric, the ealdorman of Mercia, who thus made way for the succession of Canute the Dane to the crown of all England.

* Knut is the proper orthography of | should be pronounced with the accent on
the name. Canúte is a corruption, and | the last syllable.



Seal of Edward the Confessor. (British Museum.)
 SIGILLVM EDWARDI ANGLORVM BASILEI: King seated with sceptre and sword.

CHAPTER IV.

DANES AND ANGLO-SAXONS FROM THE REIGN OF CANUTE TO THE NORMAN CONQUEST, A.D. 1016-1066.

§ 1. Accession of Canute. First acts of his reign. Marries Emma of Normandy. § 2. Rise of earl Godwin. § 3. Canute's devotion. His reproof of his courtiers. § 4. He reduces the king of Scotland. His death. § 5. Division of the kingdom. Reign of Harold Harefoot. § 6. Reign of Hardicanute. § 7. Accession of Edward the Confessor. § 8. Influence of the Normans. Revolt and banishment of earl Godwin. § 9. William, duke of Normandy, visits England. Return of earl Godwin; his death. Rise of Harold. § 10. Siward restores Malcolm, king of Scotland. § 11. Edward invites his nephew from Hungary. § 12. Harold's visit to Normandy. § 13. Harold reduces Wales; condemns his brother Tosti. Aspires to the succession. Death of Edward. § 14. His character. § 15. Accession of Harold. William assembles a fleet and army. Invasion of Tosti and of Harold Hardrada. Battle of Stamford Bridge. § 16. Norman invasion. Battle of Hastings. Death of Harold.

I. THE DANISH KINGS, A.D. 1016-1042.

§ 1. CANUTE, 1016-1035.—Edmund Ironside left a brother, Edwy, and two half-brothers, Alfred and Edward, the sons of Æthelred by his second wife, Emma of Normandy; as well as two infant sons of his own, Edmund and Edward. But immediately after his death,

Canute assembled the nobles and clergy at London, and, partly by promises and partly by intimidation, was elected king, thus adding the dominions of Edmund to his own. This was the first time that a king of Wessex had been elected outside the line of Cerdic. To add a colour of legitimate right, the assembly is said to have declared falsely that Edmund had never designed his kingdom to pass to his brothers, and had appointed Canute to be guardian to his children. Edwy, the brother of Edmund, was outlawed and soon afterwards murdered (1017). Canute sent Edmund's children to his half-brother Olaf, king of Sweden, with a secret request to put them to death; but Olaf, too generous to comply, had them conveyed to Stephen, king of Hungary, to be educated at his court.

As Alfred and Edward were protected by their uncle Richard, duke of Normandy, Canute, to acquire the friendship of the duke, paid his addresses to queen Emma, promising to leave the children whom he should have by that marriage in possession of the crown of England. Canute was now about 22, and Emma several years older.* Richard complied with his demand, and sent over his sister Emma to England, where she was soon after married to Canute, notwithstanding that he had been the mortal enemy of her former husband (1017).

To reward his Danish followers, Canute found himself compelled to load the people with heavy exactions. At one time he demanded the sum of 72,000 pounds, besides 10,500 more which he levied on London alone. But resolving, like a wise prince, that the English should be reconciled to the Danish yoke by the justice and impartiality of his administration, he sent back to Denmark as many of his followers as could safely be spared. He made no distinction between Danes and English in the execution of justice: and he took care, by strict enforcement of the laws, to protect the lives and properties of all. In his reign England was divided into four great earldoms—Northumberland, East Anglia (including Essex), Mercia, and Wessex (including all England south of the Thames), 1017. Over the first two Canute set Danes, Eric (his sister's husband) and Thurkill. In the same year the English earl of Mercia, Edric, suffered the death he had long deserved for his repeated treasons to Æthelred and Edmund, and his earldom was given to Leofwine. The earldom of Wessex, which Canute had at first kept in his own hands, was bestowed in 1020 on Godwin, the son of

* Canute had two sons, Harold and Sweyn, by another wife or concubine; Elgiva of Northampton, who was still alive. The time of these sons' birth is not known with certainty; but that one at

least was already born is probable from Emma's stipulation for the succession of her own offspring. It was doubted by many whether they were really the sons of Canute.

Wulfnoth, an Englishman,* who had already won the king's favour and been made an earl, as some say, of Kent, early in Canute's reign.

§ 2. When Canute had settled his power in England beyond all danger of a revolution, he appears in 1019 to have made a voyage to Denmark; and the necessity of his affairs caused him frequently to repeat the visit, in order to make head against the Wends,† as well as against the kings of Sweden and Norway. On one of these occasions, earl Godwin, observing a favourable opportunity, attacked the enemy in the night, drove them from their trenches, and obtained a decisive victory. Next morning, Canute, seeing the English camp entirely abandoned, imagined that his disaffected troops had deserted, and was agreeably surprised to find that they were engaged in pursuit of the discomfited enemy. Gratified with this success, and the manner of obtaining it, he bestowed Gytha, the sister of earl Ulf (who was the king's brother-in-law), in marriage upon Godwin, and treated him ever after with entire confidence and regard.

§ 3. This semi-barbarous monarch, who had committed numberless murders and waded through slaughter to a throne, had nevertheless many of the qualities of a great sovereign. He had become a Christian either before or at the time of his first election as Æthelred's successor. He built churches, endowed monasteries, and even undertook one, if not two, pilgrimages to Rome. It appears, from a letter which he addressed to the English clergy, that he must have been in that city in the year 1027, when the emperor Conrad II. was also there for the purpose of his coronation. From the same letter we learn that he had obtained certain privileges for English pilgrims going to Rome, and an abatement of the large sums exacted from the archbishops for their palls. On the other hand, he enforced the payment of Peter's pence and other ecclesiastical dues.

As an evidence of his magnanimity, tradition refers to Canute the following story:—When some of his courtiers had launched out one day in admiration of his grandeur, he commanded his chair to be set on the sea-shore. As the tide rose and the waters approached, he bade them recede and obey the voice of their lord, feigning

* The origin of Earl Godwin still remains a problem. His father, Wulfnoth, is made by some of the early chroniclers a churl (or peasant) near Sherborne; by others, a nephew of Edric, the traitor earl of Mercia; by others, a man of rank or a child—"A title nearly synonymous with *ætheling*, but not confined to

royalty."—*Thorpe*, "*Child (cild) Wulfnoth, the South Saxon*." Mr. Freeman inclines to accept the last statement (*Norman Conquest*, vol. i. Appendix F).

† The name of Wends was given by the Germans and Scandinavians to their Slavonic neighbours.

to sit some time in expectation of their submission. But as the sea still advanced and began to wet his feet, he turned to his courtiers, and said, "The power of kings is but vanity. He only is king who can say to the ocean, *Thus far shalt thou go and no further.*" And from that time he never bore his crown.

§ 4. The only memorable action which Canute performed, after his return from Rome, was an expedition against Malcolm II., king of Scotland, whom he reduced to subjection, with two under kings, one of whom was Macbeth (1031). Canute died at Shaftesbury in 1035, leaving by his first marriage two sons, Sweyn and Harold, and by Emma another son, named, from his bodily strength, Harthacnut or Hardicanute. To the last he had given Denmark; on Sweyn he had bestowed Norway; and Harold was in England at the time of his father's death.

§ 5. HAROLD I. HAREFOOT, 1035-1040.—According to Canute's marriage contract with Emma, Hardicanute should have succeeded him on the English throne: but the absence of that prince in Denmark, as well as his unpopularity among the Danish part of the population, caused him to lose one-half of the kingdom. Leofric, now earl of Mercia, supported the pretensions of Harold, whose presence in England was of great service to his cause, whilst the powerful earl Godwin embraced the cause of Hardicanute. A civil war was, however, averted by a compromise. It was agreed that Harold should retain London, with all the provinces north of the Thames, while the possession of the south should remain to Hardicanute. Till that prince should appear and take possession of his dominions, Emma fixed her residence at Winchester, and established her authority over her son's share of the partition, aided by Godwin, who governed it already as earl.

Edward and Alfred, Emma's sons by Æthelred, still cherished hopes of ascending the throne. Their mother had sacrificed their claims on her marriage with Canute. Their uncle, duke Robert of Normandy, had threatened, or even attempted, an invasion on their behalf (1029 or 1030)*. The details of the story are differently told, but the English account is as follows: "This year the innocent Ætheling Alfred, son of king Æthelred, came hither (1036), and would go to his mother (Emma), who resided at Winchester; but this earl Godwin would not permit, nor other men also, who could exercise much power; because the public voice was then really in favour of Harold, though it was unjust. Godwin hindered him, set him in durance, and dispersed his companions. Some were slain, some sold for money, some burned, blinded, mutilated, and scalped.

* The obscurity of this period is due to the great conflict of the authorities | English, Norman, German, and Scandinavian. (See Note A.)

No bloodier deed was done in this country since the Danes came. The ætheling was carried to Ely. As soon as the ship neared the land, they blinded him and committed him to the monks. After he died he was buried at the west end nigh to the steeple in the south porch.* The death of Alfred resulted in the election of Harold, who was "chosen over all for king;" the people forsaking Hardicanute "because he stayed too long in Denmark" (1037). Fearful lest a similar fate should befall Edward, his mother sent him over to the continent. She herself shortly after was driven out, "without any mercy, against the stormy weather," and took refuge with count Baldwin at Bruges. These were the only memorable actions performed in the reign of Harold, who, from his agility in hunting, apparently his only accomplishment, obtained the name of *Harefoot*. He died on the 17th March, 1040.

§ 6. HARDICANUTE, 1040-1042.—On the intelligence of his brother's death, Hardicanute immediately proceeded to London, where he was acknowledged king of all England without opposition. His first act was to disinter the body of his brother Harold. The corpse was decapitated and thrown into the Thames; but being found by a fisherman, was buried by the Danes of London in their cemetery at St. Clement's. Little memorable occurred in this reign. Hardicanute renewed the imposition of *Danegeld*, and obliged the nation to pay a great sum of money to the fleet which brought him from Denmark. The discontent in consequence ran high in many places, and especially at Worcester, which was set on fire and plundered by the soldiers. Hardicanute died suddenly about two years after his accession, whilst in the act of raising the cup to his lips at a marriage festival at Lambeth (A.D. 1042).

II. THE KINGDOM IS RESTORED TO THE LINE OF CERDIC, A.D. 1042-1066.

§ 7. EDWARD THE CONFESSOR, 1042-1066.—The death of Hardicanute seemed to present to the English a favourable opportunity for recovering their liberty and shaking off the Danish yoke. Edward the ætheling was in England on his half-brother's demise; and though the son of Edmund Ironside was the more direct heir of the West Saxon family, his absence in so remote a country as Hungary appeared a sufficient reason for his exclusion. The claims of Edward were supported by Godwin, who only stipulated that he should marry the earl's daughter Editha, as he did two years later. Edward was crowned king with every demonstration of duty and

* This account of the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* agrees with Florence of Worcester and Simeon of Durham. For fuller discussion see Freeman's *Norman Conquest*, vol. I. pp. 542-560.

affection; and, by the mildness of his character, he soon reconciled the Danes to his administration.

One of the first acts of Edward was to strip his mother Emma of the immense treasures which she had amassed, "because she had done for him less than he would, before he was king, and also since." She was immured for the remainder of her life at Winchester, but he carried his rigour against her no further. As she was unpopular in England, the king's severity, though exposed to some censure, met with no general disapprobation.

§ 8. But, though freed from the incursions of the Danes, the nation was not yet delivered from the dominion of foreigners. Edward, having been educated in Normandy, had contracted an affection for the manners of that country. The court was filled with Normans, who by their superior culture and the partiality of Edward soon rendered their language, customs, and laws fashionable in England. The church, above all, felt the influence of these strangers, some of whom were appointed to ecclesiastical dignities, and Robert, a Norman, was even promoted to the see of Canterbury (1051). These proceedings paved the way to the Norman Conquest, and excited the jealousy of earl Godwin and the English. Besides the southern parts of Wessex, Godwin had the counties of Kent and Sussex under his government. His eldest son, Sweyn, possessed the same authority in the northern parts of Wessex and in the south of Mercia, that is, in the counties of Oxford, Berks, Gloucester, Somerset, and Hereford; whilst Harold, his second son, was earl of East Anglia, including Essex. The enormous influence of this family was supported by immense possessions and powerful alliances; and the abilities, as well as ambition, of Godwin contributed to render him still more dangerous. He was opposed by Leofric and Siward, the earls of Mercia and Northumbria; and another earldom (including the shires of Warwick and Worcester) was carved out of Mercia for Ralph, the king's nephew, a Frenchman.*

It was not long before the animosity against the Norman favourites broke out into action. Eustace, count of Boulogne, the stepfather of Ralph the earl, having paid a visit to the king, passed by Dover on his return (1051). One of his train, being refused admittance into a lodging which had been assigned to him, attempted to make his way by force, and in the contest wounded the owner of the house. The inhabitants flew to his assistance; a tumult ensued, in which nearly

* He was the son of Goda, the king's sister, by her first husband, Drogo of Mantua, and commanded the Norman mercenaries. As leaders in war, the earls

were also called dukes (from the Latin *dux*), just as the caldormen had been called *heretogas*.

20 persons were killed on each side; and Eustace, overpowered by numbers, was obliged to save his life by flight from the fury of the populace. On the complaint of Eustace, the king gave orders to Godwin, in whose government Dover lay, to punish the inhabitants; but "the earl would not agree, because he was loath to injure his own followers." Touched in so sensible a point, Edward threatened Godwin with the utmost effects of his resentment if he persisted in his disobedience.

Whatever may have been the faults of Godwin, he had the good fortune, the policy, or the skill, to appear in the present conjuncture as the patriotic defender of the English cause against the foreign predilections of his sovereign. He had now gone too far to retreat, and therefore he and his sons, Sweyn and Harold, assembled their forces on the Cotswold Hills, for the purpose of overawing the king and compelling him to redress the grievances of the nation. But the two earls, Leofric of Mercia, and Siward of Northumberland, with the French earl Ralph, embraced the king's cause, and assembled a numerous army. To avoid bloodshed it was agreed, on the proposal of Leofric, to refer the quarrel to the Witan; but when Godwin approached London for that purpose, his followers dropped away, and he found himself outnumbered. Sweyn was declared an outlaw; Godwin and Harold were summoned to take their trial, but, refusing to appear, unless hostages were given for their safety, they were ordered to leave the country within five days. Baldwin, earl of Flanders, gave protection to Godwin and his three sons, Sweyn, Gurth, and Tostig, the last of whom had married the daughter of that prince; Harold and Leofwine, his two other sons, took shelter in Ireland with Dermot, king of Leinster. The estates of the father and sons were confiscated, their governments given to others; queen Editha was shut up in a monastery at Wherwell, near Andover, where the king's sister was abbess. The greatness of this family, once so formidable, seemed now to be totally supplanted and overthrown (1051).

§ 9. The Norman influence was now again in the ascendant; and before the end of the year, William, duke of Normandy, the king's near kinsman, paid a visit to Edward.* But Godwin had fixed his authority on too firm a basis, and was too strongly supported by alliances both foreign and domestic, not to occasion further disturbances, and make new efforts for his re-establishment. He fitted out a fleet in the Flemish harbours, and being joined at the Isle of Wight by his son Harold, with a squadron collected in Ireland, he entered the Thames, and, appearing before London, where the

* William had become duke of Normandy by his father Robert's death in the year of Canute's death (1035).

people were favourably disposed to him, threw everything into confusion (1052). The king alone seemed resolved to defend himself to the last extremity; but the interposition of the English nobility, many of whom favoured Godwin's pretensions, made Edward hearken to terms of accommodation, and it was agreed that hostages should be given on both sides. At a *witena-gemót* held outside the walls of London, Godwin and his sons were declared innocent of the charges laid against them, and were restored to their honours and possessions; the French were outlawed; the archbishop of Canterbury and the bishops of London and Dorchester escaped into Normandy. Godwin's death, which happened soon after, while he was sitting at table with the king, prevented him from further establishing the authority he had acquired (1053). As his son Sweyn had died on a pilgrimage to Jerusalem, Godwin was succeeded in his governments and offices by his son Harold, now earl of Wessex, who was actuated by an ambition equal to that of his father, and was superior to him in address, in insinuation, and in virtue. By a modest and gentle demeanour he acquired the goodwill of Edward, and, gaining every day new partisans by his bounty and affability, he proceeded in a more silent and therefore a more dangerous manner to augment his authority.

§ 10. The death of Siward of Northumbria, in 1055, removed the last obstacle to Harold's ambition. Besides his other merits, Siward had acquired honour by his successful conduct in the only foreign enterprise undertaken during the reign of Edward. Duncan I., king of Scotland, the successor of Malcolm II., was a young prince of a gentle disposition, but possessed not the genius or firmness required for governing so turbulent a country. Macbeth (Macbeth), the powerful chief of Moray, was married to Gruach (the Lady Macbeth of Shakspeare), whose descent from Kenneth III. constituted a claim to the crown for Lulach, her son by a former marriage. In one of the frequent petty wars of that turbulent realm, Duncan was defeated and murdered on his retreat into Moray; Malcolm Canmore (i.e. Greathead), his son and heir, was chased into England, and Macbeth seized the kingdom, which he ruled ably and well (1040). Some years later, Siward, whose kinswoman was married to Duncan, avenged, by Edward's orders, the royal cause. He marched an army into Scotland, defeated Macbeth at Dunsinane (1054), and set Malcolm on the throne. Macbeth and Lulach prolonged the contest till Macbeth was killed at the battle of Lumphanan, in Aberdeenshire (1056 or 1058). Siward died the year after the battle of Dunsinane; and as his son, Waltheof, appeared too young to be intrusted with the government of Northumberland, it was obtained by Harold's influence for his own brother Tostig.

§ 11. Meanwhile Edward, feeling himself far advanced in life, began to think of appointing a successor, and sent a deputation to Hungary to invite over his nephew Edward, called the "Stranger," or the "Outlaw," son of his elder brother, Edmund Ironside, and the only remaining heir of the West-Saxon line. That prince, whose succession to the crown would have been easy and undisputed, came to England with his young children, Edgar the ætheling, Margaret, and Christina; but his death, which happened a few days after his arrival (1037), threw the king into fresh difficulties. He saw that Harold was tempted by his great power and ambition to aspire to the throne, and that Edgar, a mere child, was very unfit to oppose the pretensions of so popular and enterprising a rival. In this uncertainty he is said to have cast his eye towards his kinsman, William, duke of Normandy, as the only person whose power, reputation, and capacity could support any arrangement which might be made in his favour, to the exclusion of Harold and his family.

§ 12. In communicating his design to William, Edward, according to some accounts, chose Harold himself as his ambassador, commanding him to deliver to the duke a sword and a ring as pledges of his intention. But though Harold may have paid a visit to the court of the duke of Normandy, the circumstances attending it, and even the date, are involved in obscurity. The more probable account is that Harold was shipwrecked on the coast of Ponthieu, and thrown into prison by count Guy, until his ransom was paid. William claimed the prisoner from his vassal, and received Harold with honour and kindness; but he employed this opportunity to extort from Harold a promise that he would support his pretensions to the English throne, and made him swear that he would deliver up the castle of Dover. To render the oath more obligatory, he employed an artifice well suited to the superstition of the age. Unknown to Harold, he conveyed under the altar, on which Harold agreed to swear, the reliques of certain martyrs; and when Harold had taken the oath, William showed him the reliques, and admonished him to observe religiously an engagement which had been ratified by so tremendous a sanction. Harold, dissembling his concern, renewed his professions, and was dismissed with all the marks of confidence by the duke, who promised to maintain him in all his possessions, and give him his daughter Adeliza in marriage.*

§ 13. In what manner Harold observed the oath thus extorted from him by fear, we shall presently see. Meanwhile, he continued to practise every art of popularity; and fortune threw two incidents

* As no altar in those days was without its relics, this could be no cause for Harold's astonishment.

in his way by which he was enabled to acquire fresh favour. The first of these was the reduction of Wales; the second related to his brother Tostig, who, as earl of Northumberland, had acted with so much cruelty and injustice, that the inhabitants, taking advantage of his absence in the south, deposed him, and offered the earldom to Morcar, grandson of Leofric (1065). As Morcar led an army of his new subjects southwards, he was joined by his brother Edwin, the earl of Mercia. When met at Northampton by Harold, who had been commissioned by the king to reduce and chastise the Northumbrians, Morcar made so vigorous a remonstrance against Tostig's tyranny, that Harold found it prudent to abandon his brother's cause; and, returning to Edward, he persuaded him to pardon the Northumbrians and confirm Morcar in his new government. Tostig, in rage, took shelter in Flanders with earl Baldwin, his brother-in-law. Emboldened by these successes, as well as by the friendship of Morcar and Edwin, and his marriage with the widow of king Griffith, Edwin's sister, Harold now openly aspired to the crown. Broken with age and infirmities, Edward died on the 5th of January, 1066, in the 65th year of his age and 25th of his reign. By some authorities he is said, on his deathbed, to have recommended Harold for his successor.

§ 14. This prince, who about a century after his death was canonized with the surname of "the Confessor," by a bull of pope Alexander III., was the last of the direct Saxon line that ruled in England. Though his reign was peaceable and fortunate, he owed his prosperity less to his own abilities than to the conjuncture of the times. The Danes, employed in other enterprises, no longer attempted those incursions which had been so troublesome to all his predecessors, and so fatal to some of them. The facility of his disposition made him acquiesce in the designs of Godwin and his son Harold; and their abilities, as well as their power, enabled them to preserve peace and tranquillity at home. The most commendable circumstance of Edward's government was his attention to the administration of justice, and his compilation, for that purpose, of a body of laws, collected from the laws of Æthelbert, Ina, and Alfred. Though now lost—for the code that passes under Edward's name was composed at a later period—it was long the object of affection to the English nation.* Edward was buried in Westminster Abbey, which was consecrated only a few days before his death. This church was erected by Edward and dedicated to

* It was not the laws in this restricted sense that the people demanded—if ever they did demand them—but the milder rule and administration prevailing before

the Conquest, as compared with the harsher rule after the Conquest. But as such complaints under such circumstances are universal, they prove nothing.

St. Peter, in pursuance of the directions of pope Leo IX., as the condition of the king's release from a pilgrimage to Rome. Its site was previously occupied by a church erected by Sebert, king of Essex, which had long gone to ruin. Only a few insignificant fragments of this first Norman church in England had survived its demolition in the thirteenth century, when the new minster was commenced by Henry III. in honour of the Confessor. Edward was the first sovereign who touched for the king's evil.

§ 15. HAROLD II., 1066.—Harold's accession to the throne was attended with as little opposition and disturbance as if he had succeeded by the most undoubted hereditary title. On the day after Edward's death he was crowned and anointed king by Aldred, archbishop of York; and the whole nation seemed to acquiesce joyfully in his elevation. But in Normandy the intelligence of Harold's accession moved William to the highest pitch of indignation. He sent an embassy to England, upbraiding him with breach of faith, and summoning him to resign immediately possession of the kingdom, or at least to keep his promise of marrying William's daughter and holding England as his vassal. Harold refused to comply. The answer was no other than William expected. He assembled a fleet of nearly 1000 vessels, great and small, and an army, variously estimated, from 14,000 to 60,000 men. Several European rulers declared in favour of his claim: but his most important ally was pope Alexander II., who proclaimed Harold a perjured usurper, denounced excommunication against him and his adherents, and, the more to encourage the duke of Normandy in his enterprise, sent him a consecrated banner, and a ring with one of St. Peter's hairs in it.

The first blow, however, was struck by Harold's brother Tostig, who sailed in the spring of the year with a considerable fleet from the Flemish ports, and ravaged the southern and eastern coasts of England. Repulsed by earls Morcar and Edwin, he took refuge with the Scottish king, Malcolm Canmore. On the appearance of a large fleet in the Tyne under Harold Hardrada, king of Norway, Tostig hastened to join his force with the invader, promising him half of England as the price of his assistance. Scarborough was taken and burned, and the earls Edwin and Morcar were defeated in a bloody battle at Fulford on the Ouse, near Bishopthorpe. Harold now hastened with a large army into the north; and he reached the enemy at Stamford Bridge, near York, called afterwards Battle Bridge. A bloody but decisive action was fought on Monday, the 25th of September, which ended in the total rout of the Norwegians, with the death of Tostig and of Harold Hardrada. Harold had scarcely time to rejoice in his victory, when he received intelligence

that the duke of Normandy had landed with a great army in the south of England.

§ 16. The Norman fleet sailed from St. Valery-sur-Somme on the 27th of September, and arrived safely at Pevensey, in Sussex, on the eve of the feast of St. Michael. The army quietly disembarked. The duke himself, as he leaped on shore, happened to stumble and fall; but had the presence of mind, it is said, to turn the omen to his advantage, by calling aloud that he had taken possession of the country.*

Harold hastened by quick marches to oppose the invader; but, though he was reinforced at London and other places with fresh troops, he found himself weakened by the desertion of Edwin and Morcar, who kept back the great forces of their earldoms. His brother Gurth, a man of bravery and conduct, entertaining apprehensions of the result, remonstrated with the king, urging him to defer an engagement. The enemy, he said, harassed with small skirmishes, straitened in provisions, fatigued with bad weather and deep roads during the winter season, which was approaching, would fall an easy and a bloodless prey. But Harold was deaf to all these remonstrances. He resolved to give battle in person, and for that purpose drew near to the Normans, who had removed their camp and fleet to Hastings, where they fixed their quarters (Oct. 13).

After fruitless negotiations on both sides, the English and Normans prepared for the combat. The two camps presented a very different aspect: the English spent the time in revelry and feasting; the Normans in silence and prayer. On Saturday morning, the 14th of October, the duke called together the most considerable of his commanders, and made them a speech suitable to the occasion. He then ordered the signal of battle to be given. The whole army, led on by the minstrel Taillefer, advanced in order and with alacrity towards the enemy, singing the hymn or song of Roland, the peer of Charlemagne.

Barring the road to London, Harold had seized the advantage of a rising ground at Senlac, eight miles from Hastings, and resolved to stand on the defensive. He surrounded his camp with a stockade, crowned with a fence of wattled branches against the Norman arrows. The English, as was their invariable custom, fought on foot. The Kentishmen were placed in the van, a post which they had always claimed as their due; the militia, who were poorly armed, were posted on the wings; in the centre, the king, accompanied by his two valiant brothers, Gurth and Leof-

* The incident might seem to have been borrowed from ancient times; but its pertinency on this occasion is strengthened by

the fact that one method of taking possession, according to feudal usage, consisted in laying the hand on a wall or piece of land.

wine, placed himself at the head of his mail-clad bodyguard (or house-carls), close to the royal standard. The spot where the standard was pitched was long marked by the site of the high altar of "Battle Abbey," which William had vowed to build on that very spot in honour of St. Martin. For some hours the battle raged with doubtful success, till William commanded his troops to make a hasty retreat, and allure the enemy from their ground by the appearance of flight. Heated by action, and sanguine of victory, the English precipitately followed the Normans into the plain, when William ordered the infantry to fate their pursuers. Assaulted upon their wings at the same moment by the Norman cavalry, the English were repulsed with great slaughter; but, being rallied by the bravery of Harold, they were still able to maintain their post. The duke tried the same stratagem a second time with the same success; but even after this second advantage he still found a great body of the English who seemed determined to dispute the ground to the last extremity. Ordering his heavy-armed infantry to advance, he posted his archers behind them to gall the enemy, who, exposed by the situation of the ground, were intent on defending themselves against the swords and spears of their assailants. The stratagem prevailed. Harold fell, pierced in the right eye by an arrow, while he was fighting with great bravery at the head of his men. His body was mangled by a band of Norman knights, who had vowed to take the standard, and cut their way through his valiant body-guards. His two brothers had already fallen. Thus the great and decisive victory of Hastings was gained, after a battle fought from morning till sunset, with an heroic valour on both sides, to decide the fate of a mighty kingdom.* The body of Harold, mutilated and defaced beyond recognition, was found on the field. William ordered it to be buried on the sea-shore under a cairn of stones, the well-known sign of execration, but afterwards allowed it to be removed to the abbey of Waltham, founded by Harold. It was entombed beside the high altar of the grand Norman church, but again removed to another spot in the choir, which was pulled down at the dissolution of the monastery (1540). Till then a tomb used to be shown bearing the inscription: "HIC JACET HAROLDUS INFELIX."

* The battle of Hastings is depicted on the Bayeux tapestry. This curious piece of needlework, 214 feet long and 19 inches broad, which is still preserved at Bayeux, represents the whole history of the expedition, as well as the battle. According to tradition, it was worked by Matilda, the wife of William the Conqueror; but it was

more probably worked for the Conqueror's brother, bishop Odo, as an ornament of his newly built cathedral at Bayeux. It may be regarded not only as a faithful representation of the costume of the period, but as a contemporary authority for the history of the invasion, though of course from a Norman point of view.

NOTES AND ILLUSTRATIONS.

A. THE GOVERNMENT, LAWS, AND INSTITUTIONS OF THE ANGLO-SAXONS.

1. *Introduction*.—The completeness of the Anglo-Saxon conquest has been inferred from the establishment of their language in England. Even the British names of places yielded to Anglo-Saxon ones, with some few exceptions, and those chiefly in the border counties and in Cornwall. "No one travelling through England," says Mr. Hallam (*Middle Ages*, ch. viii. note e), "would discover that any people had ever inhabited it before the Saxons, save so far as the mighty Rome has left traces of her empire in some enduring walls, and a few names that betray the colonial city, the Londinium, the Camalodunum, the Lindum." It follows that the laws and customs of England were mainly of German origin. See Stubbs's *Constitutional History of England*, vol. i., chapters i.-iv.

2. *The King and Royal family*.—The Teutonic tribes that invaded Britain, like their ancestors in the wilds and woods of Germany, had no regular or permanent king, but elected a supreme head as occasion required, who, as his office chiefly consisted in directing their warlike expeditions, obtained the name of *Heretoga*, or army-leader (in modern German *herzog*, "duke"). Among the Saxons and Frisians of the continent this state of things continued much longer than in England, where the acquisition of a territory by conquest raised the victorious chief to the position of king. Thus, in the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, Hengest and Horsa are *heretogas* when they come to Britain (448); but after the battle of Aylesford (455) Hengest and his son Æsc took the kingdom (*feng to rice*); and in 488 Æsc succeeds his father as king (*cyning*),* that title being now first given to one of the conquerors. So Cerdic and Cynric come as *ealdormen* (496), and in 519 they take the kingdom (*rice*) of the West-Saxons. The fact that, in each of these cases, the son is named as becoming

* This word is supposed to be of Sanscrit origin, meaning "Father of the Family." (See Stubbs's *Const. Hist.* vol. i. p. 140.)

king with his father, stamps the office at once with a certain hereditary character, which was wanting in the old German elective chieftainship. In the early period of the Anglo-Saxon occupation the kingly dignity remained really or nominally elective; but the crown was retained in the royal family, except in great emergencies, where (as with Canute and William) the hard fact of conquest was veiled under the form of election. There was, however, no fixed rule of succession. If the eldest son of the deceased monarch was qualified, he had the preference, but not without the consent of the great council, which was often merely formal; their authority in this or other matters varying according to the power and character of the monarch. But if he was a minor, or otherwise disqualified, he was sometimes set aside, and another appointed from the reigning family. The right of election appears to have belonged to the whole nation, but it was really exercised by the *Witan*, consisting of the prelates and the nobles, the share of the people in the act being confined to the acclamations of such as might happen to be present at the "hallowing" of the king. This ceremony, which included both coronation and unction, performed by the bishops, signified a religious sanction of the king's authority. In the same spirit, the king took an oath that he would govern rightly, and, under the successors of Alfred, when the idea of kingly sanctity had grown stronger, the people took an oath of allegiance. By degrees the kingly power grew stronger in England, especially after the separate kingdoms became merged into one. The kings then began to assume more high-sounding titles; as that of *Basileus*—borrowed from the Byzantine court—Imperator, *Primicerius*, *Flavius*, *Augustus*, etc.; some of which are not very intelligible. Egbert, however, and his five immediate successors, contented themselves with the title of kings of Wessex. Edward the elder assumed the style of "king of the Angles" (*rex Anglorum*), whilst Athelstan called himself "king of all Britain" (*totius Britannie monarchus, rex, or rector*), and was

the first to introduce the Greek name of *basileus*. Edwy and Edgar are remarkable for their pompous titles.

The king, like the rest of his subjects, had a *werigild*, or fixed price for his life, the amount of which varied in different kingdoms, but was of course considerably higher than that of his most distinguished subjects. This was increased by Alfred, who made the compassing of the king's death a capital offence, attended with confiscation. The king's sons, or, in their default, those who had the next pretension to the succession, were called *athelings*, or nobles.* The consort of an Anglo-Saxon king was styled emphatically "the wife" (*queen*), "the lady" (*Alfred's*). She was crowned and consecrated like him, had a separate court, and a separate property, besides her dowry, or "morning gifts" (*morning-gifts*).

3. *Division of ranks*.—The whole free population of England under the rank of royalty may be divided into two main classes of *eorls* (earls) and *ceorls* (churls); that is, gentle and simple, or nobles and yeomen.

Ealdormen.—In ancient times the affairs of each tribe were directed by the *elders* (*ealdorman*, alderman), which name thus became synonymous with *chief*. Hence *ealdorman* was the chief title of nobility among the Anglo-Saxons. It was the next rank after the king, and was applied to any man in authority, but more especially to the governor of a shire, or a large district including several shires. The title of *ealdorman* corresponds to the *princeps* of Tacitus, the *sutrapa* or *subregulus* of Bede, the *dux* of the Latin chroniclers, and the *comes* of the Normans. The office was properly elective, but in the larger districts or sub-kingdoms it was to a considerable extent hereditary. In this case, the election apparently required the consent of the king and the *Witan*. In the 11th century, under the Danish monarchs, an important change was introduced in the appellation of ranks. The word *eorl* lost its general sense of good birth, and became an official title, equivalent to alderman, and was applied to the governor of a shire or province. In this sense, both the word *eorl* and the Danish *jari* came to be merged in the title *earl*. The term

earl as a general designation of nobility was now supplanted by *thane*; and hence in the later period of Anglo-Saxon monuments we find *thane* opposed to *eorl*, as *eorl* is in the earlier (Hallam's *Middle Ages*, vol. ii. pp. 360, 361). The ealdorman, or earl, and bishop were of equal rank, whilst the archbishop was equal to the *atheling*, or member of the royal house. After the Norman Conquest the title of alderman seems to have been restricted to the magistrates of cities and boroughs.

Thanes.—Next in degree to the alderman was the *thane* (A.S. *thaga* or *thegn*).^a There were different degrees of *thanes*, the highest being those called king's *thanes*, the warrior *comites* of the king. It was necessary that the lesser *thane* should have five hides of land (about 500 acres); whilst the qualification of the alderman was forty, or eight times as much. This class formed a nobility† arising from office or service; but subsequently the hereditary possession of land produced an hereditary nobility; and at length it became so much dependent upon property, that the mere possession of five hides of land, together with a chapel, a kitchen, a hall; and a bell, converted a churl into a *thane*. In like manner, as we have seen, by a law of Athelstan (which, however, was perhaps only a confirmation of an ancient charter), a merchant who had made three voyages on his own account became a *thane*. The *thane* was liable to military service, and was therefore on a par with the *eques*, or knight. Probably he had a vote in the national council.

Ceorls or *churls*.—Between the *thane* and the *serf*, or slave, was the *churl* or *freeman* (sometimes also called *frigman*; in Lat. *villanus*; Norm. *villain*). But every man was obliged by law to place himself under the protection of some lord, failing which he might be seized as a robber. The *ceorls* were for the most part not independent freeholders, and cultivated the lands of their lords, on which they were bound to reside, and

* Commonly derived from *thegnan*, "to serve," as if the king's servant. But the proper meaning of the word seems to be a *warrior*; and the second sense of service came from the military service rendered by the *thanes*.

† It has often been stated that there was no nobility of blood, except in the royal family. Mr. Stubbs thinks that a class of nobles, descended from the ancient settlers (*eorles* and *athels*), was gradually merged in the class of nobles by office and service (Stubbs' *Const. Hist.* vol. i. p. 151).

^a *Atheling* is a patronymic from *Æthel*, "noble," which forms the prefix of so many of the Anglo-Saxon names.

could not quit, though in other respects they were freemen. But there were several conditions of *ceorls*, who in the Domesday Book form two-fifths of the registered inhabitants. We have already seen that the *ceorl* might acquire land, and that, if he obtained as much as five hides, he became forthwith a *thane*. Hence there must have been many *ceorls* in England who were independent freeholders possessing less than this quantity of land, (probably the *Socmanni* or *Socmen* of Domesday Book), whom Mr. Hallam describes as "the root of a noble plant, the free socage tenants, of English yeomanry, whose independence has stamped with peculiar features both our constitution and our national character" (*Middle Ages*, vol. ii. p. 274).

Serfs.—The lowest class were the *serfs*, or servile population (*theowas*, *seras*), of whom 25,000 are registered in Domesday Book, or nearly one-eleventh of the registered population. Slaves were of two kinds—hereditary or penal. A free Anglo-Saxon could become a slave only through crime, or default of himself or forefathers in not paying a *wer-gild*; or by voluntary sale—the father having power to sell a child of seven, and a child of thirteen having power to sell itself. The great majority of slaves probably consisted of captured Celts or their descendants: a conclusion which seems to be corroborated by the fact that this class was by far the most numerous towards the Welsh borders, and that several Celtic words preserved in our language relate to menial employment.

Clergy.—The clergy occupied an influential station in society. They took a great share in the proceedings of the national council; and in the court of the shire the bishop presided along with the alderman. This influence was a natural result of their superior learning in those ignorant ages, as well as of the veneration paid to their sacerdotal character.

4. *The Witen-gemot*.—The great national council (corresponding at first with the *concilium principum* of Tacitus), whether of each state, like Kent or Wessex, or of the whole united kingdom of the Angles and Saxons, must not be conceived of as a popular assembly, like the *folk-moot* of each shire. It was called *Witena-gemot*, assembly of the *Witan* (*sapientes*), wise, able, or noble men. Its constitution,

numbers, and privileges are quite uncertain. It was generally composed, according to the expression, of bishops, abbots, and ealdormen, and of the noble and wise of the kingdom; but who these last were is uncertain. Probably they comprised the royal, if not the lower, *thanes*. But it is now generally admitted that the *ceorls* had not the smallest share in the deliberation of the national assembly; that no traces exist of elective deputies, either of shires or cities; and that the Saxon *Witena-gemot* cannot therefore be considered as the prototype of the modern Parliament. The Anglo-Saxon laws are declared to have been made (in varied phraseology) by the king, with the counsel or consent of the *Witan*, or the *wise*. They are found associated with the king in making grants of land and in taxation; and they exercised both civil and criminal judicature. Sometimes they elected the kings, and, when they could, deposed them. From the names subscribed to extant acts, the *Witena-gemot* must have been a small assembly, their number, time, and place of meeting depending apparently on the pleasure of the king.

5. *Division of the soil*. *Folk-land and Boc-land*.—The soil of England was distributed in the manner usual among the Germans upon the continent. Part of the land remained the property of the state, and part was granted to individuals in perpetuity as freeholds. The former was called *Folk-land*, the land of the folk, or the people, and might either be occupied in common, or parcelled out to individuals for a term, on the expiration of which it reverted to the state. The land detached from the *folk-land*, and granted to individuals in perpetuity as freehold, was called *Boc-land*, from *boc*, a book or writing, because the possession of such estates was secured by a deed or charter. Originally they were conveyed by some token, such as a piece of turf, the branch of a tree, a spear, a drinking-horn, &c.; and in the case of lands granted to the church, these tokens were solemnly deposited upon the altar. There are instances of such conveyances as late as the Conquest. The title to land thus conveyed seems to have been equally valid with that of *boc-land*; but the latter name can be applied with propriety only to such land as was conveyed by writing. *Boc-land* was exempt from all public

burthens, except those called the *trinoda necessitas*, or liability to military service, and of contributing to the repair of fortresses and bridges (*fyrd, burh-bôt, and brycg-bôt*). *Boc-land* was granted by the king with the consent of the *Witens*. It could be held by freemen of all ranks, and even bequeathed to females; but in the latter case only in usufruct, reverting after the death of a female holder to the male line. After the Norman conquest we hear no more of *sok-land*: what remained of it at that period became *terra regia*, or crown-land: except a remnant, of which there are traces in the common lands of the present day. This was a consequence of the feudalism introduced by the Normans, by which all England was regarded as the demesne of the king, held under him by feudal tenure.

6. *Shires*.—The territorial division of shires or counties, though ancient, was not common in England. They are first mentioned in connection with Wessex and the laws of king Ina. The smaller kingdoms and their subdivisions fell naturally into shires, as Kent, Sussex, Surrey, Essex, and Norfolk and Suffolk in East Anglia. At what time the complete distribution of counties was effected is unknown; but they existed undoubtedly in their present state at the time of the Conquest. The counties of York and Lincoln, apparently from their great size, were divided, probably by the Danes, into thirds called *treðings*, which, under the corrupt name of *rādings*, still exist in the former. In the later Anglo-Saxon times a *scir-gemôt* (shire-mote, or county court) was held twice a year—in the beginning of May and October—in which all the thanes were entitled to a seat and a vote. Its functions were judicial, and it was presided over by the ealdorman, or earl—the executive governor of the county—and by the bishop; for the ecclesiastical dioceses were originally identical with the counties. Hume justly remarks that, among a people who lived in so simple a manner as the Anglo-Saxons, the judicial power is always of more importance than the legislative; and the thanes were mainly indebted for the preservation of their liberties to their possessing the judicial power in their own county courts. The *scir-gerefa* (shire-reeve, sheriff) was the executive officer appointed by the king to carry out the decrees of the court, to levy distresses,

take charge of prisoners, &c. The sheriff was at first only an assessor, but in process of time he became a joint president; and ultimately sole president. This court survived the Conquest; and it is the opinion of Mr. Hallam that it contributed in no small degree to fix the liberties of England by curbing the feudal aristocracy (*Middle Ages*, vol. II. p. 277).

7. *Hundreds*.—Division into hundreds was ancient among the Teutonic races, and is mentioned by Tacitus (Germ. § and 12). It had a *personal* basis. Each *pagus*, or district, composed of several *vici* (villages or townships), sent its 100 warriors to the host, and its court had 100 assessors with the *princeps* (or ealdorman), and both these may possibly represent 100 free families to which the land of the district was originally allotted (Stubbs, *Const. Hist.* vol. I. p. 31). This, however, is only an hypothesis. In England the constitution of the hundreds is so anomalous, that it is impossible to ascertain the principle on which it was formed. Some of the smaller shires present the greatest number of hundreds; but this may have arisen from their being more densely populated. In the time of Edward the Confessor, the hundreds of Northamptonshire seem to have consisted of 100 hides of land. In the north of England the wapentake corresponded to the hundred of the southern districts. The name, which literally signifies "the touching of arms," was derived from the ceremony which took place on the inauguration of the chief magistrate, when, having dismounted from his horse, he fixed his spear in the ground, which was then touched with the spears of those present. The hundred-mote, or court of the hundred, was held by its own hundredman under the sheriff's writ, and was a court of justice for suitors within the hundred. But all important cases were decided by the county court; and in course of time the jurisdiction of the court of the hundred was confined to the punishment of petty offences and the maintenance of a local police.

8. The *Township* or *Village* (*vicar, villata; tūn, tūnscepe*) was the territorial unit of the system, and is itself based on the family, which is its original unit. The first element in the state was the individual freeman; his first relation to the community is that of the family; and the tie of kindred (*magburh*) was the first

constitutional bond. A body of kinsmen, holding a district of land as their common property, and having their homesteads clustered together in its midst, is the first general type of a Germanic community; and the original bond of kindred may probably still be traced in many of the names of places in England which end in the patronymic *ing* (with or without a local termination, as *ham* (home), *ton* (town), &c. But the cluster of homesteads formed the village (*vicus*, *wick*), or, with regard to its enclosure (*tân*), the town or township. When fortified, it became the borough (*burh*).^{*} The land around it, whether acquired by original colonization, or (as must have been usually the case in England) a division of territory allotted to a certain number of favourites, who cultivated it in common, and severed from neighbouring settlements by a belt of the original forest or waste, formed the *mark*.[†] But as no certain traces of the mark are to be found in England, the basis of our political organization must rather be sought in the township. "The historical township is the body of allodial owners who have advanced beyond the stage of land-community, retaining many vestiges of that organization; or, the body of tenants of a lord, who regulates them, or allows them to regulate themselves, on principles derived from the same" (Stubbs, i. p. 85). "It may represent the original allotment of the smallest subdivision of the free community, or the settlement of the kindred colonizing on their own account, or the estate of the great proprietor who has a tribe of dependants. Its headman is the *tân-gerefa* (town-reeve), who in the dependent townships is of course nominated by the lord, but in the independent ones may have been originally a chosen officer, although, when the central power has become stronger, he may be (as in the Frank *villa*) the

nominee of the king, or of his officer" (Ibid. p. 83).

9. *Tythings*. *Frankpledge*.—In the later Anglo-Saxon times, and in the southern districts of England, we also find another smaller subdivision, the *tything*, or *tything*, i.e. *tenth part* (of the hundred), or *collection of ten*, synonymous in towns with ward. Every man, whose rank and property did not afford an ostensible guarantee for his good conduct, was compelled, after the reign of Athelstan, to find a surety (*berh*). This surety was afforded by the tythings, the members of which formed, as it were, a perpetual bail for one another's appearance in cases of crime; with, apparently, an ultimate responsibility if the criminal escaped, or if his estate proved inadequate to defray the penalty incurred. In this view the tythings were also called *frith-borks*, or securities for the peace; a term which, having been corrupted into *fri-borg*, gave rise to the Norman appellation of *frankpledge*. The institution seems to have existed only partially in the north of England, where it was called *tenmannas tale* (tenman's tale). Whether the *tything* arose out of the township or was a separate association of freemen by tens is very doubtful.

10. *Punishments*.—Almost every offence could be expiated with money; and in cases of murder and bodily injuries, not only was a price set upon the corpse, called *wer-gild*, or *leod-gild*, or simply *wer* or *leod*,^{*} but there was also a tariff for every part of the body, down to the teeth and nails. Considerable value seems to have been set on personal appearance, as the loss of a man's beard was valued at 20 shillings, the breaking of a thigh at only 12; the loss of a front tooth at 6 shillings, the breaking of a rib at only half that sum. In the case of a freeman this price was paid to his relatives, in that of a slave to his master. In this regulation we see but little advance upon that barbarous state of society in which, in the absence of any public or general law, each family or tribe avenges its own injuries. The *wer-gild* is merely a substitute for personal vengeance. The amount of the *wer-gild* varied according to the rank and property of the individual, and in this sense every man had truly his price. For this pur-

^{*} "The *tân* is originally the enclosure or hedge, whether of the single farm" (still called in Scotland the town), "or of the enclosed village, as the *burh* is the fortified house of the powerful man. The corresponding word in Norse is *garðr*, our *garth* or *yard*. The equivalent German termination is *heim*, our *ham*; the Danish form is *by* (Norse *bá* = German *baum*). The notion of the *wer* or *leod* seems to stand a little further from the primitive settlement."—Stubbs, *Const. Hist.* vol. i. p. 82, note.

[†] On the whole subject of the mark system, see Stubbs, i. c. p. 83, and the authorities there quoted, and especially Sir Henry Maine, *On Village Communities*.

^{*} *Wer* and *leod* both signify *man*, and *gild* money or payment.

pose all society below the rank of the royal family and of an ealdorman was divided into three classes: first, the *twyhynd* man or *ceorl*, whose *wergild*, according to the laws of Mercia, was 200 shillings; secondly, the *sixhynd* man, or lesser thane, whose *wergild* was 600 shillings; and thirdly, the royal thane whose death could not be compensated under 1200 shillings. The *wergild* of an ealdorman was twice as much as that of a royal thane; that of an *ætheling* three times, that of a king commonly six times as much. The value of a man's oath was also estimated by his property. The evidence of a thane in a court of justice counterbalanced that of 12 *ceorls*, and that of an ealdorman the oath of 6 thanes. In cases of foul or wilful murder (*morð*), arson, and theft, capital punishment was sometimes inflicted, if the injured party preferred it to the acceptance of a *wergild*. Treason was a capital crime. Banishment was a customary punishment for atrocious crimes. The banished criminal became an outlaw, and was said to bear a wolf's head; so that if he returned and attempted to defend himself it was lawful for any one to slay him. Cutting off the hands and feet was another punishment for theft. Adultery, though a penal offence, might be expiated, like murder, with a fine.

11. *Courts of justice*.—The two principal courts of justice were the shire-mote, or county court, and the hundred-mote, of the constitution of both of which we have already spoken. From the county court an appeal lay to the king. In the county court, as observed above, all the thanes had a right to vote; but as so large and tumultuous an assembly was found inconvenient, it gradually became the custom to intrust the finding of a verdict to a committee usually consisting of 12 of the principal thanes, but sometimes of 24, or even 36: and in order to form a valid judgment it was necessary that two-thirds of them should concur. In the northern districts these judges were called *lawmen* (*lahmen*). Their decisions were submitted for the approval of the whole court. The accused, who was obliged to give security (*borh*) for his appearance, might clear himself by his own oath, together with that of a certain number of compurgators or fellow-swearers who were acquainted with him as neighbours, or at all events

resident within the jurisdiction of the court. The compurgators therefore were witnesses to character, and their functions cannot be at all compared to those of a modern jurymen. The thanes, or *lahmen*, who found the verdict, bore a nearer resemblance to a jury: yet it is evident, from the mode of trial by compurgation, as well as those by ordeal and judicial combat, of which we shall speak presently, that they were not called upon, like a modern jurymen, to form a judgment of the facts from the evidence and cross-examination of witnesses, but from their own knowledge of the facts or opinion of the accused person.* If the accused was a vassal, and his *hloford*, or lord, would not give testimony in his favour, then he was compelled to bring forward a triple number of compurgators. The accuser was also obliged to produce compurgators, who pledged themselves that he did not prosecute out of interested or vindictive motives.

Ordeals, or God's judgments, were only resorted to when the accused could not produce compurgators, or when by some former crime he had lost all title to credibility. Some forms of ordeal, as the consecrated morsel and the cross-proof, were only calculated to work upon the imagination; others, and the more customary, as those by hot water and fire, subjected the body to a painful and hazardous trial, from which it is difficult to see how even the most innocent person could ever have escaped, except through the collusion of his judges. These were conducted in a church under the superintendence of the clergy. In the ordeal by hot water, the accused had to take out a stone or piece of iron with his naked hand and arm from a caldron of the boiling element; in that by fire, he had to carry a bar of heated iron for a certain distance that had been marked out. In both cases the injured member was wrapped up by the priest in a piece of clean linen cloth, which was secured with a seal: and if, on opening the cloth on the third day, the wound was found to be healed, the accused was acquitted, or, in the contrary event, was adjudged to pay the penalty of his offence. Judicial combats, called by the Anglo-Saxons *earnest*, and by the Danes *h-limging*, from their being generally fought

* The origin of trial by jury is discussed in a note at the end of chapter viii.

on a small river-island, though not entirely unknown, appear to have been much rarer among those people than among their Norman successors.

Within the verge of the king's court an accused person enjoyed sanctuary and refuge. Its limits, whether permanent or temporary, are defined with an exactness almost ludicrous, and as if there was something magical in the numbers, to be on every side from the burgh gate of the king's residence, 3 miles, 3 furlongs, 3 acres, 9 feet, 9 palms, and 9 barleycorns.

12. *Guilds*.—The municipal guilds of the Anglo-Saxons may be traced to the heathen sacrificial guilds, an original feature of which was the common banquet. These devil's-guilds, as they are termed in the Christian laws, were not abolished, but converted into Christian institutions. There were even numerous ecclesiastical guilds. It was incumbent on them to preserve peace, and, in case of homicide by one of the members, the corporation paid part of the *wer-gild*. In London were several *frith-gilds* (peace-guilds) of different ranks; and in the time of Athelstan we find them forming an association for the purpose of mutual indemnity against robbery. Ealdormen are usually found at the heads of the guilds as well as of the cities themselves. The chief magistrate of a town was the *wic-gerefa*, or town-reeve, who appears to have been appointed by the king. Other officers of the same kind were the port-reeve and burgh-reeve. The chief municipal court of London was the *Husting*, literally, a court or assembly in a house, in contradistinction to one held in the open air; whence the modern *hustings*. This word was introduced by the Northmen, in whose language *thing* signified any judicial or deliberative assembly.

13. *Commerce, manners, and customs*.—England enjoyed a considerable foreign commerce. London was always a great emporium: Frisian merchants are found there and in York as early as the 8th century. Wool was the chief article of export, and was received back from the continent in a manufactured state. Mints were established in several cities and towns, with a limited number of privileged moneyers; and many of the Anglo-Saxon coins still preserved exhibit con-

siderable skill. The Anglo-Saxons loved to indulge in hospitality and feasting; and at their cheerful meetings it was customary to send round the harp, that all might sing in turn. The men, as well as the women, sometimes wore necklaces, bracelets, and rings, which were of a more expensive kind than those used by the female sex. We have already adverted to king Alfred's taste for jewellery. The Anglo-Saxon ladies employed themselves much in spinning; and thus even king Alfred himself calls the female part of his family "the spindle-side," in contradistinction to the *spear*, or male side. Hence the name of *spinster* for a young unmarried woman.

B. ANGLO-SAXON LANGUAGE AND LITERATURE.

The Anglo-Saxon language was converted into modern English by a slow process of several centuries. It still remains the essential element of our language, all others being but grafts on the parent stock. The works of Alfred, and the Anglo-Saxon laws before the reign of Athelstan, present the language in its purest state. On an examination of Alfred's translations, Mr. Turner found that only about one-fifth of the words had become obsolete (*Anglo-Saxons*, vol. II. p. 445); so that the great bulk of our vocabulary still remains Anglo-Saxon. The period of transition, called by some writers the Semi-Saxon, is commonly estimated to extend from the middle of the 12th to the middle of the 13th century. Anglo-Saxon became English chiefly through the effects of time; and though the Norman conquest had undoubtedly some influence on the process, it was much less than has been commonly imagined. A few manuscripts of the 13th century are written in as pure Saxon as that which prevailed before the Conquest. The admixture of Norman-French is exemplified in our literature, in the latter half of the 14th century, by the genius and writings of Chaucer.

The Angles and the Saxons introduced two slightly different dialects. Subsequently the Danes settled in the districts occupied by the Angles, and introduced many Scandinavian words. The boundaries between the Anglin and Saxon dialects may perhaps be roughly indi-

called by a line drawn from the north of Essex to the north of Worcestershire.

The earlier specimens of Anglo-Saxon literature are metrical; the metre being marked by accent and alliteration. The oldest extant specimen of Anglo-Saxon poetry is the "Gleeman's Song," the author of which flourished towards the end of the 4th and beginning of the 5th centuries, and consequently before the invasion of England: the oldest MS. of the poem, however, is five centuries later. Two other poems, also written before the Anglo-Saxon migration, are the "Battle of Finaburgh" and the "Tale of Beowulf." The songs of Caedmon, a monk of Whitby, who flourished a little before the time of Bede, are probably the oldest specimens extant of Anglo-Saxon poetry written in this country. Caedmon remained for six centuries the great poet, sometimes styled the Milton of the Anglo-Saxons. Other poems and songs are extant, reaching to the 11th century. One of the noblest specimens of the last period is the Anglo-Saxon version of the Psalms. The most important Anglo-Saxon prose works are the *Chronicles*, composed at different times, and usually cited as the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*.

Of king Alfred's works, who must also be regarded as one of the Anglo-Saxon authors, we have already spoken. Other prose writers are St. Wulfstan (archbishop Wulfstan, better known by his Latin name of Lupus), and Ælfric, the strenuous defender of the English church in the 11th century against the innovations of Rome.

C. THE ANGLO-SAXON CHRONICLE,

called by Florence of Worcester *Anglica Chronica*, comprises a set of seven parallel (but not all independent) chronicles, which were kept in different monasteries, three of them at Canterbury, and the others at Winchester, Abingdon, Worcester, and Peterborough. Their range varies, but all begin either with the landing of Julius Cæsar or from the Christian era, and the latest (the Peterborough *Chronicle*) reaches to the accession of Henry II. in 1154. The early portions of the *Chronicle* for the most part follow Bede's *Ecclesiastical History*; a presumption that (at least, in its present form) the *Chronicle* was compiled after 731. But Bede (as he himself tells us) used early

documents which were compiled in the monasteries from the first establishment of Christianity among the Anglo-Saxons, and which doubtless embodied the traditions (if not written records) of the people since their arrival in England. The use of these original sources may be traced in the *Chronicle* by entries, relating chiefly to the details of the Conquest and other military events, which have no place in Bede. The first germ of the *Chronicle*, in its collected form, may be traced to king Alfred, who—if we may trust the Norman metrical chronicle of Geoffroi Gaimar (*L'Estorie des Engles*; time of Henry I.)—caused an *English Book* (*un livre Anglois*) to be written, "of adventures, and of laws, and of battles on land, and of the kings who made war;" and this "*Chronicle* (*chronex, cronike*), a great book," was put forth by authority at Winchester, where the king had it fastened by a chain, for all who wished to read it. An early, though probably not an original, copy of this Winchester *Chronicle*, forming the portion down to A.D. 891, was presented by archbishop Parker to Corpus Christi College, Cambridge (MS. C.C.C. clxiii.). Professor Earle traces marks of division, indicating the composition of successive sections of the *Chronicle*, at the years 682, 755, 822, and 855, and the hand of one editor through the whole portion from 455 to 855. At the year 851 we have the decisive proof of original contemporary authorship in the use of the *first person*, and in the phrase, "the present day." After Alfred, the marks of contemporary authorship are constant in this and the other editions of the *Chronicle*, and the continuations by different hands may be traced at certain epochs. (See the *Introduction* to Prof. Earle's edition, "Two of the Saxon *Chronicles* parallel, with Supplementary Extracts from the Others," and Sir T. D. Hardy's *Catalogue*, etc., in the *Rolls Series*.) The last complete edition, in the *Rolls* series, exhibits the chronicles in a parallel form, with a translation by Benjamin Thorpe.

D. AUTHORITIES.

The principal ancient historical sources for the Anglo-Saxon times are: Bede, *Chronicon* and *Historia Ecclesiastica*; the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*; Gildas, *De*

Maxidde Britannia; Nennius, *Historia Britonum*; Asser, *De Rebus Gestis Ælfredi*; Ethelweard, *Chronicon*; Florence of Worcester, *Chronicon*; Simeon of Durham, *Historia de Gestis Anglorum*, continued by John of Hexham; Henry of Huntingdon, *Hist. Anglorum*; Geoffroi Gaimar, *L'Estorie des Engles*. The preceding works, so far as they extend to the Conquest, will be found in the *Monumenta Historica Britannica*, as well as in other collections and separate editions. In the collection just referred to are also contained the following anonymous pieces referring to the period in question: *Annales Cambriae*; *Brut y Tywysogion*, or Chronicle of the Princes of Wales; *Carmen de Bello Hastingensi*. All these are in Latin, except the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, the *Brut y Tywysogion*, and the Norman-French poem of Gaimar. To these sources may be added Michel's *Chroniques Anglo-Normandes*.

The other principal collections in which these and other historical works relating to the Anglo-Saxon period will be found are: Parker's Collections; Savile's Collection; Camden, *Anglica, Normannica, Hibernica, Cambrica, a veteribus scripta*; Fulman, *Quinque Scriptores*; Gale, *Historia Anglicana Scriptores Quinque, and Scriptores Quindecim*; Hearne's Collections; Twysden, *Historia Anglicana Scriptores Decem*; Sparke, *Hist. Anglicana Scriptores varii*; Wharton, *Anglia Sacra*. These collections contain the following authors, besides most of those already enumerated as in the *Monumenta Historica*: Allred of Rievaulx, *Life of Edward the Confessor*, &c. [Twysden]; John Brompton, *Chronicles* [ibid.]; Eadmer, *Historia Novorum*, &c.; Roger Hoveden, *Annales* [Savile]; * William of Malmesbury, *De Gestis Regum Anglorum* and *De Gestis Pontificum Angl.* [Savile]; Hugo Candidus, *Historia* [Sparke]; Peter Langtoft, *Metrical Chronicle* [Hearne]; St. Neot *Chronicon* [Gale]; the *Flores Historiarum*, wrongly attributed to Matthew of Westminster [Parker].

The following authors are published

* Ingulphus, *Hist. Croilandensis* [Savile and Fulman], is now proved to be spurious.

in the foreign collection of Duchesne: Gervase of Tilbury; Emma *Anglia Regine Encomium*.

The most complete collection (when the plan is fully executed) will be that of *The Chronicles and Memorials of Great Britain and Ireland during the Middle Ages*, published by the authority of her Majesty's Treasury, under the direction of the Master of the Rolls. This series is in large 8vo. each work being intrusted to a competent editor, and furnished with historical and critical introductions, besides notes and (in some cases) translations.

The English translations of a large number of the old chronicles in Bohn's *Antiquarian Library* are of various degrees of merit (and demerit), but of use and interest for the English reader.

The English Historical Society has published the following works: a Collection of Saxon Charters, edited by the late Mr. J. M. Kemble, under the title of *Codes Diplomaticus Ævi Saxonici*; also, the *Chronica* of Roger of Wendover, by the Rev. H. O. Coxe; and valuable editions of Gildas, Nennius, Bede, and Richard of Devizes, by the Rev. J. Stevenson.

The best modern works on the Anglo-Saxon period are: Turner's *History of the Anglo-Saxons*, 3 vols. 8vo.; Palgrave's *Rise and Progress of the English Commonwealth during the Anglo-Saxon Period*, 2 vols. 4to., and, *History of England, Anglo-Saxon Period* [Ramsay Library, vol. xxi.]; Kemble's *Saxons in England*, 2 vols. 8vo.; Lappenberg's *England under the Anglo-Saxon Kings*, translated from the German, with additions, by Thorpe, 2 vols. 8vo.; Pearson's *History of England*; Pauli's *Life of King Alfred*; Thorpe's *Ancient Laws and Institutes of the Anglo-Saxon Kings*; Freeman's *History of the Norman Conquest*, and *Old English History*; Professor Stubbs's *Documents Illustrative of English History*, vol. i., and *Constitutional History of England*. On the influence of the Danes in England, the best work is: Worsaae, *An Account of the Danes and Norwegians in England, Scotland, and Ireland*.



Silver Penny of William the Conqueror, struck at Chester—unique.
 Obverse: + WILLELM REX; bust, front face, crowned, with sceptre in right hand.
 Reverse: + VNNVLF ON CESTRE; cross potent, in each angle a circle, containing respectively FAXA.

BOOK II.

THE NORMAN AND EARLY PLANTAGENET KINGS.

A.D. 1066–1199.

CHAPTER V.

WILLIAM I., SURNAMED THE CONQUEROR. *b.* 1027; *r.* 1066–1087.

§ 1. History of Normandy. Rolf the Ganger. William I. Longue-épée. Richard I. Sans-peur. § 2. Richard II. le Bon. Richard III. Robert the Devil. William II. of Normandy and I. of England. § 3. Norman manners. § 4. Consequences of the battle of Hastings. Submission of the English. § 5. Settlement of the government. § 6. William's return to Normandy. Revolts of the English, suppressed upon William's return to England. § 7. New insurrections in 1068. § 8. Insurrections in 1069. Landing of the Danes. § 9. Deposition of Stigand and the Anglo-Saxon prelates. § 10. Last struggle of the English. Conquest of Hereward. § 11. Insurrection of the Norman barons. § 12. Revolt of prince Robert. § 13. Projected invasion of Canute. Domesday Book. War with France and death of William. § 14. Character of William. His administration. Forest laws. Curfew-bell.

§ 1. THE Norman conquest produced a complete revolution in the manners as well as in the government of the English; and we must, therefore, here pause a while in order to take a brief survey of the conquerors in their native homes.

For a long period the coasts of Gaul, like those of England, were ravaged by the Northmen; and for the greater part of a century the monks made the Neustrian churches re-echo with the dismal

chant of the litany, *A furore Normannorum libera nos, Domine*. Thus the way was prepared for the final subjugation of the country by Rolf, or Rollo, son of the Norwegian jarl Rögnwald. Rollo is said to have been so large of limb that no horse could be found to carry him, whence his name of "Rolf the Ganger," or walker. It was in November, 876, that Rollo first landed in Neustria; but he made no settlement there on that occasion, and he had to fight and struggle long before he could obtain possession of his future dominions. In 911 the French king, Charles the Simple, conciliated him by the cession of a considerable part of Neustria. As a condition of this gift, Rollo, next year, abjuring his pagan gods, became a Christian; was baptised by the archbishop of Rouen, and married Gisla, Charles's daughter. After the completion of the treaty, when Rollo was required to do homage to Charles for his newly acquired domains, the bold Northman started back with indignation, exclaiming, *Ne si, by God!* But as the ceremony was insisted on, Rollo deputed one of his soldiers to perform it; who, proudly raising Charles's foot to his mouth, in a standing position, threw the monarch on his back!

Homage performed in such a fashion did not promise a very obedient vassal; and in the course of a few years Rollo's risings and rebellions extorted new cessions of territory. But towards the close of his life he found it expedient to connect himself more closely with the court of France, and he allowed his son William to receive investiture from king Charles at Eu. Rollo died in 931. In 933 we find his son and successor, Guillaume Longue-épée, or William Longsword, doing homage to king Rudolf, and receiving Cornouaille, subsequently known as the Cotentin, from that monarch, thus extending the western boundary of Normandy to the sea. The name of "Normandy" (Normannia), however, does not appear till the 11th century; and in the earlier times the county and the count, for it was not at first a dukedom, appear to have been called after the capital, Pouen. Already in the time of William, though only the second ruler, the court had become entirely French in language and manners; whilst a pure Norwegian population still occupied the parts near the coast. Hence William, who wished that his son and heir, Richard, should be able to speak to his Norse subjects in their own tongue, sent him to Bayeux to be educated. William was murdered by Flemings in 942. He had, however, previously engaged his subjects to acknowledge his youthful son, Richard, afterwards known by the surname of Sans-peur or the Fearless. This prince married Emma, daughter of Hugh le Grand, duke of France, and was one of the chief partisans who established his son Hugh Capet on the throne of France. Richard was engaged in a

war with England, the causes of which remain unexplained. It was terminated through the mediation of pope John XV., by a treaty of peace signed at Rouen on the 1st March, 991.

§ 2. By the sister of Hugh Capet, Richard Sans-peur had no children; but by Gunnor, his second wife, he left five sons and three daughters, among whom, beside his successor, Richard II., or le Bon, was Emma, wife of Ethelred II. of England, and subsequently of Canute. As Richard II., like his father, was a minor at his accession in 996, the oppressed peasantry took advantage and rose in rebellion; but the insurrection was soon put down. Richard's reign is peculiarly interesting to us in consequence of his intimate connection with England; and as this was continued under his successor Robert, it contributed much to introduce Norman civilization and influence into this country, and to effect its moral subjugation before its actual conquest. Richard le Bon died in 1026. His eldest son and successor, Richard III., died after a short reign, poisoned, as some suspected, by his brother Robert, surnamed the Devil, and also the Magnificent. Robert assumed the reins of government in 1028, not without a struggle. His short reign was marked by a fresh acquisition of territory; but a few years after his accession he resolved to make a pilgrimage to Jerusalem, and died on his return, as it is said by poison, at Nice in Bithynia, in the summer of 1035. Before his departure to the Holy Land he had induced the Norman barons to acknowledge as his successor his natural son William, born of a concubine named Herletta at Falaise in 1027, to whom he was much attached. But upon the death of Robert many of the barons refused to acknowledge William; and during his minority the country was disturbed by the feuds of the nobility. When William arrived at manhood, he asserted his rights by force of arms. Active and prudent, just though rigorous, he triumphed over all his adversaries. His success and energy caused him to be feared and courted by the other princes of Europe; and Baldwin, count of Flanders, bestowed upon him his daughter Matilda in marriage. Like the rest of the Normans, William was remarkable for his munificence and devotion to the church of Rome.

§ 3. When the Normans invaded England, they had lost all trace of their northern origin in language and manners; and, though little goodwill existed between them and their French neighbours, they had become in these respects completely French. It has been already remarked that, under the second Norman prince, the Danish language had become obsolete in the Norman capital. It was in Normandy, indeed, as Sir F. Palgrave observes, "that the *langue d'oïl* acquired its greatest polish and regularity. The

earliest specimens of the French language, in the proper sense of the term, are now surrendered by the French philologists to the Normans.* They were thus completely estranged from their Norwegian brethren, who would willingly have rescued England from their grasp. Yet the more essential attributes of body and mind are not so easily shaken off as language and conventional manners; and the Normans were still distinguished from the other natives of France by their large limbs, their fair complexions, and their moral qualities. William himself represents them as proud, hard to govern, and litigious, and the imputation of craft and vindictiveness, brought against them by Malateria, is confirmed by several French proverbs.†

To return.

§ 4. Nothing could exceed the consternation which seized the English when they received intelligence of the unfortunate battle of Hastings,‡ the death of their king, the slaughter of their principal nobility and of their bravest warriors, and the rout and dispersion of the rest. That they might not, however, be altogether wanting in this extreme necessity, they took some steps towards uniting themselves against the common enemy. The two potent earls, Edwin and Morcar, who hastened to London on the news of Harold's fall, combined with the citizens and the archbishop of York to raise Edgar, nephew of Edmund Ironside, to the throne. But when the Londoners prepared to risk another battle, the earls withdrew to Northumbria with their forces, in which the only hope of resistance lay. William proceeded to make sure of the south-eastern coast, and advanced against Dover, which immediately capitulated. From Canterbury, where he was detained a month by illness, he despatched messengers to Winchester; on his recovery, he advanced with quick marches to London. A repulse which a body of Londoners received from 500 Norman horse, and the burning of the suburb of Southwark, renewed in the city the terror of the great defeat at Hastings. As soon as William had passed the Thames at Wallingford, and reached Berkhamstead, Stigand, the primate, and Aldred, archbishop of York, made their submissions: and before he arrived within sight of the city, the chief nobility, with Edgar himself, the newly elected king, came into his camp, and declared their intention of acknowledging his authority.§ Orders were immediately issued for his coronation;

* *Normandy and England*, vol. i. d. 703.

† As *Reponse Normande*, for an ambiguous answer: *Un fin Normand*, a sly fellow, not much to be relied on; and *Reconciliation Normande*, for a pretended

reconciliation, which does not banish all projects of vengeance. These, however, were the taunts of their enemies.

‡ Strictly, of Senlac.

§ The authorities confuse the order of the submissions.

and William, asserting that the primate had obtained his pall in an irregular manner from pope Benedict IX., who was himself a usurper, refused to be consecrated by him, and conferred this honour on Aldred, archbishop of York. The ceremony was performed in Westminster Abbey on Christmas Day (1066). The most considerable of the nobility, both English and Norman, attended on this occasion. Aldred, in a short speech, asked the English whether they agreed to accept of William as their king; the bishop of Coutances put the same question to the Normans; and as both answered with acclamations, Aldred administered to the duke the usual coronation oath, by which he bound himself to protect the church, to administer justice, and to repress violence. He then anointed William, and placed the crown upon his head. Nothing but joy appeared in the countenances of the spectators; but in that very moment the strongest symptoms of the jealousy and animosity which prevailed between the two nations burst forth, and continued to increase during the reign. The Norman soldiers, who were posted outside in order to guard the church, hearing the shouts within, pretended to believe that the English were offering violence to their duke, immediately assaulted the populace, and set fire to the neighbouring houses. The alarm was conveyed to the nobility who surrounded the prince. Both English and Normans, full of apprehensions, rushed out to secure themselves from the present danger; and it was with difficulty that William himself was able to appease the tumult.

§ 5. William claimed the throne by a pretended promise of king Edward, and had won it by force of arms; but to cover the weakness of his title, and the appearance of having gained it by violence, he prudently submitted to the formality of a popular election. He now retired from London to Barking in Essex, and there received the submissions of all those who had not attended his coronation. Even Edwin and Morcar, with the other principal noblemen of England, came and swore fealty to him, were received into favour, and were confirmed in the possession of their estates and dignities. William sent Harold's standard to the pope, accompanied with many valuable presents: all the considerable monasteries and churches in France, where prayers had been put up for his success, now tasted of his bounty: the English monks found him disposed to favour their order: and on the battle-field, near Hastings, he built Battle Abbey, as a lasting memorial of his victory.

William introduced into England that strict execution of justice for which his administration had been celebrated in Normandy; and his new subjects were treated with affability and regard. No signs of suspicion appeared, not even towards Edgar Ætheling, the

heir of the ancient royal family, whom he affected to treat with the greatest kindness, as nephew to the Confessor, his friend and benefactor. Though he confiscated the estates of Harold and of those who had fought at Hastings, yet in many instances the property was left in the hands of its former possessors.* He confirmed the liberties and immunities of London and other cities; and his whole administration bore a semblance of a legitimate king, and not of a conqueror. But amidst all this confidence and friendship which he professed for the English, he took care to place all real power in the hands of his Normans, and kept possession of the sword, to which he was sensible he owed his advancement to sovereign authority. He disarmed the city of London and all warlike and populous places; he built a castle in the capital,† as well as in Winchester, Hereford, and other cities best situated for commanding the kingdom; in all of them he quartered Norman soldiers, and left nowhere any force able to resist or oppose him. Nothing tended more to break down the power of the great territorial chiefs, and to make the central government supreme, than William's division of England into smaller earldoms, generally one for each of the shires, which thus came to assume the name of *counties*.

§ 6. By this mixture of vigour and lenity he had so soothed the minds of his new subjects, that in the course of the year 1067 he thought he might safely revisit his native country. He left the administration in the hands of his uterine brother, Odo, bishop of Bayeux, and of William Fitz-Osbern, the latter of whom had rendered him important services in the conquest of England. That their authority might be exposed to less danger, he carried over with him the most considerable of the nobility of England that still survived: and while they served to grace his court by their presence and magnificent retinues, they were in reality hostages for the fidelity of their nation. Among these were Edgar Ætheling, Stigand the primate, the earls Edwin, Morcar, and Walthcof,‡ with

* It seems that, at the very beginning of his reign, William asserted the right of conquest, though without fully acting on it, by which both the public land (*folc-land*) became the king's (*terra regis*), and the estates of the conquered were at his disposal. Distinct mention is found of cases in which those who submitted had their lands granted back to them, or bought them of William for money. (See Freeman's *Norman Conquest*, vol. iv. pp. 14, 25.)

† This is the keep, or White Tower, of the Tower of London, which a mistaken tradition ascribed (like the Norman

keep at other castles) to the Romans. Its builder was Gundulph, bishop of Rochester. It was re-faced by Sir Christopher Wren, but parts of the original surface are visible. The interior is little altered. (See Mr. G. T. Clark's paper on "The Military Architecture of the Tower" in the *Proceedings of the Archaeological Institute*, held at London, entitled "Old London," 1867.)

‡ Walthcof, son of Siward, had been made earl of the shires of Northampton and Huntingdon in the famous *Witenagemot* held at Oxford (1065). There was a fourth great earl, Osulf of Northumber-

others eminent for the greatness of their fortunes and families, or for their ecclesiastical and civil dignities. At the abbey of Fécamp, where he resided during some time, he was visited by Rudolph, uncle to the king of France, and by many powerful princes and nobles, who had contributed to his enterprise, and were desirous of participating in its advantages. His English courtiers, willing to ingratiate themselves with their new sovereign, outvied each other in equipages and entertainments, and made a display of riches which struck the foreigners with astonishment. William of Poitiers, a Norman historian, who was present, speaks with admiration of the beauty of their persons, the size and workmanship of their silver plate, the costliness of their embroideries—an art in which the English then excelled;—and he expresses himself in such terms as tend much to exalt our idea of the opulence and culture of the people.

But the departure of William was the immediate cause of all the calamities which befel the English in this and the subsequent reigns. It gave rise to those mutual jealousies and animosities between them and the Normans, which were never appeased till, after a long tract of time, the two nations had gradually united into one people. During the king's absence discontents and complaints multiplied everywhere; secret conspiracies were formed against the government, and hostilities had already begun in many places. The king, informed of these dangers, hastened over to England; and by his presence, and the vigorous measures which he pursued, disconcerted the schemes of the conspirators. But he now began, if not before, to regard the English as irreclaimable enemies, and thenceforth resolved to reduce them to more complete subjection. After subduing Cornwall, quelling some disturbances in the west of England, excited by Gytha, king Harold's mother, and building a fortress to overawe the city of Exeter, William returned to Winchester, and dispersed his army into their quarters.

§ 7. At Winchester he was joined by his wife Matilda, who had not before visited England, and whom he now ordered to be crowned by archbishop Aldred (1068). The English formed a league for expelling the Normans and restoring Edgar. The two earls Edwin and Morcar, the former of whom William had disgusted by refusing him the hand of his daughter, which he had promised, were the chief instigators of the rebellion. Cospatic, earl of Northumberland beyond the Tyne, and Malcolm, king of Scotland,

land north of the Tyne (the present county), which had scarcely yet lost the name of Bernicia. He appears to have been deposed by William. Both he and

his successor met with violent deaths soon after. The earldom was then bought of William by Cospatic.

agreed to take up arms. The conspirators seem to have received promises of assistance from the sons of Harold, who had fled to Ireland after the battle of Hastings; from Blethwallon, or Bleddyon, king of North Wales; and from Sweyn, king of Denmark. William immediately marched northwards, and took up his position at Warwick, in the heart of Mercia. When Edwin and Morcar approached, they did not venture a battle with the Conqueror. The sons of Harold, landing upon the western coast of England, were defeated and compelled to retire to Ireland. In the north the Normans were equally successful. York, the only fortress in the country, was taken, and Cospatric, accompanied by Edgar Ætheling and his sisters, fled to the court of Malcolm in Scotland. The latter concluded a peace with William, to whom he swore fealty.* With this act the conquest of England may be regarded as complete.

§ 8. In 1069 the insurrection broke out a second time in the north. The Danes, after two or three vain attempts on the south-eastern coast, landed in the Humber, with 240 ships, under the command of the brother of king Sweyn; Edgar Ætheling, with Cospatric and other leaders, appeared from Scotland, and earl Walthoef left William's court to join them. York was taken by assault, and the Norman garrison, to the number of 3000 men, was put to the sword. This success proved a signal for disaffection in many parts of England. The inhabitants, repenting of their former easy submission, seemed determined to make one great effort for the recovery of their liberties and the expulsion of their oppressors.

William first marched against the rebels in the north, and engaged the Danes by large presents to retire. Having thus got rid of his most formidable opponents, he found no difficulty in crushing the rest of his enemies. Walthoef and Cospatric submitted to the Conqueror, and, while both were confirmed in their earldoms, Walthoef was rewarded with the hand of Judith, William's niece. Three years later, the son of Siward was restored to that part of the Northumbrian earldom which had been held by Cospatric, to which that of Northumberland was subsequently added. Malcolm, king of Scotland, coming too late to the support of his confederates, was constrained to retire; the English submitted, the rebels dispersed, and left the Normans undisputed masters of the kingdom. Edgar Ætheling, with his followers, sought once more a retreat in Scotland from the pursuit of his enemies, where his sister Margaret

* Ordericus Vitalis (p. 511b), the sole authority for this, says, "*Guillelmo Regi fide obsequium juravit.*" There is not

a word about Cumberland, for which historians have assumed that the homage was done.

was shortly afterwards married to Malcolm (1070). In her daughter's subsequent marriage with Henry I., the English and Norman royal lines were united. William, who passed the winter in the north, issued orders for laying waste the entire country for the extent of sixty miles between the Humber and the Tees. The lives of 100,000 persons, who died by famine, are computed to have been sacrificed to this stroke of barbarous policy, and the country was reduced to such a state of desolation, that for several years afterwards there was hardly an inhabitant left. This act, attributed to William's vengeance, was rather, perhaps, a stern measure of precaution against the incursions of the Scots and Danes. It is not likely that so avaricious and sagacious a prince should have resorted to a measure that crippled his own power and revenue merely out of a spirit of revenge. The same barbarous measure was resorted to in France in much more civilized times, when the constable Montmorency completely desolated Provence in order to check the advance of the emperor Charles V.

Insurrections and conspiracies in so many parts of the kingdom had involved the bulk of the landed proprietors, more or less, in the guilt of treason; and the king took the opportunity for enforcing against them, with the utmost rigour, the laws of attainder and forfeiture. Their lives were indeed commonly spared; but their estates were confiscated, and either annexed to the royal demesnes, or conferred with the most lavish bounty on the Normans and other foreigners. Several of the English nobles, despairing of the fortunes of their country, fled abroad. Some took refuge at the court of Constantinople, where they entered the service of the Greek emperor, and, being incorporated with Danes and others, formed, under the name of Varangians, the imperial body-guard.

§ 9. The Conqueror now proceeded to deprive the English of all offices in the state, as well ecclesiastical as civil. The Anglo-Saxon church had, to a certain extent, maintained its independence of the Roman see; and accordingly pope Alexander willingly assisted William in depriving the native prelates of their benefices. Three papal legates were despatched into England, who summoned a council of prelates and abbots at Winchester in 1070. In this council the legate, upon some frivolous charges, degraded Stigand, the primate: William confiscated his estate, and confined him at Winchester, where he died. Like rigour was exercised against other English bishops; and Wulstan of Worcester was the only one that escaped the general proscription. Even monasteries were plundered, and their plate carried off to the royal treasury.

Lanfranc, an Italian celebrated for his learning and piety, who,

as prior of Bec in Normandy, had long been William's chosen friend and counsellor, was now promoted to the vacant see of Canterbury. He was rigid in defending the prerogatives of his see; and, after a long process before the pope, obliged Thomas, a Norman monk, who had been appointed to York, to acknowledge the primacy of Canterbury.

§ 10. The two earls, Morcar and Edwin, sensible that they had entirely lost their dignity, and could not even hope to remain long in safety, determined, though too late, to share the fate of their countrymen. They fled from William's court, and made some ineffectual attempts to gather followers. Edwin was slain on his way to Scotland, either by his own men, or by the Normans to whom he was betrayed. Morcar took shelter with the brave Hereward in the Isle of Ely, then really an island amidst the waters of the fens, where the English had formed their last "Camp of Refuge." The exploits of Hereward against the Normans lived long in the memory of the English, invested with the romance of patriotic legends. Of his parentage and early life nothing is known except that he possessed estates in Lincolnshire and Warwickshire. According to one account, he was in Flanders at the time of the Conquest; but, hearing that his mother had been deprived of her estate by a foreigner, he returned to England, drove out the intruder, and erected the banner of independence. He was quickly joined by other bold spirits, and, protected by the fens and morasses of the Isle of Ely, was able to bid defiance to William. The king found it necessary to employ all his endeavours to subdue their stronghold, and having surrounded it with flat-bottomed boats, and made a causeway through the morasses to the extent of two miles, he obliged the rebels to surrender at discretion (1071). Hereward alone escaped, with a small band, in ships to the open sea. After long harassing the Normans, he married a rich Englishwoman, made his peace with William, but was at last murdered in his own house by a band of Normans. Romantic as this story may appear, thus much is certain, that a Hereward is found in *Domesday Book* as a holder of lands under Norman lords in Warwick and Worcester shires.* Earl Morcar was thrown into prison, and long after died in confinement, in Normandy. To complete these successes, Edgar Ætheling himself, weary of a fugitive life, submitted to his enemy; and, receiving a decent pension for his subsistence, was permitted to live at Rouen despised and unmolested.

§ 11. As William had now nothing to fear from his English sub-

* See Freeman's *Norman Conquest*, vol. iv. pp. 455-485, and Appendix OO, "The Legend of Hereward."

jects, it was his policy to conciliate and protect them. But he had to encounter the jealousy and disaffection of his companions in arms. His resolute opposition to their feudal aggressions, in the maintenance of his royal authority, had excited general discontent among the haughty Norman nobles. Even Roger, earl of Hereford, son and heir of Fitz-Osbern, the king's chief favourite, was strongly infected with it. Intending to marry his sister to Ralph de Guader, earl of Norfolk, Roger had thought it his duty to inform the king and desire his consent; but meeting with a refusal, he proceeded nevertheless to complete the nuptials, and assembled his own friends, and those of Guader, to attend the solemnity (1075). The two earls here prepared measures for a revolt; and during the gaiety of the festival, while the company was heated with wine, they opened the project to their guests. Inflamed with the same sentiments, the whole company entered into a solemn engagement to shake off the royal authority. Even earl Waltheof, who had married the Conqueror's niece, inconsiderately expressed his approbation of the plot, and promised his concurrence towards its success. But, on cooler judgment, he foresaw that the conspiracy of these discontented barons was not likely to prove successful against the established power of William; and he opened his mind to his wife, Judith, of whose fidelity he entertained no suspicion, but who, having secretly fixed her affections on another, took this opportunity of ruining her easy and credulous husband. She conveyed intelligence of the conspiracy to the king, aggravating every circumstance which she believed would tend to incense him against Waltheof, and render him absolutely implacable. Meanwhile the earl, at the suggestion of Lanfranc, to whom he had discovered the secret, went over to Normandy, whither William had gone some time previously to quell an insurrection in his province of Maine; but though he was well received by the king, and thanked for his fidelity, the account previously transmitted by Judith sunk deep into William's mind, and had destroyed the merit of her husband's repentance.

Hearing of Waltheof's departure, the conspirators immediately concluded that their design was betrayed, and flew to arms before their schemes were ripe for execution. They were defeated at every point. The prisoners had their right feet cut off to mark them for the future (1075).^{*} William returned to England, accompanied by Waltheof, who was soon afterwards arrested. The earls were condemned, in a council held at Westminster, to stricter imprison-

^{*} "Ut notificentur," to be known or detected (Orderic. p. 536a). On the custom of mutilating prisoners of war, see

Freeman's *Norman Conquest*, vol. iv. pp. 278, 581.

ment. Ralph, who had escaped, and the earl of Hereford, suffered forfeiture of their estates; and the latter was kept a prisoner till his death. But Waltheof, being an Englishman, was treated with less humanity. At the instigation of Judith, and of the rapacious courtiers, who longed for so rich a forfeiture, he was tried, condemned, and executed (1076). His body was removed by the monks of Crowland to the abbey, which he had befriended and enriched. The English, who considered this nobleman as the last prop of their nation, grievously lamented his fate, and held him for a saint and martyr. The legend adds that the infamous Judith, falling soon after under the king's displeasure, was abandoned by all the world, and passed the rest of her life in contempt, remorse, and misery. It is more certain that the execution of Waltheof marks the turning point in William's prosperous career.*

§ 12. The king now spent some years in passing between England and Normandy, where he was involved in a series of unsuccessful wars. The climax of these troubles was the revolt of his eldest son Robert, to whom William had caused the nobles of Normandy to swear fealty as his successor. When Robert, instigated by the French king, Philip I., demanded the full possession of the duchy, his father replied with the taunt, "I am not used to take off my clothes before I go to bed." After various disputes Robert openly levied war upon his father (1078). William called over an army of English under his ancient captains, who soon expelled Robert and his adherents from their retreats, and restored the authority of the sovereign in all his dominions. The young duke was obliged to take shelter in the castle of Gerberoi, in the district of Beauvais, which the king of France, who secretly fomented all these dissensions, had provided for him (1079). Under the walls of the castle many rencounters took place, which resembled more the single combats of chivalry than the military actions of armies. One of them was remarkable for its circumstances and its event. Robert happened to engage the king, who was concealed by his helmet; and both of them being valiant, a fierce combat ensued, till at last the young duke wounded his father in the hand, and unhorsed him. On calling out for assistance, the king's voice was recognized by his son, who quickly dismounted, set his father on his horse again, and let him depart

* The descendants of Waltheof occupy an important place in the history of the Scotch and English royal families. In the famous contest for the Scottish crown, the question occurs, "How did the ancestor of the claimant come to be earl of Huntingdon?" It was thus:—Matilda,

the daughter of Waltheof, married (for her second husband) David, son of Malcolm and Margaret (afterwards David I.), and thus brought the earldom of Huntingdon into the Scottish royal family, and made Waltheof an ancestor of our royal line.

with his defeated soldiers. The interposition of the queen and the nobles of Normandy at length brought about a reconciliation. The king seemed so fully appeased, that he even took Robert with him into England; where he intrusted him with the command of an army, in order to repel an inroad of Malcolm, king of Scotland. This expedition is memorable for the foundation of the *New Castle* on the Tyne, which gave name to the modern chief town of Northumberland. It was followed by a fresh quarrel between the king and his son, who departed in anger to France (1080). About the same time William marched into Wales as far as St. Davids, and the Welsh, unable to resist his power, were compelled to make a compensation for their incursions. The whole land was now reduced to tranquillity (1081).

§ 13. The remaining transactions of William's reign are not of much importance. In the year 1085, Canute, who had succeeded Sweyn in the kingdom of Denmark, collected a large fleet with the design of invading England; and though from various causes it was not carried into execution, it nevertheless occasioned some calamity to the nation. The odious tax of *Danegeld* was reimposed; a large army of foreigners was brought over from the continent; and the lands adjoining the sea-coast were laid waste in order to deprive the expected enemy of support. In the following year (August, 1086) William received at Salisbury the oath of fealty from all holders of land in the kingdom: thus enforcing direct homage to himself, and not as before to their immediate lords; a modification of feudalism which formed the strongest bond of union to the whole state. This great change had been prepared for by the compilation of their *Domesday Book*.*

In 1087 William was detained on the continent by a misunder-

* The origin and meaning of the word *Domesday* is quite uncertain. It was sometimes called the Book of Winchester; because the regulations of the commissioners appointed to make the survey were returned to Winchester, and hence some have thought that the name is a corruption of *Domas Dei*, the name of the chapel in Winchester Cathedral where it was preserved. Though not complete for all the counties, it shows the extent, nature, and divisions of the landed property in each, in the time of Edward the Confessor, and at the time of the survey; the products of various kinds, as woods, fisheries, mines, etc. It was ordered by William at his Christmas court at Gloucester (1085), and such was the expedition used that it was finished

by July, 1086. It consists of two volumes, a large and smaller folio, written on vellum. It was printed by the government in 1783, and fac similes of it in photo-zincography have lately been published by the Ordnance Survey Office. A complete account of it will be found in Sir H. Ellis's *General Introduction to Domesday*, 2 vols. 8vo. By its division into modern counties it shows that already this arrangement had become perfectly familiar and was universally recognized. The whole number of persons registered in *Domesday Book* is 283,242. But as the work was not intended for a record of population, all inferences on that head are uncertain. The tenants in *capite* are generally Normans; the inferior tenants often Anglo-Saxons.

standing between himself and the king of France, occasioned by the inroads made into Normandy by French nobles on the frontiers. His displeasure was increased by the account he received of some raileries which that monarch had thrown out against him. William, who had become corpulent, had been detained in bed some time by sickness; upon which Philip expressed his surprise that his brother of England should be so long in lying in. The king sent him word that, as soon as he was up, he would present so many lights at Notre Dame as would perhaps give little pleasure to the king of France—alluding to the usual practice at that time of women after childbirth. Immediately on his recovery he led an army into L'Isle de France, and laid it waste with fire and sword. But the progress of these hostilities was stopped by an accident which soon after put an end to William's life. His soldiers having burnt the town of Mantes, William rode to the scene of action, and as his horse treading upon some hot ashes started aside, the king was thrown violently on the pommel of his saddle. Being in a bad habit of body, as well as somewhat advanced in years, he began to apprehend the consequences, and ordered himself to be carried in a litter to the monastery of St. Gervais, near Rouen. Finding his illness increase, and sensible of the approach of death, he was struck with remorse for those acts of violence which he had committed during the course of his reign over England. He endeavoured to make atonement by presents to churches and monasteries, and issued orders that several prisoners should be set at liberty. He left Normandy and Maine to his eldest son Robert. Lanfranc was directed to crown William king of England; and to Henry he bequeathed 5000 pounds of silver. His second son, Richard, had been killed long before, whilst hunting in the New Forest.

§ 14. William expired on the 9th of September, 1067, in the 61st year of his age, in the 21st year of his reign over England, and in the 54th of that over Normandy. He was buried in the church of St. Stephen at Caen. Few princes have been more fortunate than this great monarch, or better entitled to grandeur and prosperity, from the abilities and the vigour of mind which he displayed in all his conduct. His spirit was bold and enterprising, yet guided by prudence. His ambition did not always submit to the restraints of justice, still less to those of humanity, but was controlled by the dictates of sound policy. Born in an age when the minds of men were intractable and unused to obedience, he was yet able to direct them to his purposes; and, partly by the ascendancy of his energetic character, partly by policy, he was enabled to establish and maintain his authority.

Though not insensible to generosity, he was too often hardened against compassion. In the difficult enterprise of subduing a brave and warlike people he succeeded so completely that he transmitted his power to his descendants, and it would be difficult to find in all history a revolution attended with a more complete subjection of the ancient inhabitants. For a time the English name became a term of reproach, and generations elapsed before one family of native pedigree was raised to any considerable honours.

The administration of William was more severely displayed in the *Forest Laws*. Like all the Normans, William was fond of hunting; and, according to the quaint expression of the Anglo-Saxon chronicler, "loved the tall game as if he had been their father." The forests had been protected before the Conquest; but William, for the preservation of the game, established more rigid penalties. The killing of a deer or boar, or even a hare, was punished with the loss of the delinquent's eyes, at a time when manslaughter could be atoned for by a fine or composition. In forming the New Forest in the neighbourhood of his palace at Winchester, the country around was "afforested," that is, subjected to the forest laws. For that purpose, churches and villages were destroyed, but the number has been probably exaggerated.

The numerous *Castles* erected in all parts of England during the reign of the Conqueror were at once the means and the visible emblems of English subjection. Of these strongholds no fewer than 48 are recorded in Domesday as erected since the time of Edward the Confessor.

William is said to have introduced the *curfew* (i.e. *couvre feu*) bell, upon the ringing of which all fires had to be covered up at sunset in summer, and about eight at night in the winter. The custom was brought over from Normandy, and has been thought by some to have been used in many countries as a precaution against fire. But it was probably of ecclesiastical origin, and served originally for devotional purposes.



Henry of Blois, bishop of Winchester and brother of king Stephen. From enamelled plate in the British Museum.*

CHAPTER VI.

WILLIAM II., HENRY I., STEPHEN. A.D. 1087-1154.

- § 1. Accession of WILLIAM RUFUS. Conspiracy against the king. § 2. Invasion of Normandy, and other wars. § 3. Acquisition of Normandy, § 4. Quarrel with Anselm, the primate. § 5. Transactions in France. Death and character of Rufus. § 6. Accession of HENRY I. His charter. § 7. Marriage of the king. § 8. Duke Robert invades England. Accommodation with him. § 9. Henry invades and conquers Normandy. § 10. Ecclesiastical affairs. Disputes respecting investitures. § 11. Wars

* For an explanation of the inscription, see Labarte, *Arts of the Middle Ages*, p. xxiv.

abroad. Death of prince William. § 12. Henry's second marriage. Marriage of his daughter. His death and character. § 13. Accession of STEPHEN. Measures for securing the government. § 14. Stephen acknowledged in Normandy. Disturbances in England. § 15. Matilda invades England and obtains the crown. Her flight. § 16. Prince Henry in England. Acknowledged as Stephen's successor. Death and character of Stephen.

§ 1: WILLIAM II., *b.* A.D. 1060; *r.* 1087-1100.—William, surnamed *Rufus*, or the *Red*, from the colour of his hair, had no sooner procured his father's commendatory letter to Lanfranc, the primate, than he hastened to England before intelligence of his father's death could arrive. Pretending orders from the king, he secured the fortresses of Dover, Pevensey, and Hastings; and got possession of the royal treasure at Winchester, amounting to the sum of 60,000 pounds. Assembling some of the bishops and principal nobles, the primate proceeded at once to crown the new king (September 26), and thus anticipate all faction and resistance: The Norman barons, however, who for many reasons preferred Robert, with Odo, bishop of Bayeux, and Robert, count of Mortaigne, maternal brothers of the Conqueror, envying the great credit of Lanfranc, engaged their partisans in a formal conspiracy against the king. William, who had gained the affections of the English by general promises of good treatment, and an amelioration of the forest laws, was soon in a situation to take the field. The rapidity of his movements speedily crushed the rebellion (1088). Freed from immediate danger, he took little care to fulfil his promises. The English still found themselves exposed to the same oppressions as in the reign of the Conqueror, oppressions augmented by the new king's violent and impetuous temper. The death of Lanfranc (1089), who had been William's tutor and had retained great influence over him, gave full scope to his tyranny; and all orders of men found reason to complain of arbitrary and illegal administration. Even the privileges of the church, usually held sacred in those days, proved a feeble rampart against his usurpations. The terror of William's authority, confirmed by the suppression of the late insurrections, retained every one in subjection, and preserved the general tranquillity of England.

§ 2. Thus strengthened at home, William invaded the dominions of his brother Robert in Normandy (1090). The war, however, was brought to an end by the mediation of the nobles on both sides, who were strongly connected by interest and alliances. It was stipulated that, on the demise of either brother without issue, the survivor should inherit all his dominions. Henry, disgusted that little care had been taken of his interests in this accommodation, retired to St. Michael's Mount, a strong fortress on the

coast of Normandy, and infested the neighbourhood with his incursions. He was besieged by Robert and William, with their joint forces, and had been nearly reduced by scarcity of water, when Robert, hearing of his distress, granted him permission to supply himself, and also sent him some pipes of wine for his own table. Reproved by William for this ill-timed generosity, he replied, "What, shall I suffer my brother to die of thirst? Where shall we find another when he is gone?" During this siege, William performed an act of generosity little in accordance with his character. Hiding out one day alone, to take a survey of the fortress, he was attacked by two soldiers and dismounted. One of them drew his sword in order to despatch him, when the king exclaimed, "Hold, knave! I am the king of England." The soldier suspended his blow; and, raising the king from the ground with expressions of respect, received a handsome reward, and was taken into his service. Soon after Henry was obliged to capitulate; and being despoiled of his patrimony, was reduced to great poverty. William, attended by Robert, returned to England; and soon after, accompanied by his brother, led an army into Scotland, and obliged Malcolm to accept terms of peace (1091), which were mediated by Robert on the part of William, and by Edgar Ætheling on that of Malcolm. Advantageous conditions were stipulated for Edgar, who returned to England; Malcolm consented to do homage to William; and Cumberland, formerly held by the Scottish kings as a fief under the English crown, was now reduced to an English county, and secured by the fortification of Carlisle. Its settlement by an English colony extinguished its Celtic character, though in memory of them it retains to this day the name of the Cymry.

§ 3. At the preaching of the Crusade by Peter the Hermit for the recovery of the holy sepulchre at Jerusalem,* Robert enlisted himself among the Crusaders. To provide himself with money, he resolved to mortgage his dominions for a term of five years; and he offered them to William for the inadequate sum of 10,000 marks. The bargain was concluded; the king raised the money by violent extortions from his subjects of all ranks, even the religious houses, which were obliged to melt their plate to furnish the quota demanded. William was put in possession of Normandy and Maine; and Robert, providing himself with a magnificent train, set out for the Holy Land (1095).

§ 4. Devoid alike of religious feeling and religious principle, William during the latter part of his reign, was engaged in disputes with the church. After the death of Lanfranc he retained in his own hands, for several years, the revenues of Canterbury, and

* The history of the Crusades is narrated in the Student's Gibbon, pp. 545, seq.

of other vacant bishoprics; but falling into a dangerous sickness, he was seized with remorse, and resolved, therefore, to supply instantly the vacancy of Canterbury (1093). For this purpose he sent for Anselm, a native of Aosta in Piedmont, abbot of Bec in Normandy, who was much celebrated for his learning and piety, and whom he persuaded with difficulty to accept the primacy. But William's passions returned with returning health. He retained ecclesiastical benefices; the sale of spiritual dignities continued as openly as ever. He refused to surrender the temporalities of Canterbury to Anselm. The division between them grew more serious. The new primate had determined to receive his pall in Rome from the hands of Urban VI., contrary to the king's wishes, who had espoused the cause of the antipope. Enraged at this attempt, William summoned a council with an intention of deposing Anselm: but he was at last prevailed upon by other motives to give the preference to Urban. Anselm received the pall from that pontiff; and matters seemed to be accommodated between the king and the primate, when the quarrel broke out afresh from a new cause. In 1097 William had undertaken an expedition against Wales, and, requiring the archbishop to furnish his quota of soldiers for that service, accused him of insufficiently fulfilling his feudal obligations. Anselm retorted by demanding that the revenues of his see should be restored. He appealed to Rome against the king's injustice; and, finding it dangerous to remain in the kingdom, obtained the king's permission to retire beyond sea the same year. His temporalities were seized by William; the archbishop was received with great respect by Urban, who menaced the king, for his proceedings against the primate and the church, with sentence of excommunication.

§ 5. In 1099 the Crusaders became masters of Jerusalem. Their success stimulated others to follow their example; and William, duke of Guienne and count of Poitou, like Robert, offered to mortgage his dominions to William, in order to raise money for the purpose of proceeding to the Holy Land with an immense body of followers. The king accepted the offer, had prepared a fleet and an army in order to transport the money and take possession of the rich provinces of Guienne and Poitou, when an accident put an end to his life and all his ambitious projects. He was engaged in hunting in the New Forest, attended, among others, by Francis Walter, surnamed Tyrril, a French gentleman, remarkable for his address in archery. As William had dismounted after the chase, impatient to show his dexterity, Tyrril let fly an arrow at a stag which suddenly started before him. The arrow, glancing from a tree, struck the king in the breast, and killed him in-

stantaneously.* Without informing any one of the accident, Tyrrel put spurs to his horse, hastened to the sea shore, embarked for Franco, and joined the Crusade. The body of William was found in the forest by the country people, and was buried at Winchester. Tradition long pointed out the tree struck by the arrow, and a stone still commemorates the spot where it stood.

William was a violent and tyrannical prince; a perfidious, encroaching, and dangerous neighbour; an unkind and ungenerous relative. He was equally prodigal and rapacious in the management of his treasury; and if he possessed abilities, he lay so much under the government of impetuous passions, that he made little use of them in his administration. He built a new bridge across the Thames at London, surrounded the Tower with a wall, and erected Westminster Hall, which still retains portions of the original fabric. It was remarked in that age that Richard, an elder brother of William, had perished by an accident in the New Forest; and that Richard, his nephew, natural son of duke Robert, had lately lost his life in the same place, after the same manner. As the Conqueror had been guilty of extreme violence in expelling the inhabitants to make room for his game, popular belief ascribed the death of his posterity to the just vengeance of Heaven. William was killed August 2nd, 1100, in the 13th year of his reign, and about the 40th of his age. He died unmarried.

HENRY I.

§ 6. HENRY I., surnamed BEAUCLEK, *b.* A.D. 1070, *r.* 1100–1135.—Henry was hunting with Rufus in the New Forest when intelligence was brought him of that monarch's death. Sensible of the advantage attending the conjuncture, he hurried to Winchester, to secure the royal treasure. Without losing a moment, he hastened to London, and having assembled such of the nobles and prelates as adhered to his party, he was suddenly elected, or rather saluted, as king. In less than three days after his brother's death, he was crowned by Maurice, bishop of London (August 5). As the barons would have preferred the more popular rule of Robert, who had not yet returned from Palestine, Henry resolved, by fair professions at least, to gain the affections of his subjects. He granted a charter, in which he promised—to the church, that he would not seize the revenues of any see or abbey during a vacancy—to the barons and other tenants of the crown, that he would

* Such is the account, as related by the contemporary chronicler, Florence of Worcester, and his immediate follower, William of Malmesbury. Some deny the

charge against Tyrrel. The *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* simply says that William was shot "by one of his men."

not oppress them with unlawful reliefs—and to the people, that he would observe the laws of Edward the Confessor. Whilst attempting, by granting special boons to each order in the state, to secure the goodwill of all, Henry definitively committed himself to the duties of a national king.* Henry at the same time granted a charter to London, which seems to have been the first step towards rendering that city a corporation.†

§ 7. Sensible of the great authority acquired by Anselm, Henry invited him to return. On his arrival the king had recourse to his advice and authority respecting his marriage with Matilda, daughter of Malcolm III., king of Scotland, niece to Edgar Ætheling, and great-granddaughter of Edmund Ironside. This lady, whom the English called Edith, had been educated under her aunt Christina in the nunnery of Romsey. She had taken the veil, but not the vows required of a nun, and doubts arose concerning the lawfulness of the act contemplated by Henry. The affair was examined by Anselm, in a council of the prelates and nobles summoned at Lambeth. Matilda proved that she had put on the veil, not with a view of entering a religious life, but as other English ladies had done, to protect her chastity from the brutal violence of the Normans. The council pronounced that she was free to marry; and her espousals with Henry were celebrated by Anselm with great pomp and solemnity, to the delight of his English subjects. His marriage with the “good queen Maud,” the heiress “of the right royal race of England” as she is styled in the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, united the English and Norman blood in the person of her grandson, Henry II.

§ 8. Meanwhile Robert had taken possession of Normandy without opposition, and immediately made preparations for recovering England. The fame which he had acquired in the East assisted his pretensions, and many of the Norman barons, still further alienated by the king's marriage, invited Robert to take the crown, and promised to join him in the attempt with all their forces. At the end of July, 1101, Robert landed at Portsmouth; and Henry, who had collected his forces chiefly through the influence of the primate, advanced to meet him. The two armies lay in sight of each other for some days without coming to action, and both princes, apprehensive of the result, hearkened the more willingly to the counsels of Anselm and others, who mediated an accommodation between them. It was agreed that Robert should

* The term *witan*, that is, the Anglo-Saxon term for any council or assembly of nobles and prelates, now drops out of use, and is supplanted, as in this charter, by the Latin equivalent *barones*. The *witan*

and *barons*, however, to whom Henry owed his election, consisted of four only.

† Both charters are printed in Professor Stubbs's *Documents Illustrative of English History*.

resign his pretensions to England, and receive in lieu of them an annual pension of 3000 marks; that, if either of the princes died without issue, the other should succeed to his dominions; that the adherents of each should be pardoned and restored to their possessions, whether in Normandy or in England; and that neither Robert nor Henry should thenceforth encourage, receive, or protect the enemies of the other.

§ 9. The indiscretion of Robert soon made him a victim to Henry's ambitious schemes. During the reign of this indulgent and dissolute prince, Normandy became a scene of violence and depredation; and Henry, finding that the nobility were more disposed to pay submission to him than to their legal sovereign, collected a great army and treasure in England, and landed in Normandy in 1105. In the second campaign he gained a decisive victory before the castle of Tinchebray, in which nearly 10,000 prisoners were taken, among whom was Robert himself, and the most considerable barons who adhered to his interests. This victory was followed by the final reduction of Normandy (1106). Having received the homage of all the vassals of the duchy, Henry returned into England, and carried the duke along with him. The unfortunate prince was detained in custody during the remainder of his life, for no less a period than 28 years, and died in the castle of Cardiff, in Glamorganshire (1134). William, his only son, who had also been captured, was committed to the care of Helie de St. Saen, who had married Robert's natural daughter, and, being a man of probity and honour, he executed the trust with great affection and fidelity. To Edgar Ætheling, who had followed Robert in the expedition to Jerusalem, had lived with him ever since in Normandy, and was taken at Tinchebray, Henry granted his liberty and a small pension. He lived to a good old age in England, totally neglected and forgotten. This prince was distinguished by personal bravery; but nothing can be a stronger proof of the meanness of his talents than that he was allowed to live unmolested and go to his grave in peace.

§ 10. A controversy had long been depending between Henry and Anselm, with regard to investitures. Before bishops took possession of their dignities they had been accustomed, since the days of Charlemagne, to pass through two ceremonies. From the hands of the sovereign they received a ring and a crozier, as symbols of their spiritual office, and this was called their *investiture*; they also made those submissions to the sovereign for their lands which were required of all vassals by the feudal law, and this act was known by the name of *homage*. As the king might refuse both *investiture* and *homage*, he could neutralize the right of election granted to the chapter by the Lateran council of 1059, and engross the sole power

of appointing prelates. In 1074 Gregory VII. had forbidden the practice. His example was followed by Pascal II., who now filled the papal throne, and who supported Anselm in his refusal to accept investiture from Henry's hands, and threatened to excommunicate the king for persisting in his demands. But Henry had established his power so firmly in England and Normandy, that the pope consented to a compromise. Henry resigned the right of granting investitures, by which the spiritual dignity was supposed to be conferred; and Pascal allowed the bishops to do homage for their temporal possessions. The pontiff was well pleased to have gained this advantage, which he hoped would in time secure the whole; whilst the king, anxious to escape from a dangerous situation, was content to retain a substantial authority in the election of prelates.

§ 11. The acquisition of Normandy had been a great object of Henry's ambition; but it proved the source of great inquietude, involved him in frequent wars, and obliged him to impose on his English subjects those heavy and arbitrary taxes of which the historians of that age complain. The cause of William, the son of Robert, was espoused by Louis the Fat, king of France, and by other continental princes. The wars which ensued required Henry's frequent presence in Normandy; and, though he was generally successful, he was not released from anxiety on this account till the year 1128, when his nephew was killed in a skirmish, shortly after he had been created count of Flanders by the French monarch.

Eight years previously, Henry had received a terrible blow in the loss of his only son William. In 1120 the king, having concluded in Normandy a treaty of peace with the French king, set sail from Barfleur on his return, and was soon carried by a fair wind out of sight of land. His son William and his young companions, who were to follow in a vessel called the *White Ship*, wasted the time in feasting and revelry. On leaving the harbour, the ship was heedlessly carried on a rock, and immediately foundered. William, escaping in the long boat, had got clear of the ship, when, hearing the cries of his natural sister, Adela, countess of Perche, he ordered the seamen to put back in hopes of saving her; but the numbers who crowded in sunk the boat, and the prince, with all his retinue, perished. Above 140 young nobles, of the principal families of England and Normandy, were lost on this occasion. Bertold, a butcher of Rouen, who alone escaped to tell the tale, clung to the mast, and was taken up next morning by fishermen. Fitz-Stephen, the captain of the ship, who had also gained the mast, being informed by the butcher that prince William was lost, refused to survive the disaster, and perished in the sea. For three days Henry

entertained hopes that his son had escaped to some distant port of England; but when certain intelligence of the calamity was brought him he fainted away; and it was remarked that he never after was seen to smile, nor ever recovered his former cheerfulness.

§ 12. William left no children, and the king now turned his thoughts to Matilda, his only surviving child, whom, in 1110, he had betrothed, though only eight years of age, to the emperor Henry V., and had sent over to be educated in Germany. The king had lost his consort, "the good queen Maud," in 1118, and after the death of his son he was induced to marry, in 1121, Adelais, daughter of Godfrey, duke of Louvain, and niece of pope Calixtus II. As the emperor died without issue in 1125, Henry sent for his widowed daughter, and endeavoured to insure her succession by having her recognized as heir to all his dominions, and obliging the barons, both of Normandy and England, to swear fealty to her at Christmas, 1126. Two years later, motives of policy led him to give Matilda in marriage to Geoffrey the Handsome, son of his most formidable enemy, Fulk, count of Anjou. Geoffrey succeeded his father in 1129; and in 1131 Henry brought Matilda to England, and caused the nobles to renew their oath to her at Northampton. In 1133 she bore a son, at Le Mans, who was named Henry after his grandfather. During the latter years of his reign Henry resided chiefly in Normandy, where he died December 1, 1135, from a surfeit of lampreys, in the 67th year of his age, and the 35th of his reign. By his will he left Matilda heir of all his dominions, without making any mention of her husband Geoffrey, who had given him several causes of displeasure. His body was carried to England, and interred at Reading, in the abbey of St. Mary, which he had founded.

Henry, like his father, was a monarch of great ability, and possessed many qualities both of body and mind, natural and acquired, fitted for the high station to which he attained. His person was manly, his countenance engaging, his eyes clear, serene, and penetrating. From his early progress in letters he acquired the name of *Bezuclerc*, or the Scholar; but his application to such sedentary pursuits abated nothing, in after life, of the activity and vigilance of his government. He carried the oppressions of the forest laws to an extreme, and, though he restrained the tyranny of his nobles, he set no limits to his own arbitrary and avaricious temper. He was susceptible of the sentiments as well of friendship as of resentment; but his conduct towards his brother and nephew showed that he was too disposed to sacrifice to his ambition all the dictates of justice and equity.

§ 13. **STEPHEN**, *b.* A.D. 1096, *r.* 1135-1154.—Adela, fourth daughter of William the Conqueror, had been married to Stephen, count of Blois, and had brought him several sons, among whom Henry and Stephen, the two now surviving, had been invited over to England by the late king. Henry was created bishop of Winchester, and Stephen was endowed with great estates. In 1107 the king married him to Matilda, daughter and heir of Eustace, count of Boulogne, who brought him, besides a feudal sovereignty in France, immense property in England. Stephen, in return, professed great attachment to his uncle, and had been among the first to take the oath for the succession of Matilda. But no sooner had Henry breathed his last, than, insensible to all the ties of gratitude and fidelity, he hastened over to England, and stopped not till he arrived in London, where he was hailed by the citizens as their deliverer, and immediately saluted king. This irregular election was confirmed by the nobles, who disliked Matilda and her Angevin marriage, and hoped for license under a sovereign who had a doubtful title and an easy temper. It was pretended that the late king on his deathbed had disinherited Matilda, and had expressed an intention of leaving Stephen heir to all his dominions. William, archbishop of Canterbury, with some misgivings, placed the crown upon Stephen's head on St. Stephen's Day (December 26).

To secure the favour of his subjects, and strengthen his tottering throne, Stephen granted a charter, and promised to maintain the immunities of the church, the laws and liberties of his subjects, and to observe the good customs of the Confessor. He invited over from the continent, particularly from Brittany and Flanders, great numbers of mercenary and disorderly soldiers, with whom every country in Europe at that time abounded; and he procured a bull from Rome, which ratified his title.

§ 14. Matilda and her husband, Geoffrey, were as unfortunate in Normandy as they had been in England. The Norman nobility, hearing that Stephen had obtained the English crown, put him in possession of their government. Even Robert, earl of Gloucester, natural son of the late king, who was much attached to the interests of his sister Matilda and zealous for the lineal succession, submitted to Stephen, and took the oath of fealty, but with an express condition that his rights and dignities should be preserved inviolate. In return for their submission, Stephen allowed many of the barons to fortify castles and put themselves in a posture of defence. As the king found himself totally unable to refuse these exorbitant demands, England was immediately filled with fortresses, which the nobles garrisoned either with their vassals, or with mercenary soldiers, who flocked to them from all quarters.

In 1138 David, king of Scotland, appeared at the head of an army in defence of his niece's title, and penetrated into Yorkshire, where his wild Galwegians and Highlanders committed the most barbarous ravages. Enraged by this cruelty, the northern clergy and nobility assembled an army, with which they encamped at Northallerton, and awaited the arrival of the enemy. A great battle was fought, called the battle of the *Standard*, from the consecrated banners of St. Cuthbert of Durham, St. Peter of York, St. John of Beverley, and St. Wilfrid of Ripon, which were erected by the English on a waggon, and carried along with the army as a military ensign. The king of Scots was defeated, and he himself, as well as his son Henry, narrowly escaped falling into the hands of the English (August 22, 1138).

§ 15. This success might have given some stability to Stephen's throne, had he not, with incredible imprudence, engaged in a controversy with the clergy. In imitation of the nobility, the bishops of Salisbury, Ely, and Lincoln had erected strong fortresses, and Stephen, who was now sensible from experience of the mischiefs attending these multiplied citadels, resolved to begin with destroying those of the clergy. Accordingly, he first seized the bishops of Salisbury and Lincoln, threw them into prison, and obliging them by menaces to deliver up the strongholds they had lately erected, he then turned his arms against the bishop of Ely. To the surprise of Stephen, the cause of the prelates was espoused by his own brother, Henry, bishop of Winchester, and papal legate. At a synod assembled at Winchester, complaints were made of the king's proceedings, and Stephen promised redress; but the empress Matilda, invited by this opportunity, and encouraged by the legate himself, had now landed in England, with Robert, earl of Gloucester (who had renounced his allegiance the year before), and a small retinue of knights (1139). She fixed her residence first at Arundel castle. The gates were opened to her by Adelais, her stepmother. Many barons declared for her, and open war broke out between the two parties. A frightful state of anarchy ensued. The castles of the nobility had become receptacles of licensed robbers, who, sallying forth day and night, committed spoil in the open country, the defenceless villages, and even the cities. They put their captives to torture, in order to make them reveal their treasures; sold their persons into slavery; and set fire to their houses after they had pillaged them of everything valuable. The land was left untilled; the instruments of husbandry were destroyed or abandoned; and a grievous famine, the natural result of those disorders, affected equally both parties, and reduced the spoilers and their victims to the extremity of indigence and hunger.

The unexpected capture of Stephen himself by the earl of Gloucester, at Lincoln, seemed to promise an end to these calamities. He was conducted to Gloucester, and, though at first treated with humanity, was soon after loaded with irons, and imprisoned at Bristol (1141). The claims of Matilda were solemnly recognized in a synod held at Winchester by Stephen's brother, the legate. The Londoners, who clamoured in vain for Stephen's release, were obliged to submit; and Matilda's authority, by the prudence of earl Robert, seemed to be established over the whole kingdom. But besides the disadvantage of her sex, which weakened her influence over a turbulent and martial people, Matilda was of a passionate, imperious spirit, and knew not how to temper with affability the harshness of a refusal. Stephen's queen, seconded by many of the nobility, and by the citizens of London, petitioned for the liberty of her husband, and undertook that on this condition he should renounce the crown and retire into a convent. The offended legate, who desired that his nephew Eustace might inherit Boulogne and the other patrimonial estates of his father, retired to Winchester in disgust, and sided with Stephen's partisans. The Londoners were alienated by a heavy fine imposed upon them for the support they had given to Stephen. To check the designs of the legate, he was besieged by the empress at Winchester. The bishop held his palace and Maud the castle; and the burning of that ancient capital put an end to its rivalry with London. At length the legate, having joined his force to that of the Londoners, besieged Matilda. Hard pressed by famine, she made her escape; but in the flight earl Robert, her brother, while covering her retreat, fell into the hands of the enemy. This nobleman was as much the life and soul of one party, as Stephen was of the other; and Matilda, sensible of his merit and importance, consented to exchange prisoners on equal terms (Nov. 1, 1141). Next year the civil war was again kindled with greater fury than ever. Matilda retired to Oxford, was besieged by the legate, and escaped through the snow to Walsingham, scantily attended (Dec. 20). The war continued to rage for three years longer with variable success; the empress holding the west of England, and Stephen the east and London, the barons being too disaffected towards both to bring the contest to a decision. Earl Robert died in 1145, and the empress retired into Normandy (1146).

§ 16. In 1149 Matilda's son, Henry of Anjou, proceeded into Scotland, from which place he made various incursions into England, but with little success. By his dexterity and vigour, his valour in war, and his prudent conduct, he roused the hopes of his party, and gave indications of those great qualities which he afterwards dis-

played when he mounted the throne. After his return to Normandy he was, by Matilda's consent, invested with the duchy, and upon the death of his father, Geoffrey, in 1150, he took possession of Anjou. His dominions were still further augmented by his marriage with Eleanor, daughter and heir of William, duke of Guienne and count of Poitou (1152), whom Louis VII. of France had divorced on account of the levity of her conduct. By this marriage he obtained possession of Guienne, Poitou, and other provinces in the south of France included under the name of Aquitaine. Enabled to push his fortunes in England with greater chance of success, Henry was encouraged to make an invasion; and landing in England at the end of 1152, he gained some advantages over Stephen, who had finally broken with the church by his attempt to procure the coronation of his son Eustace, which had been forbidden by a papal bull obtained by archbishop Theobald. A decisive action was every day expected; when the great men of both sides, and especially the archbishop and Henry, the legate, terrified at the prospect of further bloodshed and confusion, interposed with their good offices, and set on foot a negociation between the rival princes. The death of Stephen's son, Eustace (August 18), facilitated arrangements. It was agreed by the treaty of Wallingford that Stephen should enjoy the crown during his lifetime, and that upon his demise Henry should succeed to the kingdom (November, 1153). After all the barons had sworn to the observance of this treaty, and done homage to Henry, as heir to the crown, that prince evacuated the kingdom; and the death of Stephen, which happened the next year after a short illness (October 25, 1154), prevented all those quarrels and jealousies which were likely to have ensued from so delicate a situation.

England suffered great miseries during the reign of this prince, but his personal character was not liable to any great exception. He possessed industry, activity, and courage to a great degree. Though not endowed with a sound judgment, he was not deficient in abilities. He had the talent of gaining men's affections; and notwithstanding his precarious situation, he never indulged himself in the exercise of cruelty or revenge. He is commonly branded as a usurper; but as the right of direct lineal succession was not firmly established till the time of Edward I., his seizing of the crown, regarded in itself, was no more an act of usurpation than that of his two predecessors. He must, however, be condemned for breaking his oath of fealty to Matilda, the daughter of his benefactor.



Henry II. From his monument at Fontevraud.

CHAPTER VII.

THE EARLY PLANTAGENET KINGS.

HENRY II. AND RICHARD I. A.D. 1154-1199.

§ 1. Accession of HENRY II. First acts of his government. § 2. His war and acquisitions in France. § 3. Ecclesiastical disputes. Thomas Becket. § 4. Constitutions of Clarendon. § 5. Opposed by Becket. § 6. Compromise with Becket and return of that prelate. § 7. Becket assassinated. § 8. Grief and submission of the king. § 9. Conquest of Ireland. § 10. Revolt of the young king Henry and his brothers. § 11. Henry's penance at the tomb of Becket. Peace with his sons. § 12. Death of the young king Henry. § 13. Preparations for a Crusade. Family misfortunes and death of the king. His character. § 14. Accession of RICHARD I. Preparations for the Crusade. § 15. Adventures on the voyage. § 16. Transactions in Palestine. § 17. The king's return and captivity in Germany. His brother John and Philip of France invade his dominions. § 18. Liberation of Richard and return to England. § 19. War with France. Death and character of the king.

§ 1. HENRY II., b. 1133; r. 1154-1189.—Henry II., who now ascended the throne, was the first monarch of the house of the Plantagenets, whose name was derived from the *planta genista*, the Spanish broom-plant, a sprig of which was commonly worn in his hat by Geoffrey, Henry's father. The Plantagenets reigned over England for more than three centuries, and to this family all the English monarchs belonged from Henry II. to Richard III. (A.D. 1154-1485); but after the deposition of Richard II. the line

was divided into the houses of Lancaster and York. To Lancaster belonged Henry IV., Henry V., and Henry VI. (1399-1461), and to York Edward IV., Edward V., and Richard III. (1461-1485). The name of Plantagenet was especially used as a distinctive surname by Edward IV. Henry II. and his two sons are also called *Angevins*. They were more intimately connected with France by their character and possessions than even the Norman princes, and it was not till the loss of Normandy under John, that the interests of the royal house were exclusively centred in England.

No opposition was offered to the accession of Henry. He was in Normandy at the time of Stephen's death, and upon his arrival in England he was received with the acclamations of all orders of men. He was crowned on Sunday, the 19th of December. The first acts of his government corresponded to the idea entertained of his abilities, and prognosticated the re-establishment of that justice and tranquillity, of which the kingdom had so long been bereaved. He dismissed the mercenary soldiers who had committed great disorders; revoked all grants made by his predecessor, even those which necessity had extorted from the empress Matilda; and he reformed the coin, which had been extremely debased during the reign of his predecessor. He was rigorous in the execution of justice, and in the suppression of robbery and violence. To maintain his authority, he caused all the newly erected castles to be demolished, which had proved so many sanctuaries for freebooters and robbers.

§ 2. The continental possessions of Henry were far more extensive than those of any of his predecessors. In the right of his father, he held Anjou, Maine, and Touraine; in that of his mother, Normandy; in the right of his wife, Guienne, Poitou, Saintogne, Auvergne, l'érigord, Angoumois, and the Limousin. These provinces composed above a third of the whole of France, and were much superior, in extent and opulence, to the territories immediately subjected to the jurisdiction and government of the French monarch. On the death of his brother Geoffrey in 1158, Henry laid claim to Nantes, which had been put into Geoffrey's hands by the inhabitants, after they had expelled count Hoel, their former prince. That Louis VII. might not interpose and obstruct his design, Henry paid him a visit, and by the skilful diplomacy of Thomas à Becket it was arranged that young Henry, heir to the English monarchy, should be affianced to Margaret of France, though the former was only five years of age and the latter was still in her cradle. Secure against all interruption on this side, Henry now advanced with an army into Brittany. The duke Conan,

in despair of being able to resist, not only delivered up the county of Nantes, which he had seized on pretence of being wrongfully dispossessed, but also betrothed his daughter and only child, yet an infant, to Geoffrey, the king's third son; who was of the same tender years. On the death of the duke of Brittany, about seven years after, Henry, as *meane* lord and natural guardian to his son and daughter-in-law, took possession of that principality, and annexed it to his other dominions.

§ 3. In 1162 commenced the long and memorable struggle between Henry II. and Thomas à Becket.

Thomas Becket, or à Becket, as he is generally called, was the first man of English birth who, since the Norman conquest, had risen to any considerable station. He was born (1119) of respectable parents, in the city of London; * was educated by the prior of Merton, sent to Oxford, and afterwards to Paris. Introduced into the household of archbishop Theobald, he readily acquired great influence over the primate; was enabled by his means to study jurisprudence at Bologna; and on his return to England was promoted to the archdeaconry of Canterbury, to the provostship of Beverley, and other valuable preferments. His genius, intrepidity, and knowledge of the law, were of great service to Theobald in the troublesome times of king Stephen; and shortly after Henry's accession, he was recommended by his patron to the new king's notice. He soon ingratiated himself with Henry, as he had done with the archbishop, and in 1157 was appointed chancellor. Besides this high office, he held several baronies that had escheated to the crown; and, to enhance his greatness, he was intrusted with the education of Henry, the king's eldest son, and heir to the monarchy. The pomp of his retinue, the sumptuousness of his furniture, the luxury of his table, the munificence of his presents, corresponded to these great preferments. His historian and secretary, Fitz-Stephen, mentions, among other particulars, that his apartments were every day in winter covered with clean straw or hay, and in summer with green rushes or boughs, lest the gentlemen who paid court to him, and could not, by reason of their great number, find a place at table, should soil their fine clothes by sitting on the floor. A great number of knights were retained in his service; the greatest barons were proud of being received at his table; his house was a place of education for the sons of the chief nobility; and the king himself frequently vouchsafed to partake of his entertainments, and lay aside with his favourite the dignity of royalty.

Becket, who by his complaisance and good humour had rendered

* An anonymous author states that his parents had migrated from Normandy.

himself agreeable, and by his industry and abilities useful, to his master, appeared to be the fittest person for supplying the vacancy caused by the death of Theobald. As he was well acquainted with the king's intentions of retrenching the ecclesiastical privileges of the clergy, Henry, never expecting any resistance, immediately issued orders for electing Becket archbishop of Canterbury (May 24, 1162). Nor was he inclined to waver in his purpose, though Becket, it is said, had warned him not to expect from him, as archbishop, the same undivided devotion to the royal interests he had exhibited as chancellor. No sooner was he installed in this new dignity, than he altered his demeanour and conduct. Without waiting for Henry's return from Normandy, he resigned into his hands his commission as chancellor; and he now stood forth as the champion of the church, the assertor of its rights, and of his own privileges, as the highest constitutional adviser of the crown. He maintained, in his retinue and attendants at his table and in public, his ancient pomp and lustre; but in his own person he practised the greatest austerity. He wore sackcloth next his skin; was strictly temperate in his diet, and abundant in his charity to the poor, feeding them with the dishes from his own table. In person, or by deputy, he washed daily on his knees, in imitation of Christ, the feet of thirteen beggars. Relying on a sort of promise made to him by the king, the new archbishop proceeded to demand from his former associates the restitution of estates belonging to his see, which he accused them of retaining unjustly.

He thus became embarked, as he had been in the days of Theobald, in defence of the church's rights against the powerful barons; and as the king was equally zealous in maintaining and augmenting the power of the monarchy, a rupture between them became imminent. The tenants in chief in different counties had been accustomed to pay two shillings for every hide of land to the sheriffs, as a voluntary gift, for their own security. This money the king desired to confiscate to his own use, and thus convert a voluntary into a compulsory tax. He broached this proposal at a council at Woodstock, and when all stood blank with astonishment, Becket ventured to object. "By God's eyes!" said the king, "it shall be paid as I require." "By the reverence of those eyes by which you have sworn," replied the archbishop, "it shall never be paid from my lands whilst I am alive." "He carried his point," says Professor Pearson, "and is the first Englishman on record who defeated an unjust tax." *

* Hist. of England, i. 495. See Roger of Pounteney, p. 113, and Grim, 21. Professor Stubbs thinks that the tax referred

to was the Danegeld; but this supposition is irreconcilable with the statements of Grim and Roger.

Three months after, a fresh quarrel ensued. Since the Conquest the spiritual and temporal jurisdiction had been sharply divided. The priest was no longer to judge the offences of laymen, and by parity of argument, the layman was not to judge the priest. But whilst the temporal laws were severe, and could restrain crime by death or mutilation, the clerical tribunals were regulated by the milder code of the canon law, which forbade the shedding of blood. Its utmost censure proceeded no farther than degrading the ecclesiastic and reducing him to the condition of the laity, when he might be punished by the lay tribunals for a fresh offence, but not for any he had formerly committed. In the disorders of the last reign discipline had been wholly relaxed, and many unworthy clerks had entered the church to shelter themselves and their crimes under its immunities. Henry proposed, at a council at Westminster (1163), that clerks guilty of felony should be degraded, and then handed over to the lay tribunals, to be hanged or mutilated, as justice might require. The proposal was opposed by Becket, as contrary to the customs of the nation and the privileges of the church. He insisted that clerks should be tried in the ecclesiastical courts, and be degraded if found guilty, but not be punished twice for the same offence. Shortly after the king required of the bishops and clergy to observe the laws of his grandfather, Henry I. But as no one could tell what those laws were, and to allow them to be determined by secular judges would have surrendered the whole question in dispute, Becket prevailed upon the bishops to consent, "saving the honour of God and their order." The king dismissed the assembly in wrath, took from the archbishop the manors of Eye and Berkhamstead, and persistently refused all his offers of reconciliation.

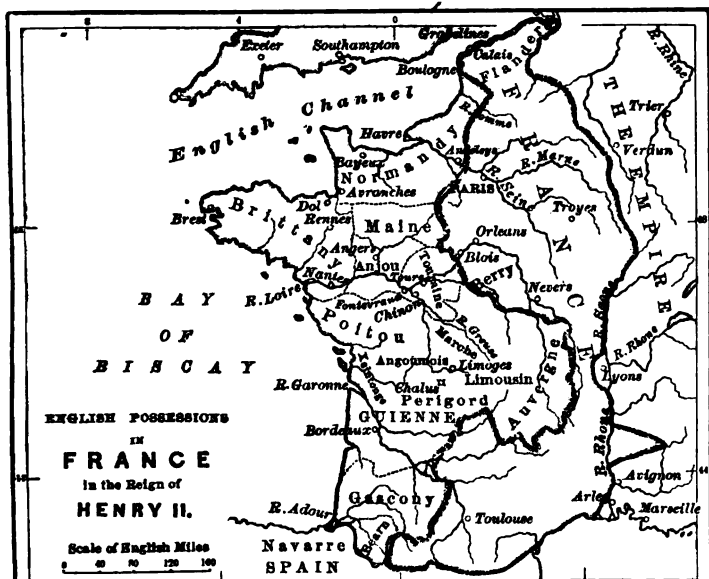
§ 4. Resolved to carry out his purpose, Henry summoned a general council of the nobility and prelates at Clarendon (January 25, 1164), when the laws, commonly called the *Constitutions of Clarendon*,* were enacted. They consisted of 16 articles, of which the following are the most important:—That bishops and abbots should do homage to the king, as their liege lord—that they should not appeal to Rome, or quit the country without his leave—that they should neither be elected without his consent, nor excommunicate any tenant *in capite* without the king's permission—that the sons of serfs should not be ordained without consent of their lord—finally, that the clergy should be amenable to the king's courts in all causes not exclusively spiritual.

§ 5. To these articles, which seemed to aim at the independence

* The *Assize of Clarendon* was not issued till the year 1166. This and the *Constitutions* will be found in Stubbs, *Documents, &c.* p. 129.

of the church—the only body which, in the absence of parliament or public opinion, could at that time exercise any moral control over kings or their officers—Becket demurred. Moved at last by the entreaties of his brethren, whom the king had terrified into compliance, the primate gave a reluctant and general consent, but immediately repented of his act. He redoubled his penance, suspended himself from offering mass, and wrote to the pope for absolution. Resolved upon his ruin, the king summoned a council at Northampton (Oct. 6, 1164). Becket was condemned for not having personally appeared to a suit instituted against him respecting certain lands, and as wanting in the fealty he had sworn to his sovereign. His goods and chattels were confiscated. Not content with this sentence, the king further demanded of him, on various pretexts, large sums of money; and finally required him to give in the accounts of his administration while chancellor, and to pay the balance due from the revenues of all the prelaties, abbeys, and baronies which had, during that time, been subjected to his management. By the advice of the bishop of Winchester, Becket offered 2000 marks as a general satisfaction for all demands; but his offer was rejected. On the seventh and last day of the council (Oct. 18), the archbishop entered the king's hall, bearing his cross before him. It was understood that he had come to forbid his suffragans to take any further part in the proceedings. Fierce words ensued. As he moved to the door, the nobles cried out, "Traitor and perjurer;" but the people fell on their knees and implored his blessing. Considering his life in danger, he asked Henry's permission to leave Northampton. On his refusal, he withdrew secretly, proceeded to the Kentish coast disguised as a monk, under the name of Brother Christian, and at last took shipping and arrived safely at Gravelines. Henry revenged himself by sequestrating the revenues of the see of Canterbury, and banishing the adherents and kinsfolk of the archbishop, to the number of 400, in the depth of winter.

§ 6. Louis VII., king of France, jealous of the rising greatness of Henry, and the pope, whose interests were more immediately concerned in supporting Becket, received him with the greatest marks of distinction. A war ensued between Louis and Henry; and the pope menaced Henry with excommunication. In 1169 peace was concluded between the two monarchs; and the pope and Henry began at last to perceive that, in the present situation of affairs, neither of them could expect a final and decisive victory. After many negotiations, all difficulties were adjusted (July, 1170). The king allowed Becket to return, after six years' banishment. But the king attained not that tranquillity he had hoped. During





the heat of his quarrel with Becket, while he was every day expecting excommunication, he had thought it prudent to have his son Henry, now fifteen years old, associated with him in the kingdom. He was consequently crowned by Roger, archbishop of York (June 14, 1170).^{*} But Becket, claiming the sole right, as archbishop of Canterbury, of officiating in the coronation, had inhibited all the prelates of England from assisting at the ceremony, and had procured from the pope a mandate to the same purpose. On his arrival in England on the first of December, he notified to the archbishop of York the sentence of suspension, and to the bishops of London and Salisbury that of excommunication, which, at his solicitation, the pope had pronounced against them. As he proceeded to take possession of his diocese, he was received in Rochester, and all the towns through which he passed, with the shouts and acclamations of the populace. In Southwark the clergy, the laity, men of all ranks and ages, came forth to meet him, and celebrated with hymns of joy his triumphant return.

§ 7. Arriving at his see, he found that the property had been grievously wasted in his absence by Ranulph de Broc, the sequestrator appointed by the king, and he fulminated the church's censures against the offender. Meanwhile, the suspended and excommunicated prelates arrived at Bur, near Bayeux, where the king then resided, and complained of the violent proceedings of Becket. Henry, furious at their report, declaimed more than once against the ingratitude of his courtiers, who were slow to avenge him on a base-born priest. Taking these passionate expressions for a hint, four gentlemen of his household, Reginald Fitz-Urse, William de Tracy, Hugh de Morville, and Richard Brito, or the Breton, immediately took counsel; and, swearing to avenge their prince's quarrel, secretly withdrew from court. Some menacing expressions which they had dropped gave a suspicion of their design; and the king despatched a messenger after them, charging them to attempt nothing against the person of the primate: but these orders arrived too late to prevent their fatal purpose. Repairing by different routes to Saltwood,† where De Broc resided (Dec. 28), they spent that night, the Feast of *The Holy Innocents*, in planning the murder. Next day they proceeded in great haste to the archiepiscopal palace of Canter-

* Prince Henry was called "the young king," and his father "the old king," though he was only thirty-seven years old now and fifty-six when he died. The young king is often styled Henry III. in old books.

† This castle, which was claimed by

Becket as belonging to his see, was held for the king by the royal officers, Robert and Ranulf de Broc. Robert accompanied the knights to Canterbury, and Ranulf sheltered them for the night, after the murder.

bury, pretending business from the king. They found the primate slenderly attended; and, among other menaces and reproaches, required him to quit the country, or absolve the excommunicated prelates. Alarmed by the threats of the knights, the monks hurried the archbishop into the transept, where vespers had already commenced. The assassins, who had retired to arm themselves, reappeared at the church door, which the monks would have fastened, but Becket forbade them to convert the house of God into a fortress. In the dim twilight the trembling monks concealed themselves under the altars and behind the pillars of the church. Becket was mounting the steps that led from the north transept into the choir, when the murderers rushed in; he then turned round, came down, and confronted them. Fitz-Urse, wielding in his hand a glittering axe, was the first to approach him, exclaiming, "Where is the traitor? Where is the archbishop?" At the second call Becket replied, "Reginald, here I am, no traitor, but an archbishop and priest of God: what do you wish?" and passing by him, took up his station between the central pillar and the massive wall which still forms the south-west corner of what was then the chapel of St. Benedict. On his repeated refusal to revoke the excommunication, the assassins attempted to drag him out of the church, in order to despatch him outside the sacred precincts. But Becket resisted with all his might, and, exerting his great strength, flung Tracy down upon the pavement. Finding it hopeless to remove him, Fitz-Urse approached him with his drawn sword, and, waving it over his head, dashed off his cowl. Thereupon Tracy sprang forward and struck a more decisive blow. Grim, a monk of Cambridge, who up to this moment had his arm round Becket, threw it up to intercept the blade. The blow lighted upon the arm of the monk, which fell wounded or broken, and the spent force of the stroke descending on Becket's head, grazed the crown, and finally resting on the left shoulder, cut through the clothes and skin. At the next blow, struck by Tracy or Fitz-Urse, upon his bleeding head, Becket drew back, as if stunned, and then raised his clasped hands above it. The blood from the first blow was trickling down his face in a thin streak; he wiped it with his arm, and when he saw the stain he said, "Into thy hands, O Lord, I commend my spirit." At the third stroke, he sank on his knees, and murmured in a low voice, "For the name of Jesus and in defence of the church I am willing to die." Without moving hand or foot, he fell flat on his face as he spoke, and, while in this posture, received from Richard the Breton a tremendous blow upon the skull. A subdeacon named Hugh, an associate of the assassins, planting his foot on the neck of the corpse, caused

the blood and brains to spirt out upon the pavement. This foul deed was perpetrated on Tuesday, the 29th December (A.D. 1170) a day long memorable in England as the martyrdom of St. Thomas.

Thomas Becket was a prelate of the most lofty, intrepid, and inflexible spirit, and no one who enters into the genius of that age can reasonably doubt of his sincerity. Nor does it detract from his sincerity, that he was sometimes actuated by mixed motives, in which it was difficult to determine whether his zeal for the church or his own personal wrongs and offended dignity had the upper hand. He had to contend, as he believed, for the independence of the clergy, against a monarch no less powerful, energetic, and absolute than Henry II. He had to defend the spiritual against the aggressions of the temporal authority, armed with all the wealth, the territorial possessions, and the influence of a monarch more powerful than any in Christendom. Right as it undoubtedly was for Henry to maintain the supremacy of the crown, and render the clergy amenable for criminal offences to the temporal courts, the assertion of an authority vesting on some higher sanction than the will of the monarch was no less needful and important.

§ 8. The intelligence of the murder threw the king into great consternation. The point of chief importance to Henry was to convince the pope of his innocence; or, rather, to persuade him that he would reap greater advantages from the submission of England than from proceeding to extremities against that kingdom. By the skill of his ambassadors he found means to appease the pontiff, whose anathemas were only levelled in general against all the actors, accomplices, and abettors of Becket's murder. The cardinals Albert and Theotwin were appointed legates to examine the cause, and were ordered to proceed to Normandy for that purpose. Henry made his submission, denying all complicity in the murder of the archbishop, and rescinding the Constitutions of Clarendon. Three years after his death, Becket was canonized by pope Alexander III.; his body was removed to a magnificent shrine, enriched with presents, and visited by pilgrims from all parts of Christendom.

§ 9. As soon as Henry found that he was in no immediate danger from the thunders of the Vatican, he undertook a long-projected expedition into Ireland.

As Britain was first peopled from Gaul, so was Ireland probably from Britain. The Irish were converted to Christianity by St. Patrick, about the middle of the 5th century; and the ecclesiastics of that country preserved a considerable share of learning when other nations were buried in ignorance. The invasions of the Danes

and Northmen in the eighth century plunged Ireland again into barbarism, from which, however, the towns which those invaders founded on the coast—Dublin, Waterford, Cork, and Limerick—were now beginning to emerge. Besides many small tribes, there were, in the age of Henry II., five principal sovereignties in the island—Munster, Leinster, Meath, Ulster, and Connaught; one or other of which was commonly paramount in Ireland. Roderic O'Connor, king of Connaught, held that dignity at this time. The ambition of Henry, very early in his reign, had been set on attempting the subjection of Ireland. A pretext only was wanting. For this purpose he had recourse to Rome, which assumed a right to dispose of kingdoms and empires, and especially of islands, according to the alleged donation of Constantine. Adrian IV. (Breakspear), the only Englishman who has ever sat upon the papal throne, gladly availed himself of the opportunity of bringing the Irish church under the dominion of Rome; and therefore, in the year 1155, he issued a bull in favour of Henry, giving him entire right and authority over Ireland. The king, however, was at that time prevented by various causes from putting his design into execution.

Dermot Macmorrogh, king of Leinster, had carried off Dervorghal, wife of O'Buarc, prince of Breffny (Leitrim). Her husband, collecting his forces, and strengthened by the alliance of Roderic, king of Connaught, invaded the dominions of Dermot, and drove him from his kingdom. The exiled prince craved the assistance of Henry, and offered, in the event of being restored to his kingdom, to hold it in vassalage under the crown of England (1168). Embarrassed by the rebellions of his French subjects at that time, as well as by his disputes with the see of Rome, Henry gave Dermot no further assistance than letters patent, empowering all his subjects to aid the Irish prince in the recovery of his dominions. Supported by this authority, Dermot formed an alliance with Richard, earl of Chepstow or Strigul, surnamed Strongbow, son of Gilbert de Clare. Richard had dissipated his fortune; and being ready for any desperate undertaking, he promised to assist Dermot on condition of espousing Eva, daughter of that prince, and being declared heir to the kingdom of Leinster. While Richard was assembling his forces, Dermot engaged the assistance of two other knights in South Wales, Robert Fitz-Stephen and Maurice Fitz-Gerald. In 1170 Fitz-Stephen crossed over to Ireland with a small force and took the town of Wexford; and was shortly afterwards joined by Fitz-Gerald. Next year Richard de Clare, having obtained an ambiguous permission from Henry to embark in the enterprise, landed in Ireland, took Waterford and Dublin, and, marrying Eva,

became soon after, by the death of Dermot, master of Leinster, and prepared to extend his authority over the rest of Ireland. Roderic, and other Irish princes, alarmed at the danger, besieged Dublin with an army of 30,000 men: but earl Richard, making a sudden sally at the head of 90 knights with their followers, put this numerous army to rout, chased them from the field, and pursued them with great slaughter. None in Ireland now dared to oppose themselves to the English.

Henry now determined to attack Ireland in person, and landed at Waterford at the head of 400 knights and 4000 soldiers. He found the Irish so dispirited by their late misfortunes, that, in a progress which he made through the island, he had no other occupation than to receive the homage of his new subjects. The clergy, in a synod at Cashel, not only made submission to Henry, but agreed to alterations which brought the native church nearer to the English model (1172). Appointing Richard seneschal of Ireland, he returned in triumph to England, after a stay of six months. Thus was Ireland subdued and annexed to the English crown, whose king became "Lord of Ireland."

§ 10. The king's precaution in establishing the several branches of his family seemed well calculated to prevent all jealousy among his children. He had appointed Henry, his eldest surviving son,* to be his successor in the kingdom of England, the duchy of Normandy, and the counties of Anjou, Maine, and Touraine; Richard, his third son, was invested with the duchy of Guienne and county of Poitou; Geoffrey, his fourth son, by right of his wife, had the duchy of Brittany; and the new conquest of Ireland was destined as an appanage for John, the youngest. But his hopes were frustrated. In 1173 his three eldest sons fled to the court of France, and demanded of their father immediate possession of a portion, at any rate, of the territories promised them. They had been encouraged in their filial disobedience by their mother, Eleanor, who, offended with her husband on account of his infidelities, had attempted to fly to France, but was seized and thrown into confinement. Young Henry had also been instigated by his father-in-law, Louis VII., who persuaded him that the fact of his having been crowned as king conferred upon him the right of participating in the throne. Many of the Norman nobility deserted to the prince. The Breton and Gascon barons seemed equally disposed to embrace the quarrel of Geoffrey and Richard. Disaffection crept in among the English; and the earls of Leicester and Chester, in particular, openly declared against the king. On the continent, however, Henry obtained at all points, and without much

* His firstborn, William, had died an infant, in 1156.

difficulty, the advantage over his enemies. The defeat of Leicester, at Forneham, in Suffolk (October, 1173), was followed by fresh hostilities the next year. William the Lion, king of Scotland, also entered into this great confederacy; and a plan was concerted for a general invasion at different parts of the king's extensive and factious dominions. The king of Scots crossed the border. Several of the counties were in open revolt. The belief gained ground that the king had been privy to the murder of the archbishop, and that these disasters were a judgment upon him.

§ 11. Under these circumstances Henry resolved to make a pilgrimage to the tomb of the martyr, and humble himself before the ashes of the saint. He crossed over from Normandy in 1174, and on July 12 entered Canterbury. As soon as he came within sight of the cathedral he dismounted, walked barefoot towards it, prostrated himself before the shrine of St. Thomas, remained in fasting and prayer for a whole day, and watched all night the holy reliques. He even submitted to a penance still more humiliating. He assembled a chapter of the monks, disrobed himself before them, put a scourge of discipline into the hands of each, and presented his bare shoulders to the lashes successively inflicted upon him. Next day he received absolution; and departing for London, received soon after the welcome intelligence of a great victory over the Scots at Alnwick, and of the capture of their king. As this success was gained on the very day of his absolution, it was regarded as the earnest of his final reconciliation with Heaven and with St. Thomas. The victory proved decisive. In less than three weeks all opposition disappeared, and Henry's rebellious subjects hastened to make their submissions. Louis was glad to conclude a peace; his sons returned to their obedience; and William, king of Scotland, who had been imprisoned at Falaise, was compelled with all his barons and prelates to do homage in the cathedral of York, and to acknowledge Henry and his successors for their superior lord (1175). Berwick, Roxburgh, and other important places, were ceded to the English monarch, and the castle of Edinburgh was placed in his hands.

§ 12. Thus extricated with honour, contrary to expectation, from a situation in which his throne was exposed to great danger, Henry employed himself for several years in improving the internal administration of his kingdom. One of the most important of his enactments was the appointment of itinerant justices, of which institution an account is given at the close of this book. Another was the substitution in certain cases of a trial by sixteen sworn recognitors in place of the trial by battle.

The success which had attended Henry in his wars prevented his neighbours from forming any fresh projects against him. In 1177

he sent over his fourth son, John, into Ireland with a view of making a more complete conquest of the island; but the petulance and incapacity of this prince exasperated the Irish chieftains, and obliged the king soon after to recall him. The latter years of Henry's reign were embittered by the renewed rebellion of his sons, and their mutual quarrels. In 1183 his son Henry was seized with a fatal illness in the midst of his criminal designs, and died expressing deep sorrow for his filial ingratitude. Richard and Geoffrey made war upon each other; and when this quarrel was accommodated, Geoffrey, the most vicious perhaps of all Henry's unhappy family, levied war against his father. Henry was freed from this danger by his son's death, who was killed in a tournament at Paris (1186).

§ 13. In the year 1187 the city of Jerusalem fell into the hands of sultan Saladin, and a new Crusade was determined on. The French and English monarchs and the emperor Frederick Barbarossa assumed the cross. In the midst of these preparations Richard, supported by Philip Augustus of France (who had succeeded Louis VII. in 1180), again took up arms against his father for detaining certain lands belonging to Adelais, Philip's sister, who was betrothed to Richard (1189). After much fruitless negotiation, Henry was obliged to defend his dominions by arms, and engage in a war with his son and with France, in which his reverses so subdued his spirit that he submitted to all the rigorous terms demanded of him. But this was the least of his mortifications. When he required a list of those barons to whom he was bound to grant a pardon for their connection with Richard, he was astonished to find at the head of them the name of his favourite son John. Overloaded with cares and sorrows, the unhappy father, in this last disappointment of his domestic tenderness, broke out into expressions of the utmost despair, cursed the day in which he was born, and bestowed on his ungrateful and undutiful children a malediction which he never could be prevailed on to retract. This final blow quite broke his spirit, and aggravated the fever from which he was suffering. He expired at the castle of Chinon, near Saumur (July 6, 1189). His natural son, Geoffrey, who alone had behaved dutifully towards him, attended his corpse to Fontevraud, where it lay in state in the abbey church. As Richard met the sad procession, he was struck with horror and remorse, and expressed a deep sense of his own undutiful behaviour. Thus died, in the 58th year of his age, and 34th of his reign, the most remarkable prince of his time.

Henry was of a middle stature, strong, and well proportioned; his countenance was lively and engaging; his conversation affable

and entertaining; his speech easy, persuasive, and ever at command. He loved peace, but possessed both bravery and conduct in war; was provident without timidity, severe in the execution of justice, and temperate without austerity. Cruel and false, his abilities were more conspicuous than his virtues. He preserved his health, and kept himself from corpulency, to which he was somewhat inclined, by an abstemious diet, and by frequent exercise, particularly hunting. Restless and energetic, he generally transacted business standing, and was careless how he ate or drank or dressed. In his person were united many of the characteristics of his race, both bad and good. He was a fair scholar, had a wonderful memory, and was more careful of the forms than of the spirit of religion. He had five sons by Eleanor, of whom only two, Richard and John, survived him. Of his natural children the most distinguished were William, who received the surname of Longsword, and married the daughter of the earl of Salisbury, and Geoffrey, already mentioned, who became bishop of Lincoln and archbishop of York.

RICHARD I.

§ 14. RICHARD I., b. 1167; r. 1189-1199.—Richard succeeded his father without opposition. He dismissed his father's minister, Ranulf de Glanville, the justiciary, and released his mother Eleanor from the confinement in which she had long been detained by the late king.

The history of Richard's reign consists of little more than his personal adventures. Impelled by the love of military glory, the sole purpose of his government seems to have been the relief of the Holy Land, and the recovery of Jerusalem from the Saracens. This zeal against the infidels was shared by his subjects, and broke out in London on the day of his coronation (September 3). The king had issued an edict prohibiting the Jews from appearing at the ceremony; but some of them, presuming on the large presents made him by their nation, ventured to approach the hall where the king was dining. Exposed by their appearance to the insults of the populace, they took to flight. A rumour was spread that the king had issued orders for their massacre. This command, so agreeable to popular prejudices, was executed in an instant on such as fell into the hands of the multitude, who, moved alike by rapacity and zeal, broke into their houses, plundered, and murdered the owners. The inhabitants of the other cities of England imitated the example. In York 500 Jews, who had retired into the castle for safety, unable to defend the place, murdered their own wives and children, and then, setting fire to the castle, perished in the flames.

Regardless of every consideration except his expedition to the Holy Land, Richard endeavoured to raise money by all expedients, how pernicious soever they might be to the public, or dangerous to the royal authority. He set to sale the revenues and manors of the crown, and the offices of greatest trust and power; sold, for so small a sum as 10,000 marks, the vassalage of Scotland, together with the fortresses of Roxburgh and Berwick, acquired by his father during the course of his victorious reign. Leaving the administration in the hands of the bishops of Durham and Ely, whom he appointed justiciaries and guardians of the realm, Richard proceeded to the plains of Vezelay, on the borders of Burgundy, the place of rendezvous agreed on with the French king. Philip and Richard, on their arrival there, found their combined army amount to 100,000 men (July 1, 1190).

§ 15. Here the French prince and the English reiterated their promises of cordial friendship, and pledged their faith not to invade each other's dominions during the Crusade. They then separated; Philip took the road to Genoa, Richard the road to Marseilles, with a view of meeting their fleets, which were severally appointed to rendezvous in these harbours, and met again at Messina, where they were detained during the whole winter. Here Richard was joined by Berengaria, daughter of the king of Navarre, with whom he had become enamoured in Guienne. In the spring of the following year (1191) the English fleet, on leaving the port of Messina, met with a furious tempest, and the squadron in which Berengaria and her suite were embarked was driven on the coast of Cyprus. In consequence of their inhospitable treatment by Isaac, the ruler of Cyprus, Richard landed there, dethroned Isaac, and established governors over the island. Richard then espoused Berengaria (May 12), and early in the next month sailed for Palestine.

§ 16. The arrival of Philip and Richard inspired new life into the Crusaders. The emulation between the rival kings and rival nations produced extraordinary acts of valour: Richard in particular drew upon himself the general attention. Acre, which had been attacked for above two years by the united force of all the Christians in Palestine, now surrendered; but Philip, instead of pursuing the hopes of further conquest, disgusted with the ascendancy assumed and acquired by Richard, declared his resolution of returning to France. Richard, with those who still remained under his command, determined to lay siege to Ascalon, and thus open the way to Jerusalem. The march along the seacoast of 100 miles from Acre to Ascalon was a perpetual battle of 11 days. Ascalon fell into his hands, and Richard was even able to advance within sight of Jerusalem, the object of his enterprise, when he had the

mortification to find, from the irresistible desire of his allies to return home, that all hopes of further conquest must be abandoned for the present, and the acquisitions of the Crusaders be secured by an accommodation with Saladin. He concluded a truce for three years with that monarch (1192); stipulating that Acre, Joppa, and other seaport towns of Palestine, should remain in the hands of the Christians, and pilgrims to the Holy City be unmolested.

§ 17. No business of importance now remained to detain Richard in Palestine; and the intelligence which he had received, concerning the intrigues of his brother John, and those of the king of France, made him sensible that his presence was necessary in Europe. As he dared not pass through France, he sailed to the Adriatic; and being shipwrecked near Aquileia, he assumed the disguise of a merchant returning from pilgrimage, with the purpose of taking his journey secretly through Germany. At Vienna he was betrayed by his prodigality; was arrested by orders of Leopold, duke of Austria, who had been offended by some insult whilst serving with Richard in Palestine (December 20, 1192). By the duke he was delivered to Henry VI., the German emperor, in return for a large sum which he paid to Leopold, and was detained by him in a castle in the Tyrol. The English learnt the captivity of their king from a letter which the emperor sent to Philip, king of France.* The news excited the greatest indignation; it seemed incredible that the champion of the Cross should be treated with such indignity. Philip hastened to profit by the circumstance; he formed a treaty with John, the object of which was the perpetual ruin of Richard. Philip, in consequence, invaded Normandy, but was driven back with loss; and John was equally unsuccessful in his enterprises in England. The justiciaries, supported by the general affection of the people, provided so well for the defence of the kingdom, that John was obliged, after some fruitless efforts, to conclude a truce.

§ 18. Meanwhile the high spirit of Richard suffered in Germany every kind of insult and indignity. He was brought before the diet of the empire at Hagenau, and accused by Henry of many crimes and misdemeanours (March 22, 1193); but Richard defended himself with so much ability, that he produced a profound impression on the German princes, who exclaimed loudly against the conduct of the emperor. The pope threatened him with excommunication; and Henry at last agreed, in a conference at Worms, to restore Richard to his freedom for the sum of 100,000

* The well-known story of the discovery of Richard's place of confinement by his page singing a song under his window rests on no historical authority.

marks paid down, and 50,000 more on security.* Half of the sum was to be paid before he received his liberty, and hostages delivered for the remainder (December, 1193). Making all imaginable haste to escape, Richard embarked at the mouth of the Scheldt, and reached Sandwich, March 20, 1194. As soon as Philip heard of the king's deliverance, he wrote to his confederate John: *Take heed of yourself, for the devil is broken loose.* The joy of the English was extreme at the appearance of their monarch, who had suffered so many calamities, had acquired so much glory, and had spread the reputation of their name to the furthest East. The barons, in a great council, confiscated all John's possessions in England; and assisted the king in reducing the fortresses which still remained in the hands of his brother's adherents.

§ 19. Having settled everything in England, Richard passed over with an army into Normandy, impatient to make war on Philip, and revenge himself for the many injuries received from that monarch. The incidents which attended these hostilities were mean and frivolous. The war, frequently interrupted by truces, was continued till within a short period of Richard's death. The king was wounded in the shoulder with an arrow by Bertrand de Gourdon, whilst besieging the castle of Chaluz, belonging to his vassal Vidomar, viscount of Limoges, who had refused to surrender the whole of a treasure which he had discovered. The castle was taken, and all the garrison hanged, except the unfortunate archer, whom the king had reserved for a more deliberate and cruel execution. The wound was not in itself dangerous, but the unskillfulness of the surgeon made it mortal. A gangrene ensued, and Richard, now sensible that his life was drawing towards a close, sent for Gourdon, and asked him, "Wretch, what have I done to you to oblige you to seek my life?" "What have you done to me?" replied the prisoner: "you killed with your own hands my father and my two brothers, and you intended to have hanged myself. I am now in your power, and you may take revenge by inflicting on me the most cruel torments; but I shall endure them with pleasure, provided I can think that I have been so happy as to rid the world of such a plague." Richard, struck with the reply, and humbled by the near approach of death, ordered Gourdon to be set at liberty and a sum of money to be given him; but, unknown to the monarch, the unhappy man was flayed alive, and then hanged.† Richard died on the 6th of April, 1199, in the 10th year of his reign, and the 42nd of his age. He was buried at his father's feet at Fontevraud.

* In all £100,000.

† A contemporary French MS. says that Richard was wounded by a knight, Peter

de Basle, and makes no mention of the archer Gourdon: his spirited reply, and his cruel fate.

The most shining parts of this prince's character are his military talents. No man, even in that romantic age, carried personal courage and intrepidity to a greater height; and this quality gained him the appellation of the lion-hearted, *Cœur de Lion*. He loved military glory passionately; and as his conduct in the field was not inferior to his valour, he seems to have possessed every talent necessary for acquiring it. Of an impetuous and vehement spirit, he was distinguished by the good as well as the bad qualities incident to such characters. Open, frank, generous, sincere, and brave, he was revengeful, ambitious, haughty, and cruel; and was better calculated to dazzle men by the splendour of his enterprises, than to promote their happiness or his own grandeur by a sound and well-regulated policy. As Richard was a lover of poetry, and there even remain some poetical works of his composition, he is ranked among the Provençal poets, or *Troubadours*.

NOTES AND ILLUSTRATIONS.

A. THE ANGLO-NORMAN CONSTITUTION.

1. *The Feudal system*.—Among the barbarian tribes which overran Europe after the fall of the Roman empire, every individual claimed an equal share of liberty: and thus, when Charles the Simple inquired of the Northmen what title their leader bore, they replied, "None; we are all equally free." But when they were settled in the possessions won with their swords, they found new cares devolve upon them, and the necessity of a new system of polity. Having abandoned their life of wandering and rapine, it became necessary not only to cultivate the land for a subsistence, but to be prepared to defend it both against the attempts of the ancient possessors to regain, and of fresh swarms of wanderers to seize, it. Retaining their military character, and ignorant alike of all systems of finance and the expedient of a standing army, each man held himself in readiness to obey the call to service in the field. The superior officers, who held large territories directly from the prince, were bound to appear with a proportionate number of followers; and their followers held their lands from their immediate lord on the same condition. Thus, as

Dr. Robertson observes, "a feudal kingdom was properly the encampment of a great army; military ideas predominated, military subordination was established, and the possession of land was the pay which the soldiers received for their personal service." The possessions held by these tenures were called *fiefs*, or *beneficia*. The vassal who held them was not only bound to mount his horse and follow his lord, or his suzerain, to the wars, but also to assist him with his counsel, and attend as an assessor in his courts of justice. More special and definite services were—to guard the castle of his lord a certain number of days in the year; to pay a certain sum of money when his lord's eldest son was made a knight, and his eldest daughter was married; and to contribute to his ransom in case he was taken prisoner in war. In return for these services the lord was bound to afford his vassal protection in the event of his fief being attacked; whilst the defence of each other's person was reciprocal. The natural consequence of this was the system called "sub-infeudation," by which the immediate holder parcelled out portions of his fief to others on the same conditions of tenure by which he held it himself. These sub-tenants owed to him the same duties

as he owed to his lord; and he held his own court of justice, in which he exercised jurisdiction over his vassals. The few lands that remained free, that is, which were not bound to render service to a superior lord, though liable to burthens for the public defence, were called *allodial* in contradistinction to *feudal*.

The ceremony by which the vassal acknowledged his feudal dependence and obligations was called homage, from *homo*, a man, because the vassal became the man of his lord. Homage was accompanied with an oath of fealty on the part of the vassal, and investiture on the part of the lord, which was the conveying of possession of the fief by means of some pledge or token. Homage was of two kinds, liege and simple. Liege homage (from *Lat. ligare*, Fr. *lier*, to bind) not only obliged the liege man to do personal service in the army, but also disabled him from renouncing his vassalage by surrendering his fief. The liege man took the oath of fealty on his knees without sword and spurs, and with his hands placed between those of his lord. The vassal who rendered simple homage had the power of finding a substitute for military service, or could altogether liberate himself by the surrender of his fief. In simple homage the vassal took the oath standing, girt with his sword and with his hands at liberty.

The aristocratic nature of feudalism will readily be inferred from the preceding description. The great chief, residing in his country-seat, which he was commonly allowed to fortify, lost in a great measure his connection or acquaintance with the sovereign, and added every day new force to his authority over the vassals of his barony. From him they received education in all military enterprises; his hospitality invited them to live and enjoy society in his hall; their leisure, which was great, made them perpetual retainers on his person, and partakers of his country sports and amusements; they had no means of gratifying their ambition but by making a figure in his train; his favour and countenance was their greatest honour; his displeasure exposed them to contempt and ignominy; and they felt every moment the necessity of his protection, both in the controversies which occurred with other vassals, and, what was more material, in the daily

inroads and injuries which were committed by the neighbouring barons. From these causes not only was the royal authority extremely eclipsed in most of the European states, but even the military vassals, as well as the lower dependants and serfs, were held in a state of subjection, from which nothing could free them but the progress of commerce and the rise of cities, the true strongholds of freedom.

2. *Feudalism in England.*—Feudalism was one of the principal changes introduced into England by the Conquest. The king became the supreme lord of all the land; whence Coke says, "All the lands and tenements in England in the hands of subjects are holden mediately or immediately of the king, for in the law of England we have not properly *allodium*" (Coke upon *Littleton*, l. 1). Even the native landholders who were not deprived of their lands were brought under the system of feudal tenure, and were subjected to new services and imposts. Most of the manors were bestowed upon the Normans, who thus held immediately of the king, and were hence called *Tenants in Capite* or *Tenants in chief*. But though the Anglo-Saxon thane was thus reduced to the condition of a simple freeholder, or franklin, and though the Norman lord perhaps retained a certain portion of his estate as demesne land, yet the latter had no possessory right in the whole, and the estate was not therefore so profitable to him as might at first sight appear. The tenant in chief was bound to *knight service*, or the obligation to maintain, 40 days in the field, a certain number of mounted men, from his under-tenants, completely equipped. Even religious foundations and monasteries were liable to this service, the only exception being the tenure of *frankalmoin*, or free alms. Every estate of 20 pounds yearly value was considered as a knight's fee, and was bound to furnish a soldier. The tenants in chief appear from Domesday Book to have amounted in the reign of William the Conqueror to about 1400, including ecclesiastical corporations, amounting to one-half of the number. The *mesne* lords, or those holding fiefs not directly from the king, are estimated at about 8000.

There were peculiarities in the feudal system of Normandy itself which were introduced by William into England

According to the generally received principle of feuds, the oath of the vassal was due only to the lord of whom he immediately held. But William, as already related, exacted the oath of fealty from all the landowners of England, whether tenants in *capite* or under-tenants. In doing this he seems to have been guided by the custom of Normandy, where the duke had immediate jurisdiction over all his subjects.* Hence William's power was much greater than that of the feudal sovereigns of the continent, and his rule approached more to an absolute despotism. The great fiefs of England did not, like those of France, date their origin from a period when the power of the vassal who received them was almost equal to that of the sovereign who bestowed them; but being distributed on the same occasion, and almost at the same time, William took care not to make them so large as to be dangerous to himself; for which reason also the manors assigned to his followers were dispersed in different counties. Hence the nobles in England never attained that pitch of power which they possessed in Germany, France, and Spain; nor do we find them defying the sovereign's jurisdiction, as was very common in those countries, by exercising the right of carrying on private wars among themselves.

3. *The Great Council or Parliament.*—The supreme legislative power of England was confined to the king and the Great Council of the realm, called *Commune Concilium Regni*, and also *Curia Regis*. It was attended by the archbishops, bishops, and principal abbots, and also by the *Greater Barons*. "The great tenants of the crown were of two descriptions—those who held by Knight Service in *Capite*, and those who held also in *Capite* by Grand Serjeantry, so called, says Littleton, from being a greater and more worthy service than Knight Service—attending the king not only in war but in his court. . . . To both descriptions of tenants the word *Baron*, in its more extended sense of lord of a manor, was applicable; but the latter only, or those who held of the king by Grand Serjeantry, held their lands *per Baroniam*, and were the King's Barons, and as such possessed both

a civil and criminal jurisdiction, each in his *Curia Baronis*, or Court Baron, whilst the Lesser Barons had only a civil jurisdiction over their vassals. To both ranks alike pertained the service of attending the sovereign in war with a certain number of knights, according to the number of Knights Fees holden of the crown, and to those who held *per Baroniam* was annexed the duty also of attending him in his Great Councils, afterwards designated Parliaments; for it was the principle of the feudal system that every tenant should attend the court of his immediate superior, and hence it was that he who held *per Baroniam*, having no superior but the crown, was bound to attend his sovereign in his Great Council or Parliament, which was in fact the Great Court Baron of the Realm" (Nicolas. *Historic Peerage of England*, ed. by Courthope, p. xviii.). It has been thought, but there is no distinct authority for the statement, that the lesser barons were sometimes summoned, particularly when taxes were to be imposed; for as the crown had only the right to exact from its immediate tenants the customary feudal aids, it became necessary, when the crown needed any extraordinary aid, to summon all the chief tenants in order to obtain their consent to the imposition. It was once disputed with great acrimony whether the Commons or representatives of counties and boroughs formed a part of the Great Council; but it is now universally acknowledged that they were not admitted into it till the reign of Henry III., and that the tenants alone of the crown composed the supreme and legislative assembly under the Anglo-Norman kings.

Mr. Hallam has summed up the constitution of this national assembly down to the reign of John as follows:—"1. All tenants in chief had a constitutional right to attend, and ought to be summoned; but whether they could attend without a summons is not manifest. 2. The summons was usually directed to the higher barons, and to such of a second class as the king pleased, many being omitted for different reasons, though all had a right to it. 3. On occasions when money was not to be demanded, but alterations made in the law, some of these second barons, or tenants in chief, were at least occasionally summoned, but whether by strict right or usage does not fully appear. 4. The

* See Hoveden, *Ann. Lods des Français*, l. p. 186, ap. Thorpe, Lappenberg's *Anglo-Norman Kings*, p. 96. Comp. Hallam, *Middle Ages*, vol. i. p. 185.

irregularity of passing over many of them when councils were held for the purpose of levying money, led to the provision in the Great Charter of John by which the king promises that they shall be summoned through the sheriff on such occasions; but the promise does not extend to any other subject of parliamentary deliberation" (*Middle Ages*, iii. p. 213).

Under the Conqueror and his sons it was customary to assemble such councils at the three great festivals of Christmas, Easter, and Whitsuntide, and on other occasions when needed. It does not, however, appear probable that such a council could have assembled so frequently in any large numbers. What limitation it imposed on the royal prerogative in the matter of legislation cannot be determined. Practically, the authority of the Norman kings was absolute.

4. *Legislation*.—There was indeed little or no legislation under the early Norman kings; for the charters and other acts which they passed were rather confirmations of ancient privileges than new enactments. Even in Normandy itself there seems to be no trace of Norse jurisprudence, nor of *états* nor courts, previous to the conquest of England; the law seems to have lain in the breast of the sovereigns (Palgrave, *Normandy and England*, ii. 258). There is at all events no monument of jurisprudence previous to that epoch; and, though a similarity may be subsequently traced between the English and Norman laws, yet England indisputably gave more than she borrowed. Learned men have even maintained that the famous Norman code called the *Grand Coutumier*, or Great Customary, was of Anglo-Saxon origin; nay, the later Normans claimed *Magna Carta* as the foundation of their franchises.* In England the earliest legislation of the Norman sovereigns must be referred to the time of Henry II., and most of the changes usually ascribed to the Conqueror were really not effected before that reign.†

5. *Courts of Justice*.—Besides the Great Council of the realm, the king had an ordinary or select council, for administrative and judicial purposes, which was also called *Curia* or *Aula Regis* (the

King's Court). It attended the person of the sovereign, and was composed of the great officers of state; as the chief justiciary,* chancellor, constable, marshal, chamberlain, treasurer, steward, and others nominated by the king. These were his councillors in political matters, and also the supreme court of justice of the kingdom, in which the king sometimes sat in person. A particular branch of it, afterwards known as the *Court of Eschequer*, was established in very early times for the administration of all matters connected with the revenue. Its existence can at all events be traced to the reign of Henry I. By degrees, when suits began to multiply in the king's court, and pleadings became more technical and intricate, another branch was detached for the decision of private suits, which was called the *Court of Common Pleas*. It seems to have had its beginning in the reign of Richard I.; but it was completely established by *Magna Carta*, of which the 14th clause enacted, "Common Pleas shall not follow our court, but be held in some certain place." The *Court of King's Bench*, primarily intended to decide suits between the king and his subjects, was formed out of the ancient *Curia Regis*. The rolls of the King's Bench begin in the sixth year of Richard I.†

The County courts and Hundred-courts still continued as in Anglo-Saxon times. All the freeholders of the county, even the greatest barons, were obliged to attend the sheriffs in these courts, and assist in the administration of justice. Such courts, which were unknown upon the continent, served as a powerful check upon the courts of the barons. Appeals were allowed from the county and baronial courts to the court of the king; and, lest the expense and trouble of a journey to court should discourage suitors, itinerant judges (*in Eyre*) were established in the reign of Henry II. (A.D. 1176). They made their circuits through the kingdom, and tried all causes that were brought before them; for this purpose England was divided into six districts.

In judicial proceedings the ancient practice of compurgation by the oaths of

* The chief justiciary presided in the king's court, and was, by virtue of his office, the regent of the kingdom during the absence of the sovereign. He was thus the greatest subject in the kingdom.

† According to Professor Stubbs, it was not until the end of the reign of Henry III. that the ancient *Curia* was divided into these separate and independent bodies.

* Palgrave, *Normandy and England*, l. pp. 107, seq. and notes, p. 730. Comp. Hallam, *Middle Ages*, ii. p. 314. The *Grand Coutumier* itself, however, ascribes the collection to Rolf: Lappenberg, *Anglo-Norman Kings*, by Thorpe, p. 92.
† Palgrave, *ibid.* p. 113; Hallam, *ibid.* p. 412.

friends and of trial by ordeal (p. 77) still subsisted under the Norman kings; but the trial by ordeal was to some extent superseded by that of combat, which, if not introduced by the Normans, was very seldom practised before the Conquest. Trial by ordeal was abolished by the fourth Lateran Council in 1216. The privilege of compurgation, an evident source of perjury, was abolished by Henry II., though by some exemption it continued to be preserved long afterwards in London and in boroughs. A regulation of Henry II. introduced an important change in suits for the recovery of land, by allowing a tenant who was unwilling to risk a judicial combat to put himself on the *awake*; that is, to refer the case to four knights chosen by the sheriff, who in their turn selected twelve more. These twelve decided the case by their verdict; but this proceeding was limited to the king's court and that of the itinerant justices, and never took place in the county court or in that of the hundred. This practice will again claim our attention when we come to trace the history of trial by jury.

6. *Revenue of the Crown*.—The power of the Norman kings was supported by a great revenue that was fixed, perpetual, and independent of the subject. The first branch of the king's stated revenue was the royal demesnes or crown lands. When the king was not content with the stated rents, he levied, at his pleasure, heavy taxes, called *tallages*, on the inhabitants both of town and country who lived within his demesne. They were assessed by the itinerant justices on their circuits. The tenants *in capite* were bound, as we have already seen, to furnish in war a soldier for every knight's fee; and if they neglected to do so, they were obliged to pay the king a composition in money called *escuage* or *scutage*. Another tax, levied upon all the lands at the king's discretion, was *Danegeld*, which was continued after all apprehension of the Danes had passed away. Before the Conquest it was a tax of two shillings on every hide of land, and was raised by William I. to six shillings. The name disappears after 1163, but the carucage levied by Richard I. was virtually the same. The king also derived a considerable revenue from certain burthens to which his military tenants were liable. The most important of these feudal incidents, as they were called, were

Reliefs, Fines upon Alienation, Escheats, Forfeitures, Aids, Wardship, and Marriage.

1. A *Relief*, which was the same as the Saxon *heriot*, was a fine paid by the heir to his lord on succeeding to a fief. The fine was at first arbitrary, but by Magna Carta it was fixed at about a fourth of the annual value of the fief. The king was entitled to a sort of extra relief, called *Primer Seisin*, on the death of any of his tenants *in capite*, provided the heir had attained his majority. The primer seisin consisted of one year's profits of the land.

2. A *Fine upon Alienation* was a sum paid to the lord when the tenant transferred his fief to another. 3. An *Escheat* was when a fief reverted to the superior lord in consequence of the tenant having died without heirs. 4. A *Forfeiture* arose from the vassal failing to perform his duties towards either his lord or the state. "Under rapacious kings, such as the Norman line in England, a new doctrine was introduced, the corruption of blood, by which the heir was effectually excluded from deducing his title, at any distant time, through an attainted ancestor" (Hallam). 5. *Aids* were contributions which the lord was entitled to demand from his vassal under certain circumstances. They were raised according to local customs, and were felt to be a great grievance. Three only were retained by Magna Carta—to make the lord's eldest son a knight, to marry his eldest daughter, and to ransom his person from captivity. 6. *Wardship* was the right of the lord to the care of his tenant's person during his minority, and to receive certain profits of his estate. 7. *Marriage*. The lord might tender a husband to his female ward in her minority, and if she rejected the proposal she forfeited the sum which the guardian could have obtained for such an alliance. This was afterwards extended to male wards. In both cases it became the source of great abuse and extortion.

7. *The Church*.—The policy of William the Conqueror was favourable to the pope, who had supported his claims to the English throne. One of his most important innovations was the separation of the civil and ecclesiastical jurisdictions, which had been united in the Anglo-Saxon times. He prohibited the bishops from sitting in the county courts, and allowed ecclesiastical causes to be tried in spiritual courts only.

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8. *Villanage*.—A great part of the population under the Anglo-Norman kings was in a state of slavery, to which the name of *Villanage* was applied. In the Anglo-Saxon times a large part of the population consisted of *ceorls*, or free-men, forming a class between the thanes and the serfs. But under the Normans most of the *ceorls* were thrust down into slavery, and the Anglo-Saxon *ceorls* and serfs became the Norman *villains*. It would seem, however, that the *ceorls* who had acquired land were allowed in many cases to retain their land and their freedom. These are the *Socmanni* or *Socmen* of Domesday Book, the same as the small freeholders or yeomanry of later times. The condition of the *villains* appears to have increased in rigour under the successive Anglo-Norman kings down to the time of Henry II., at which period the *villain* was absolutely dependent upon the will of his lord, and was incapable of holding any property of his own. Yet he appears to have possessed some personal rights; for, though liable to be sold by his master, an action would lie against the latter for murder, rape, or mutilation. *Villains* were divided into two classes, called *villains regardant* and *villains in gross*. The former were *adscripti glebis*, or attached to certain lands; and when these lands changed owners the *villains regardant* became the property of the new possessors. The *villains in gross*, on the contrary, might be sold in open market, and transferred from hand to hand without regard to any land or settlement. They were called *en gross* because this term, in our legal phraseology, indicates property held absolutely, and without reference to any other. But there appears to have been no essential difference in the condition of these *villains*. The way in which the *villains* emerged from this degraded position into the peasantry of England will be narrated at the end of the next book.

B. AUTHORITIES FOR NORMAN HISTORY.

The principal sources of Norman history are:—Dudo of St. Quentin, whose work contains the lives of the first three dukes (in Duchesne); William of Jumièges (Gemeticensis), who epitomized the preceding work, and continued it down to the battle of Hastings [*ibid.*]; William of Poitiers, *Gesta Wilhelmi ducis Norman-*

norm et regis Anglorum [*ibid.*]; Ordericus Vitalis, *Historia Eocl.* [*ibid.*]; Wace, or Gasse, *Roman de Rou*; the *Hypodigma Neustria* [Parker, Camden].

The best modern works on the early history of Normandy are:—The *Epitome* prefixed to Lappenberg's *Hist. of England under the Norman Kings*, translated and supplemented by Benjamin Thorpe; Palgrave, *Hist. of Normandy and England*, 8vo; Thierry, *Histoire de la Conquête de l'Angleterre par les Normands*, 4 vols. 8vo.

C. AUTHORITIES FOR ANGLO-NORMAN HISTORY.

Many of these authorities have been already enumerated in Note D, appended to Book I. Thus, of those mentioned there, the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicles* continue to the year 1154; Florence of Worcester to 1106; Simeon of Durham, with the continuation, to 1156; Eadmer to 1123; Henry of Huntingdon to 1154; Brompton to 1199; Hoveden to 1201; William of Malmesbury's *Gesta Regum* and *Gesta Pontificum* to 1142; Hugo Candidus to 1155; Matthew of Westminster (*Flores Historiarum*) to 1207; Roger of Wendover to 1235.

Of the authorities for Norman history mentioned in the preceding note, the work of Ordericus Vitalis is also serviceable for Anglo-Norman history. It comes down to the year 1141.

Robert de Thorigny, a monk of the abbey of Bec, continued the history of William of Jumièges down to the year 1137; and it forms the 8th book of that work as published in Camden's *Anglica, Normannica*, &c. William of Newburgh treats of the period from 1066 to 1197. The Chronicle of Radulphus de Diceto, a dean of St. Paul's, with a continuation, comes down to the year 1199, and is published in Twysden's and the Rolls' Collection. The Chronicle of Gervase of Canterbury reaches to about the same period as the preceding [*ibid.*]. Benedict of Peterborough's Chronicle embraces the period from 1170 to 1192 (in Hearne and the Rolls' Series). Walter of Coventry continued Hoveden, besides writing other chronicles; but his works exist only in manuscript. Ralph of Coggeshall, who died about 1237, wrote a *Chronicon Anglicanum* from the Conquest to the year 1209. It will be found in Martène and Durand's Collection, and more complete in the Rolls' Series. The chronicles

of St. Alban's, formerly cited under the name of Matthew Paris, are in reality by three persons—Roger of Wendover, Matthew Paris, and William Rishanger. Roger of Wendover, who has been already mentioned, is a contemporary authority from 1201 to 1235. His work has been published by the English Historical Society. The principal work of Matthew Paris is the *Historia Major* (A.D. 1066 to 1259, with a continuation to 1273); but only the portion from 1235 to 1259 belongs to M. Paris, the remainder being adopted from Wendover with interpolations. William Rishanger is the continuator of Paris from 1259 to 1307, and his work therefore belongs to the period embraced in the next book—also in the Rolls' Series.

Other works that may be mentioned relating to the present period are—a chronicle from 1066 to 1289, by Thomas Wikes (Gale and in the Rolls' Series). Many chronicles of this period bear no author's name, and are called after the abbey or monastery in which they were composed or preserved. Among the principal of them may be named—the *Annales Burtonenses*, A.D. 1114-1263 (in Fulman's Collection); *Annales Waverlenses*, 1066-1291 (Gale); *Chronicon de Mailros* (Melrose), 731-1270. (Fulman and the Bannatyne Club. Also in the Rolls' Series.)

Among the works relating to par-

ticular periods may be named the Lives of Thomas Becket by John of Salisbury, Benedict of Peterborough, Edward Grim, Herbert of Bosham, and others, published by Dr. Giles, in the *Patres Ecclesie Anglicane*.

Richard of Devizes wrote a chronicle of the first three years of Richard I., which is published by the English Historical Society. The *Itinerarium Regis Ricardi* (in Gale) contains an account of king Richard's Crusade. It was formerly wrongly ascribed to Geoffrey Vinesauf, but was probably written by Richard, canon of the Holy Trinity, London.

Among modern works relating to this period may be mentioned that of Thierry, alluded to in the preceding note; Lappenberg's *Hist. of England under the Norman Kings*, translated by Thorpe (also mentioned in the preceding note), which comes down to the end of Stephen's reign; the continuation of this work by Pauli, *Geschichte von England*; and Lord Lyttelton's *Life of Henry II.* (6 vols. 8vo). More important still are the works of Mr. Freeman and Professor Stubbs, and especially, for the reigns and characters of Henry II. and Richard I., Professor Stubbs's Introductions to the Rolls' Editions of Benedict of Peterborough and the *Memorials of Richard I.*



Richard I. From his monument at Fontevraud.



John. From his tomb in Worcester Cathedral.



Isabella. From her tomb at Fontevrand.

BOOK III.

DEVELOPMENT OF THE ENGLISH CONSTITUTION.

FROM THE ACCESSION OF JOHN TO THE DEATH OF RICHARD III.
A.D. 1199-1485.

CHAPTER VIII.

HOUSE OF PLANTAGENET'—*Continued.*

JOHN AND HENRY III. A.D. 1199-1272.

- § 1. Introduction. § 2. Accession and marriage of JOHN. § 3. War with France. Murder of prince Arthur. John is expelled from France. § 4. The king's quarrel with the court of Rome. Interdict of the kingdom. § 5. Excommunication and submission of the king. He does homage to the pope. § 6. War with France. § 7. Discontent and insurrection of the barons. § 8. Magna Carta. § 9. Civil wars. Prince Louis called over. Death and character of the king. § 10. Accession of HENRY III. General pacification. § 11. Commotions. War with France. § 12. The king's administration. His partiality to foreigners. § 13. Usurpa-

tions and exactions of the court of Rome. § 14. Richard, earl of Cornwall, king of the Romans. Simon de Montfort. § 15. Parliament of Oxford, or the Mad Parliament. § 16. Opposition to the barons. Treaty with France. § 17. Civil wars. Battle of Lewes. § 18. Leicester's parliament. House of Commons. § 19. Battle of Evesham and death of Leicester. § 20. Prince Edward's Crusade. Death and character of the king.

§ 1. THE reign of John marks an important epoch in the history of the English nation. Under the early Norman kings there had been two different races dwelling upon the English soil, speaking different languages, and possessing no common interests; but during the reigns of Henry II. and Richard I. the Anglo-Saxons and Normans became fused into the English people.* Not only were the foundations laid, but much of the superstructure was reared, of those liberties which are still the glory and the safety of the English nation.

§ 2. JOHN, *b.* 1167; *r.* 1199–1216.—John was the fifth and youngest son of Henry II., and as he received from his father no great fiefs, like his brothers, he obtained the surname of *Sans terre* or *Lackland*, by which he was commonly known. Although Geoffrey, the fourth son of Henry II., had left two children, Arthur and Eleanor, and John had attempted to deprive Richard of his crown, yet Richard was induced, by the influence of their mother, to name John as his successor. He was acknowledged by the Norman barons; but Arthur, who had become duke of Brittany in right of his mother, was not left without supporters. The nobles of Anjou, Maine, and Touraine immediately declared in his favour, and applied for assistance to the French monarch as their superior lord. Philip, who desired only an occasion to embarrass John, and dismember his dominions, embraced Arthur's cause, and sent him to Paris to be educated along with his own son Louis. John, after being crowned at Westminster on the 27th of May,† crossed over to France in order to conduct the war against Philip, and to recover the revolted provinces from his nephew, Arthur. Constance, the prince's mother, seized with a jealousy that Philip intended to usurp his dominions, found means to carry off her son secretly from Paris. She put him into the hands of his uncle, and restored the provinces which had adhered to her son. From this incident Philip saw that he could not hope to make any progress against John; and the two monarchs entered into a treaty (1200) by which they adjusted the limits of their several territories. John, now secure,

* See Notes and Illustrations (A) on the amalgamation of the Saxon and Norman races.

† This was Ascension Day, and John's

regnal years were dated, not from May 27th of each year, but from that moveable feast, thus, they vary from May 3 to June 2.

as he imagined, on the side of France, indulged his passion for Isabella, the daughter and heir of Aymar Taillefer, count of Angoulême, a lady of whom he had become much enamoured, though his queen, the heiress of the family of Gloucester, was still living. Isabella had been affianced to the count de la Marche, and was already consigned to the care of that nobleman's brother, though, by reason of her tender years, the marriage had not yet been consummated. The passion of John made him overlook all these obstacles: he persuaded the count of Angoulême to carry off his daughter from her guardian; and having, on some pretence or other, procured a divorce from his own wife, he espoused Isabella regardless of the resentment of the injured count.

§ 3. But John's government, equally feeble and violent, gave great offence to his Poitevin barons, who appealed to the king of France, and demanded redress from him as their superior lord. Philip perceived his advantage, interposed in behalf of the barons, and began to talk in a high and menacing style to the king of England. The young duke of Brittany, who was now rising to man's estate, sensible of the dangerous character of his uncle, determined to seek both his security and elevation by a union with Philip and the malcontent barons (1202). He joined the French army, which had begun hostilities against the king of England: he was received with great marks of distinction and knighted by Philip, espoused his daughter Mary, and was invested not only in the duchy of Brittany, but in the counties of Anjou and Maine, which he had formerly resigned to his uncle. Success attended the allies till an event happened which seemed to turn the scale in favour of John, and to give him a decided superiority over his enemies. He fell on Arthur's camp, who was besieging Mirabeau, before that prince was aware of the danger, dispersed his army, took him prisoner, together with the most considerable of his revolted barons, and returned in triumph to Normandy. The greater part of the prisoners were sent over to England, but Arthur was shut up in the castle of Falaise. His fate is involved in obscurity; but there is little reason to doubt that he was put to death by John's command, though probably not by the king's own hand.

The states of Brittany now carried their complaints before Philip as their liege lord, and demanded justice for the violence committed by John on the person of Arthur (1203). Philip received their application with pleasure, summoned John to trial, and, on his non-appearance, with the concurrence of the peers, passed sentence upon him, declared him guilty of felony, and adjudged him to forfeit to his superior lord all his seignories and fiefs in France.

Philip now embraced the project of expelling the English, or rather the English king, from France, and of annexing to the crown the many considerable fiefs, which during several ages had been dismembered from it. Whilst he was making considerable progress in this design, John remained in total inactivity at Rouen, passing the time, with his young wife, in amusements, as if his state had been in the most profound tranquillity, and his affairs in the most prosperous condition. Philip pursued his victorious career without opposition. Town after town fell into his hands. At length, by the surrender of Rouen, the whole of Normandy was reunited to the crown of France, about three centuries after the cession of it, by Charles the Simple to Rollo, the first duke (1204). Philip carried his victorious army into the western provinces; he soon reduced Anjou, Maine, and Touraine; and thus the French crown, during the reign of one able and active prince, received such an accession of power and grandeur, as in the ordinary course of events it would have required ages to attain.

§ 4. The papal chair was filled at this time by Innocent III., who, being endowed with a lofty and enterprising genius, gave full scope to his ambition, and attempted, perhaps more openly than any of his predecessors, to convert that superiority which was yielded him by all the European princes into a real dominion over them. A favourable incident enabled him to extend his usurpations over so contemptible a prince as John. Hubert Walter, the primate, died in 1205; and, as the chapter of Christchurch, Canterbury, claimed the right of electing their prelate, some of the juniors of the order met clandestinely on the night of Hubert's death, and chose Reginald, their sub-prior, for his successor. Having enjoined him the strictest secrecy, they sent him immediately to Rome, in order to obtain confirmation of his election. The vanity of Reginald prevailed over his prudence. He had no sooner arrived in Flanders than he revealed the purpose of his journey, which was immediately made known in England. The king was enraged at the novelty and temerity of the attempt, in filling so important an office without his knowledge or consent. The suffragans of Canterbury, accustomed to concur in the choice of their primate, were no less displeased at their own exclusion; whilst the senior monks of Christchurch repudiated the irregular proceedings of their juniors. The chapter, at the command of the king, now chose John de Grey, bishop of Norwich, for their primate, and the suffragans subsequently acquiesced in the choice. The king and the convent of Christchurch despatched twelve monks of that order to support, before the tribunal of Innocent, the election of the bishop. But Innocent, refusing to recognize their elec-

tion, compelled the twelve monks, under the penalty of excommunication, to choose for their primate STEPHEN LANGTON, an Englishman by birth, but educated in France, and connected by interest and attachments with the see of Rome (1207).

§ 5. Inflamed with rage when he heard of this attempt of the court of Rome, John immediately vented his passion on the monks of Christchurch for consenting to Langton's appointment, expelling them from the convent and taking possession of their revenues. Innocent, in return, placed the kingdom under an interdict (March 23, 1208). By this terrible sentence public worship and the administration of the sacraments, except private baptism, were suspended. Marriages were only celebrated outside the churches, and the dead were buried in ditches and waste places without funeral rites. John retaliated by seizing the property of such of the clergy as obeyed the interdict. It was followed up the next year (1209) by a threat of excommunication; and, as the king still refused to yield, the pope in 1212 carried out the threat, absolved the king's subjects from their oaths of allegiance, and called upon Philip to carry the sentence of deposition into effect. The French monarch collected a large force for the purpose of invading England; and John, finding that he could not rely upon his own subjects, agreed to submit to the requirements of the pope. He not only acknowledged Langton as primate, but he issued a charter, by which he resigned England and Ireland to God, to St. Peter and St. Paul, and to pope Innocent and his successors in the apostolic chair, and agreed to hold these dominions as feudatory of the church of Rome, by the annual payment of 1000 marks. In token of this submission he did homage to Pandulf, the papal nuncio, with all the ceremonies required by the feudal law of vassals to their liege lord and superior (May 15, 1213).

§ 6. Returning to France, Pandulf congratulated Philip on the success of his pious enterprise; and informed him that, as John had now made his kingdom a part of St. Peter's patrimony, no Christian prince could attack him without manifest and flagrant impiety. Enraged at this intelligence, Philip resolved to continue his enterprise, although an English fleet assembled under William Longsword, earl of Salisbury, the king's natural brother, had attacked the French in their harbours, destroyed and captured a great number of their ships in the Flemish harbour of Damme, and Philip, to prevent the rest from falling into the hands of the enemy, set fire to them himself.

§ 7. When the interdict was removed, John went over to Poitou (1214), to fulfil his part in a great alliance which he had formed against France, and carried war into Philip's dominions. At

the same time his nephew, the emperor Otho IV., aided by English mercenaries, invaded France from the side of Flanders. The great and decisive victory gained by the king of France at Bouvines, in July, established for ever the glory of Philip, and gave full security to all his dominions. The earl of Salisbury was taken prisoner; and John, baffled in his great scheme, and deserted by the nobles of Poitou, concluded a five years' truce at Chinon (September 18).

Equally odious and contemptible in public and private life, he had affronted the barons by his insolence, dishonoured their families by his gallantries, enraged them by his tyranny, provoked the rising power of the towns, and given discontent to all ranks of men by his repeated exactions and impositions. This discontent was further aggravated by the king's demands of an unusual scutage from the disaffected barons; and, after he had reconciled himself to the pope and betrayed the independence of the kingdom, all his subjects thought they might with safety and honour insist upon a redress of grievances. Nothing forwarded this confederacy so much as the concurrence of Langton, archbishop of Canterbury—a man whose memory, though he was obtruded on the nation by the encroachments of the see of Rome, ought always to be respected by the English. The patriotic efforts of this prelate were warmly seconded by William Marshal, eldest son of the earl of Pembroke; and to these two distinguished men the English nation are under the deepest obligations for the foundation of their liberties. In a meeting at St. Paul's, Langton showed to some of the principal barons a copy of Henry I.'s charter, which he said he had happily found in a monastery; and he exhorted them to insist on its renewal and observance. Upon the defeat of John's continental alliance, the barons held a more solemn meeting at St. Edmundsbury, and swore before the high altar to obtain from the king a charter confirming the ancient liberties of England (November, 1214). Appearing in arms at his Christmas court in London, they presented their claims. He promised an answer at Easter, but in order to break up the confederacy of the barons, and detach their clerical associates, he offered (January 15, 1215) to relinquish for ever that important prerogative for which his father and his ancestors had zealously contended, by yielding to the church freedom of election on all vacancies, reserving only to himself the *congé d'élire* and confirmation of the election; declaring, further, that, if either of these were withheld, the choice should nevertheless be deemed just and valid. Both parties had sent deputies to Rome, requesting the interference of Innocent. But the pope, preferring the cause of

John, condemned Langton and the barons for the course they had taken, and ordered them to reconcile themselves with the king. The barons, who had advanced too far to recede, assembled at Stamford (May 19); and, as John still continued to temporize, choosing Robert Fitz-Walter for their general, whom they called the *Marshal of the army of God and of Holy Church*, they marched to London (Sunday, May 24th). They were received without opposition; and finding the great superiority of their force, they issued proclamations requiring other barons to join them. After wandering to and fro between Winchester and Windsor, the king was left with only a few adherents, and was at last obliged to submit at discretion.

§ 8. A conference between the king and the barons was appointed at Runnymede, near Staines, a place which has ever since been celebrated on account of this great event. The two parties encamped apart, like open enemies, the barons on the field of Runnymede, the king on the Buckinghamshire side of the river, and the conferences were held on a little island, still called "Magna Carta Island." After a debate, which lasted only a single day, the king, with a facility somewhat suspicious, granted the charter required of him (June 15, 1215). This famous deed, commonly called MAGNA CARTA, or THE GREAT CHARTER, either granted or secured very important liberties and privileges to every order of men in the kingdom—to the clergy, to the barons, and to the people. The privileges offered to the clergy in the preceding January are confirmed by the Great Charter, and have been already enumerated. The barons were relieved from the chief grievances to which they had been subjected by the crown. The "reliefs" of heirs of the tenants in chief, on succeeding to an inheritance, were limited to a certain sum, according to the rank of the tenant; guardians were restrained from wasting the lands of their wards; heirs were to be married without disparagement, and widows secured from wedding on compulsion. The next clause was still more important. It enacted that no "scutage" or "aid" should be imposed without the consent of the Great Council of the kingdom, except in the three feudal cases of the king's ransom, the knighting of his eldest son, and the marriage of his eldest daughter; and it provided that in all cases of aid the prelates, earls, and greater barons should be summoned to this great council, each by a particular writ, and all other tenants in chief by a general summons of the sheriff. The privileges and immunities thus granted to the tenants in chief were extended to the inferior vassals. The franchises of the city of London, and of all other cities and boroughs, were declared inviolable; and no aids were to be required of London, except by the consent of the great council. One weight and one

measure were extended throughout the kingdom. The freedom of commerce was granted to alien merchants. The court of Common Pleas was to be stationary, instead of following the king's person. But "the essential clauses" of Magna Carta, as Mr. Hallam remarks, are those "which protect the personal liberty and property of all freemen, by giving security from arbitrary imprisonment and arbitrary spoliation. NO FREEMAN SHALL BE TAKEN OR IMPRISONED, OR BE DISPOSSESSED [OF HIS FREEHOLD, OR LIBERTIES, OR FREE CUSTOMS], OR BE OUTLAWED, OR EXILED, OR ANY OTHERWISE DESTROYED; NOR WILL WE PASS UPON HIM, NOR LET PASS UPON HIM, BUT BY LAWFUL JUDGMENT OF HIS PEERS, OR BY THE LAW OF THE LAND. WE WILL SELL TO NO MAN, WE WILL NOT DENY OR DELAY TO ANY MAN JUSTICE OR RIGHT."* "It is obvious," Mr. Hallam adds, "that these words, interpreted by any honest court of law, convey an ample security for the two main rights of civil society. From the era, therefore, of king John's charter, it must have been a clear principle of our constitution that no man can be detained in prison without trial. Whether courts of justice framed the writ of Habeas Corpus in conformity to the spirit of this clause, or found it already in their register, it became from that era the right of every subject to demand it."†

Other clauses of the charter protected freemen and even villeins from excessive fines. The latter were not to be deprived of their carts, ploughs, and implements of industry.‡

The barons obliged the king to agree that London should remain in their hands, and the Tower be consigned to the custody of the primate, till the 15th of August ensuing, or till the execution of the several articles of the Great Charter. The better to insure the same end, John allowed them to choose five and twenty members from their own body, as conservators of the public liberties. The authority of these men was unbounded in extent and duration. Any four of them might claim redress for the infraction of the charter, and in event of refusal proceed to levy war on the king himself. All men throughout the kingdom were bound, under the penalty of confiscation, to swear obedience to them; and the freeholders of each county were to choose twelve knights, who were to make report of such evil customs as required redress, conformably to the tenor of the Great Charter.

* These, however, are not the words of Magna Carta, but of the charter as re-issued with some alterations by Henry III., and called the Charter of Liberties. The words in brackets are not in the original.

† Middle Ages, vol. II. p. 324.

‡ John's charter is in Rymer's *Fœdera*,

in Stubbs's *Select Charters*, &c., and other places. Respecting the subsequent confirmations of the charter, see Notes and Illustrations (B). The "Charter of the Forests," which was a supplement to the Great Charter, was not executed till the confirmation of the latter in 1217.

To all these regulations, however injurious to majesty, John seemed to submit passively; but he only dissembled till he should find a favourable opportunity for annulling all his concessions, and he was determined to throw off, at all hazards, so ignominious a slavery. He secretly sent abroad emissaries to enlist foreign soldiers, and he despatched a messenger to Rome, in order to lay before the pope the Great Charter, which he had been compelled to grant, and to complain, before that tribunal, of the violence which had been imposed upon him. Innocent, considering himself as feudal lord of the kingdom, was incensed at the temerity of the barons, and issued a bull, in which he annulled the charter, as obtained illegally, as a violation of the privileges pertaining to a champion of the Cross—for John had assumed the Cross some weeks before—and as derogatory to those rights which the pope now claimed as John's feudal superior (August 25).

§ 9. As his foreign forces arrived along with this bull, the king now threw off the mask; and, under sanction of the pope's sentence, he recalled all the liberties he had granted to his subjects, and had solemnly sworn to observe. The barons, after obtaining the Great Charter, seem to have been lulled into a fatal security. From the first, the king was master of the field, and immediately laid siege to the castle of Rochester, which was obstinately defended by William D'Aubigné, at the head of 140 knights with their retainers, but was at last reduced by famine. The capture of D'Aubigné, the best officer among the confederated barons, was an irreparable loss to their cause, and no regular opposition was thenceforth offered to the progress of the royal arms. The mercenaries, incited by a cruel and enraged prince, were let loose against the estates, tenants, manors, houses and parks of the barons, spreading devastation over the surface of the kingdom. Marching through the whole extent of England, from Dover to Berwick, John laid waste the provinces on each side of him, permitting his mercenary troops to carry fire and sword in all directions, sparing neither sex nor age, neither things sacred nor profane.

Reduced to this desperate extremity, and menaced with the loss of their liberties, their properties, and their lives, the barons employed a remedy no less desperate; and making application to the court of France, they offered to acknowledge Louis, the eldest son of Philip, for their sovereign, on condition that he would afford them protection from the violence of John. Philip was strongly tempted to lay hold on the rich prize thus offered him; and, having exacted from the barons hostages of the most noble birth in the kingdom, he sent over an army with Louis himself at its head, who landed at Stonor (May 21, 1216). The king was assembling

a considerable army, with a view of striking one great blow for his crown; but passing from Lynn to Lincolnshire his road lay along the sea-shore, which was overflowed at high water, and, not choosing the proper time for his journey, he lost in the inundation all his carriages, treasure, baggage, and regalia. The anguish occasioned by this disaster, and vexation from the distracted state of his affairs, increased the sickness under which he then laboured; and, though he reached the castle of Newark, he was obliged to halt there, and his distemper soon after put an end to his life, October 19, 1216, in the 50th year of his age, and 18th of his reign. His tomb stands in the midst of the choir at Worcester.

Though John was not without ability, his character is little else than a complication of vices, ruinous to himself and destructive to his people. Folly, levity, licentiousness, ingratitude, treachery, tyranny, and cruelty—all these qualities appear in the several incidents of his life. His continental dominions, when they devolved to him by the death of his brother, were more extensive than have ever, since his time, been ruled by an English monarch; but he lost, by his misconduct, the flourishing provinces in France, the ancient patrimony of his family: he subjected his kingdom to a shameful vassalage under the see of Rome: he saw the prerogatives of his crown diminished by law, and still more reduced by faction: and he died at last when in danger of being totally expelled by a foreign power, and of either ending his life miserably in prison, or seeking shelter, as a fugitive, from the pursuit of his enemies.

It was in this king's reign that a charter was granted to the city of London (1215), giving it the right of electing, annually, a mayor out of its own body, an office which was till now held for life.* The city also had power to elect and remove its sheriffs at pleasure, and its common councilmen annually. Old London Bridge was finished in this reign; the former bridge was of wood. Queen Maud, it is said, was the first that built a stone bridge in England.

HENRY III.

§ 10. HENRY III., *b.* 1207, *r.* 1216–1272.—The earl of Pembroke, who, at the time of John's death, was marshal of England, was, by his office, at the head of the army, and consequently, during a state of civil war and convulsion, at the head of the government. It happened fortunately for the young monarch and for the nation that the power could not have been intrusted to more able or more faithful hands. The earl carried young Henry, now nine years of age, immediately to Gloucester, where the ceremony of his coronation was performed (October 28, 1216), as Westminster was

* Stubbs's *Select Charters*, with nine other charters to cities and towns.

at that time in the hands of the hostile barons. Papal support was important to Henry in the weakness of his condition; and Gualo, the papal legate, was joined in the administration. Henry swore fealty to the pope, and renewed the homage of his father. To enlarge the authority of Pembroke, a general council of the barons was summoned at Bristol (November 12), where that nobleman was chosen protector of the realm, and the Grand Charter, with some alterations, and with the more popular clauses omitted, was renewed and confirmed. This act was received with satisfaction. Many of the malcontent barons, most of whom had begun secretly to negotiate with him already, now openly returned to their allegiance. Louis soon found that the death of John, contrary to his expectations, had given an incurable wound to his cause. A short truce followed, his English adherents fell away, and when the war was renewed the French army was totally defeated at Lincoln, and driven from that city (May 20, 1217). A French fleet bringing over reinforcements, was attacked by the English



Henry III. From his tomb in Westminster Abbey.

at Sandwich, and routed with considerable loss (August 24). Unable to make head against these reverses, abandoned by his English allies, and threatened with excommunication from the pope, Louis concluded a peace with Pembroke, and promised to evacuate the kingdom (September, 1217). Thus happily ended a civil war which had threatened the kingdom with the most fatal consequences.

§ 11. The earl of Pembroke did not long survive the pacification,

which had been chiefly owing to his wisdom and valour, and he was succeeded in the government by Peter des Roches, bishop of Winchester, and Hubert de Burgh, the justiciary (1219). The counsels of the latter were chiefly followed; and had he possessed equal authority in the kingdom with Pembroke, he seemed to be every way worthy of filling the place of that nobleman. But the powerful barons, who had once broken the reins of subjection to their prince, and obtained an enlargement of their liberties and independence, could ill be restrained by laws under a minority. They detained by force the royal castles, which they had seized during the past convulsions, or which had been committed to their custody by the protector; and they usurped the king's demesnes.

But notwithstanding these intestine commotions, and the precarious authority of his crown, Henry was obliged to carry on war with France. Louis VIII., who had succeeded to his father Philip, instead of complying with Henry's claim for the restitution of Normandy and the other provinces wrested from England, made an irruption into Poitou (1224), took Rochelle after a long siege, and seemed determined to expel the English from the few provinces which still remained to them. Henry sent over his uncle, the earl of Salisbury, who stopped the progress of Louis's arms; but no military action of any moment was performed on either side.

§ 12. As the king grew to man's estate, his character became every day better known; and he was found in every respect ill qualified for maintaining an efficient control over his turbulent barons. Gentle, humane, and merciful even to a fault, he seems to have been steady in no one circumstance of his character; but to have received impressions from those who surrounded him, and whom he loved, for the time, with the most injudicious and unreserved affection. While Hubert de Burgh enjoyed his authority, he gained entire ascendancy over Henry, and was loaded with honours and favours beyond any other subject. Rewarded with many castles and manors, he married the eldest sister of the king of Scots, was created earl of Kent, and, by an unusual concession, was made chief justiciary of England for life; yet, in a sudden fit of caprice, Henry threw off this faithful minister (1232), and exposed him to the violence of his enemies.* He was succeeded in his post as justiciary by Stephen de Segrave; but so much had he suffered in Henry's estimation, that, after many indignities, he was thrown into prison, and the king transferred his favour and affection to Peter des Roches, bishop of Winchester. Des Roches was a Poitevin by birth, who had been raised by the late king,

* Archbishop Langton, who had opposed with unvarying firmness every attempt to neutralize the Great Charter, died in 1223.

and was no less distinguished by his arbitrary principles and violent conduct than by his courage and abilities. He had been left by John justiciary and regent of the kingdom during an expedition which that prince made into France; and his illegal administration was one chief cause of that great combination among the barons, which finally extorted from the crown the Magna Carta. Though incapable from his character of pursuing the violent maxims which had governed his father, Henry had imbibed the same arbitrary principles; and, in prosecution of Peter's advice, he invited over a great number of Poitevins and other foreigners in whom he placed greater confidence than in his English subjects, and expected to find them useful in counterbalancing the great and independent power of the nobles. Offices and commands were bestowed on these strangers; they exhausted the revenues of the crown, already too much impoverished; they invaded the rights of the people; and their insolence, or, at least, what appeared so, drew on them general hatred and envy.

As the king had married Eleanor, daughter of the count of Provence (January 14, 1236), he was surrounded by a number of strangers from that country also, whom he caressed with the fondest affection, and enriched by his imprudent generosity. The resentment of the English barons rose high at the preference given to foreigners, but no remonstrance or complaint could ever prevail on the king to abandon them, or even to moderate his attachment towards them. The king's conduct would have appeared more tolerable to his English subjects had anything been done meanwhile for the honour of the nation, or had Henry's enterprises in foreign countries been attended with success or glory to himself or the public. But though he declared war against Louis IX. in 1242, and made an expedition into Guienne, upon the invitation of his stepfather, the count de la Marche, who promised to join him with all his forces, he was worsted at Taillebourg; was deserted by his allies; abandoned Poitou, and was obliged to return, with loss of honour, into England. The people of Guienne attempted to throw off his obedience, but failed (1253). These wars involved Henry and his nobility in an enormous debt, which both increased their discontents and exposed him to greater danger from their opposition.

§ 13. But the chief grievances of the reign were the usurpations and exactions of the court of Rome. The best benefices of the kingdom were conferred on Italians; and non-residence and pluralities were carried to enormous lengths. It was estimated by Grostête that the benefices held by the Italian clergy in England amounted to 60,000 marks a year, a sum which equalled the annual revenues of the crown. Upon occasion of a Crusade for the Holy Land

(1245), Innocent IV. demanded a moiety of all ecclesiastical profits for three years; a moiety of all impropriations and of all benefices where the incumbent was non-resident; a twentieth of all incomes amounting to 100 marks, and a third of all beyond that sum. He attempted to claim the goods of intestate clergymen; annulled usurious bonds, and when, backed by the church, the king, contrary to his usual practice, prohibited these exactions, Innocent threatened him with excommunication.

A more mischievous influence was exerted by Alexander IV., who involved Henry in a project for the conquest of Naples, or Sicily on this side the Fare or Straits of Messina, then held by Manfred as the representative of the Hohenstaufen (1255). He claimed to dispose of the Sicilian crown, both as superior lord of that particular kingdom, and as vicar of Christ, to whom all kingdoms of the earth were subjected; and he made a tender of it to Henry for his second son Edmund. Henry accepted the insidious proposal, gave the pope unlimited credit to expend whatever sums he thought necessary for completing the conquest, and, when Alexander pressed for payment, Henry was surprised to find himself on a sudden entangled in an immense debt of 135,500 marks, beside interest. He applied to the parliament for supplies, but the barons and prelates refused, determined not to lavish their money on such chimerical projects. In this extremity the clergy were his only resource, and they offered Henry 52,000 marks, a sum wholly inadequate to his necessities (1257).

§ 14. About the same time Richard, earl of Cornwall, the brother of the king, was engaged in an enterprise no less ruinous. The immense opulence of Richard had made the German princes cast their eyes on him as a candidate for the empire, and he was tempted to expend vast sums of money on his election. He succeeded so far as to be chosen, by a double election, as king of the Romans, with Alfonso X. of Castile, and was crowned by his partisans (1257). But he never attained the imperial power, and found at last that he had lavished the frugality of a life on an empty title.

The king was engaged in constant disputes with his barons, and was compelled to confirm the Great Charter; on one occasion with extraordinary solemnity (1253). All the prelates and abbots were assembled; they held burning tapers in their hands; the Great Charter was read before them; they denounced the sentence of excommunication against every one who should thenceforth violate that fundamental law; then they threw their tapers on the ground, and exclaimed, *May the soul of every one who incurs this sentence so stink and perish in hell!* The king bore a part in

this ceremony, saying, "So help me God, I will keep all these articles inviolate, as I am a man, as I am a Christian, as I am a knight, and as I am a king crowned and anointed." Yet no sooner was this tremendous ceremony finished, than his favourites, abusing his weakness, made him return to the same arbitrary and irregular courses, and the reasonable expectations of his people were thus perpetually eluded and disappointed. These imprudent and illegal measures provoked an avenger in Simon de Montfort, earl of Leicester, a younger son of that Simon de Montfort who had conducted the crusade against the Albigenes. He had married the king's sister, Eleanor, widow of the earl of Pembroke; had governed Gascony for some years with vigour and success; and he had now returned home dissatisfied with the little support he had received from the king, who wanted either the ability or inclination to aid him. To add to these causes of aggravation, he had been for some time engaged in a tedious litigation with the king touching his wife's jointure. De Montfort was supported by the clergy, and was the intimate friend of Adam de Marsh and Robert Grosstête. He called a meeting of the most considerable barons, who embraced the resolution of redressing the public grievances by taking the administration into their own hands. Henry having summoned a parliament (April 9th—May 2, 1258) in expectation of receiving supplies for his Sicilian project, the barons appeared in the hall clad in complete armour, and with their swords by their sides. After a violent altercation, the king promised to summon another parliament at Oxford on June 11, in order to arrange a new plan of government.

§ 15. This parliament, which the royalists, and even the nation, afterwards denominated the *Mad Parliament*, met on the day appointed. As the barons brought with them their military retainers, and appeared with an armed force, the king, who had taken no similar precautions, was in reality a prisoner, and was obliged to submit to any terms they were pleased to dictate. A council of state, consisting of 24 barons, was selected to make the necessary reforms. The king himself took an oath that he would maintain whatever ordinances they should think proper to enact for that purpose. Simon de Montfort was at the head of this supreme council, to which the legislative power was thus in reality transferred; and all their measures were taken by his influence and direction. By their chief enactments, called the *Provisions of Oxford*, four knights were to be chosen by each county, to point out such grievances of their neighbourhood as required redress; three sessions of parliament were to be regularly held every year, in the months of February, June, and October, at which twelve per-

sons chosen by the barons should act for the whole commonalty; sheriffs were to hold office for one year only; the great officers of state were annually to give an account of their proceedings; no heirs were to be committed to the wardship of foreigners, and no castles intrusted to their custody. Soon after the king's eldest son, Edward, in his twentieth year, pledged his oath to observe these provisions, and the king publicly declared his assent to them.

Opinions are divided as to the purity of De Montfort's intentions. It is certain that many among the barons had no other object than to secure the aggrandisement of their own order. At their head was Richard de Clare, earl of Gloucester. They formed an association among themselves, and swore that they would stand by each other with their lives and fortunes; they displaced all the chief ministers of the crown, the justiciary, the chancellor, the treasurer, and advanced either themselves or their creatures to the vacant offices. When they had thus transferred to themselves all powers of the state, they proceeded to impose an oath, by which all subjects were obliged to swear, under the penalty of being declared public enemies, that they would obey and execute all the regulations, both known and unknown, of the barons. Not content with this usurpation of the royal power, they introduced an innovation in the constitution of parliament, of the utmost importance. They ordained that this assembly should choose a committee of twelve persons, who should, in the intervals of the session, possess the authority of the whole parliament, and should, on a summons, attend the person of the king in all his movements. Thus the monarchy was totally subverted, without its being possible for the king to strike a single stroke in defence of the constitution against the newly elected oligarchy.

§ 16. But, in proportion to their continuance in power, the barons began gradually to lose that popularity which had assisted them in obtaining it. The fears of the nation were roused by certain new edicts, obviously calculated to procure immunity to the barons in all their violences. They appointed that the circuits of the itinerant justices, the sole check on their arbitrary conduct, should be held only once in seven years; and men easily saw that a remedy which returned after such long intervals against an oppressive power which was perpetual, would prove totally insignificant and useless.* The cry became loud in the nation that the barons should produce their intended regulations. The current of popularity now turned to the side of the crown, and the rivalry between the earls of Leicester and Gloucester, the chief leaders among the barons, began to disunite the whole confederacy.

* This is doubtful. See Prof. Pearson's *History*, ii. 227.

Louis IX., who then governed France, used all his authority with the earl of Leicester, his native subject, to bend him to compliance with Henry. He made a treaty with England (20th May, 1259) at a time when the distractions of that kingdom were at the greatest height, and when the king's authority was totally annihilated; and the terms which he granted might, in a more prosperous state of affairs, have been deemed reasonable and advantageous to the English. He invaded certain territories which had been conquered from Poitou and Guienne; he insured the peaceable possession of the latter province to Henry; he agreed to pay him a large sum of money; and he only required that in return Henry should make a final cession of Normandy and the other provinces, which he could never entertain any hopes of recovering by force of arms. The cession thus made by the barons was ratified by Henry, his two sons and two daughters, and by the king of the Romans and his three sons.

§ 17. The situation of Henry soon after wore a more favourable aspect, and the desertion of the earl of Gloucester to the crown seemed to promise him certain success in any attempt to recover his authority. The pope absolved him from his oath; but his son Edward refused to accept the like dispensation. The king soon afterwards seized the Tower of London, resumed the government, and levied mercenary troops. Thus began the civil contest which is called "the Barons' War." Leicester retired to France, but the death of the earl of Gloucester, and the accession of his son Gilbert de Clare to Leicester's side, soon changed the scene (1262). The war was carried on with various success, till at length the king and the barons agreed to submit their differences to the arbitration of the king of France. At a congress at Amiens (January, 1264) Louis annulled the Provisions of Oxford, left the king free to appoint his own ministers, employ allies, and enjoy his royal authority as unrestricted as before. But this decision, instead of quenching the flames, only caused them to break forth with redoubled vehemence. Leicester, having summoned his partisans from all quarters, gained next year a decisive victory over the royal forces at Lewes (May 14), taking Henry and his brother, the king of the Romans, prisoners. Prince Edward, who commanded the right wing of the royal army, was obliged to assent to a treaty with the conqueror, called from an old French term *the Mise of Lewes*. In order to obtain the liberation of the English monarch, prince Edward, and Henry, son of the king of the Romans, surrendered themselves as hostages. Peace was declared (May 25), and was finally settled by a parliament at London (June 11, 1264).

§ 18. Acting as sole regent, De Montfort now proceeded to sum-

mon a parliament. Writs * were issued in the king's name from Worcester, summoning a new parliament in London (January 20, 1265), which forms a memorable epoch in constitutional history. Besides the barons of Leicester's party, and 117 ecclesiastics (for the clergy in general sided with De Montfort), he ordered returns to be made of two knights from each shire, and of two representatives from each borough. This is usually regarded as the first meeting of the HOUSE OF COMMONS, but Leicester only anticipated Edward I. in an institution for which the general state of things was now preparing the nation.† Thus supported by a parliament of his own model, and trusting to the attachment of the populace of London, De Montfort seized the opportunity of crushing his rivals among the powerful barons.

§ 19. But he soon found himself embarrassed by the opposition, as well as by the escape, of prince Edward. The royalists, secretly prepared for this latter event, immediately flew to arms; and the joy of this gallant prince's deliverance, the expectation of a new scene of affairs, and the accession of the earl of Gloucester, procured Edward an army which Leicester was unable to withstand. He was defeated and killed at the battle of Evesham (August 4, 1265), with his eldest son Henry, and about 160 knights, and many other gentlemen of his party. The king, placed by the rebels in front, and disguised by his vizor, was wounded in the battle and in danger of his life; but crying out, *I am Henry of Winchester, your king*, he was saved, and put in a place of safety by his son, who flew to his rescue. The lifeless body of Leicester was mangled by the victors, exasperated at this wanton exposure of the king's person, but he was long regarded as a martyr to the cause of liberty, and miracles were ascribed to his remains. The victory of Evesham proved decisive, and the king's authority was re-established in all parts of the kingdom. All further resistance was ended by the moderate terms granted by prince Edward in the "Dictum de Kenilworth" (October 15, 1266); and a parliament at Marlborough, a year after, confirmed the king's title, while binding him afresh to the observance of the Great Charter.

* Stubbs, *Select Charters*, p. 461.

† "Important as is this assembly in the history of the constitution, it was not primarily and essentially a constitutional assembly. It was not a general convocation of tenants in *capite*, or of the three estates, but a parliamentary assembly of the supporters of the existing government." Only five earls were summoned and eighteen barons, ten of whom were friends of De Montfort. Stubbs, *Const.*

Hist. II. 92. If, in fact, this assembly be considered in its real character as a convention of De Montfort's supporters, the admission of representatives from the towns, who were not regularly summoned, affords less difficulty. In England, and still more in De Montfort's native land, the towns had now gained so much in wealth and political importance, that it was natural he should avail himself of their support.

§ 20. Finding the state of the kingdom thus composed, Edward was led (1270) by his avidity for glory, and in fulfilment of a vow made during his captivity, as well as by the earnest solicitations of the king of France, to undertake an expedition against the infidels in the Holy Land. He sailed from England with an army, accompanied by his wife, Eleanor of Castile, and arrived in the camp of Louis IX. before Tunis in Africa, where he found that monarch already dead, from the sickliness of the climate and the fatigues of his enterprise. Undeterred by this event, he continued his voyage to the Holy Land, where he signalized himself (1271) by acts of valour, revived the glory of the English name, and struck such terror into the Saracens, that they employed an assassin to murder him, who wounded him in the arm, but perished in the attempt. In her heroic affection Eleanor sucked the poison from her husband's wound. During his absence the old king expired at Bury St. Edmunds (November 16, 1272), in the 66th year of his age, and 57th of his reign, and was buried in the new abbey church of Westminster, which he had rebuilt. His brother, the king of the Romans, had died nearly a year before him.

The most obvious feature of Henry's character is an incapacity for government, which rendered him as much a prisoner in the hands of his ministers and favourites, and as little at his own disposal, as when detained a captive in the hands of his enemies. From this source, rather than from insincerity and treachery, arose his negligence in observing his promises; and he was too easily induced, for the sake of present convenience, to sacrifice the lasting advantages arising from the trust and confidence of his people.

NOTES AND ILLUSTRATIONS.

A. ON THE AMALGAMATION OF THE ANGLO-SAXON AND NORMAN RACES.

The period at which this event took place has given rise to much discussion. It was the favourite theory of Thierry that the distinction between the two races continued till a very late time. Lord Macaulay supposes the amalgamation to have taken place between the accession of John and the death of Edward I. But even this is too long. The distinction was greatly obliterated in the reign of Henry II., and more com-

pletely so after the separation of Normandy from England in the reign of John.

B. CONFIRMATIONS OF THE GREAT CHARTER.

The Great Charter had no fewer than thirty-eight solemn ratifications recorded: six by Henry III., three by Edward I., fifteen by Edward III., six by Richard II., six by Henry IV., one by Henry V., and one by Henry VI. The most important change in the charter, as confirmed by Henry III., was the omission of the clause which prohibited the levying of aids or escuages save by the

common council of the realm. Though this clause was omitted, it was generally observed during the reign of Henry, the barons constantly refusing him the aids or subsidies which his prodigality demanded. But he still retained the right of levying money upon towns under the name of tallage, and he also claimed other imposts, as upon the export of wool. On *Magna Carta*, see Blackstone's *Introduction to the Charter*; Thomson's *Essay on Magna Carta*; Croas, *On the English Constitution*, pp. 128, seq.

C. TRIAL BY JURY.

We have already adverted (p. 78) to the mistaken and now obsolete opinion, that trial by jury existed in England in the Anglo-Saxon times. The twelve thanes who sat in the sheriff's court have no analogy to a modern jury except in their number. Their function of presenting offenders gave them more the resemblance of the present grand jury; and they seem, like the *scabini* or *échevins* of the continent, to have formed a permanent magistracy. So also the Anglo-Saxon compurgators resembled the witnesses in a modern trial rather than jurymen.

The first approach to trial by jury is the Grand Assize introduced in the reign of Henry II. By this custom, in a suit for the recovery of land, a tenant who was unwilling to risk a judicial combat might put himself on the assize—that is, refer the case to four knights chosen by the sheriff, who in their turn selected twelve more. The sixteen knights thus impanelled were then sworn, and decided the case by their verdict. In the assize of Novel Disseisin the twelve knights were chosen directly by the sheriff. Whether the words in the charter of John, that “a man is to be tried by the lawful judgment of his peers,” really mean trial by jury may admit of dispute; but at any rate they clearly recognize the great principle upon which trial by jury rests.

In criminal cases, at all events, we find an approach to a jury under Henry III. Trial by ordeal had now grown

out of fashion; and though the trial by combat still remained, it could not of course be practised unless some prosecutor appeared. But as a person vehemently suspected of a crime might be committed to safe custody on the presentment of a jury, he had the option of appealing to a second jury which was sometimes composed of twelve persons. Such a jury, however, still differed from a modern one in the essential principle, that it did not come to a decision upon the evidence of others. The jurors in fact continued to be witnesses, and founded their verdict on their own knowledge of the prisoner and of the facts of the case. Hence they are often called *recognitors*, because they decided from previous knowledge or recognition, including what they had heard and believed to be true. They seem to have admitted documentary evidence, but parole evidence seldom or never.

The great distinction between a modern and an ancient jury lies in the circumstance, that the former are not witnesses themselves, but merely judges of the testimony of others. A previous knowledge of the facts of the case, which would now be an objection to a jurymen, constituted in former days his merit and eligibility. At what precise period witnesses distinct from the jury themselves, and who had no voice in the verdict, first began to be regularly summoned, cannot be ascertained. The first trace of such a practice occurs in the 23rd year of Edward III., and it had probably been creeping in previously. That it was perfectly established by the middle of the 15th century, we have clear evidence from Fortescue's treatise *De Laudibus Legum Angliæ* (c. 26), written about that period. Personal knowledge of a case continued to be allowed in a juror, who was even required to act upon it; and it was not till a comparatively recent period that the complete separation of the functions of jurymen and witness was established.

For further information on this subject see Hallam's *Middle Ages*, vol. II. ch. viii. pt. I. and note viii.; Forsyth's *History of Trial by Jury*; and Stubbs's *Constitutional Hist. of England*, I. 608.



Edward I. From the Tower.

CHAPTER IX.

HOUSE OF PLANTAGENET—*Continued.*

THE REIGNS OF EDWARD I. AND EDWARD II. A.D. 1272-1327.

- § 1. Accession of EDWARD I. Civil administration. § 2. Conquest of Wales. § 3. Persecution of the Jews. § 4. Disputed succession to the Scottish crown. Award of Edward. § 5. War with France. § 6. Conquest of Scotland. § 7. War with France. Dissensions of the barons and confirmation of the charters. § 8. Peace with France. Revolt of Scotland. § 9. Battle of Falkirk. Death of Wallace. § 10. Insurrection of Robert Bruce. § 11. Edward's last expedition against Scotland. His death and character. § 12. Accession of EDWARD II. Weakness of the king and discontent of the barons. § 13. Banishment and murder of Gaveston. § 14. War with Scotland. § 15. Hugh le Despenser. Civil commotions. Lancaster executed. § 16. Truce with Scotland. Conspiracy against the king. He is dethroned and murdered.

§ 1. EDWARD I., b. 1239 ; r. 1272-1307.—For the first time since the Conquest the sovereign authority of the king was fully recognized before his coronation. As soon as Henry was laid in the

tomb, the assembled nobles, of their own free will, advanced to the great altar, took an oath of fealty to Edward, "though," says Matthew of Westminster,* "men were ignorant whether he was alive, for he had gone to distant countries beyond the sea, warring against the enemies of Christ" (November 20, 1272). They caused the "king's peace" to be proclaimed through England, and henceforth that proclamation marked the beginning of each new reign.† Edward had reached Sicily in his return from the Holy Land, when he received intelligence of his father's death; but, as he soon learned the quiet settlement of the kingdom, under Walter Giffard, archbishop of York, keeper of the great seal, Roger Mortimer, and Robert Burnel, a clerk of great merit, as guardians of the realm, he was in no hurry to take possession of the throne, but spent more than a year in Italy and France before he made his appearance in England. After arranging the affairs of the province of Guienne, and settling a dispute between the countess of Flanders and his subjects, he landed at Dover (August 2, 1274), and was crowned at Westminster (August 19) by Robert, archbishop of Canterbury. In a parliament which he summoned at Westminster, in the following April, he took care to enquire into the conduct of all his magistrates and judges, to provide them with sufficient force for the execution of justice, to displace such as were either negligent or corrupt, to extirpate all bands and confederacies of robbers, and to repress those more silent robberies which were committed either by the power of the nobles or under the countenance of public authority.

Soon after, Edward issued commissions to enquire into all encroachments on the royal demesne; the value of escheats, forfeitures, and wardships; and the means of improving every branch of the revenue. In the execution of their office (1278), the commissioners questioned titles to estates which had been transmitted from father to son for several generations. When earl Warrenne, who had done eminent service in the late reign, was required to show his titles, he produced a rusty sword. "See, my lords," he exclaimed, "here is my title deed. My ancestors came over with William the Bastard, and conquered their lands with the sword, and with the sword will I defend them." Though the claim was unfounded—for the earl was descended only by the female line from an illegitimate half-brother of Henry I.—it expressed the feelings of the old feudatories. The king, sensible of the danger he was incurring, after a time desisted from making

* Rishanger makes the New Temple the scene of the oath.

† Till the accession of Edward VI.,

which was dated from the moment of his father's death.

further enquiries of this nature; but he caused a strict investigation to be instituted into his father's grants to the church, and in 1279 he passed the Statute *De Religiosis* or of Mortmain (*in mortuâ manu*),* by which it was forbidden to bequeath lands and tenements to religious corporations without the king's licence.

§ 2. In the year 1283 was completed the conquest of Wales, one of the most important events of this reign. Llewelyn, prince of Wales, had been deeply engaged with the party of De Montfort, and had been included in the general accommodation made with the vanquished; but, as he had reason to dread the future effects of resentment and jealousy in the English monarch, he maintained a secret correspondence with his former associates, and was betrothed to Eleanor, daughter of the earl of Leicester, who was sent to him from France, but, being intercepted in her passage near the isles of Scilly, was detained in the court of England. This incident increased the mutual jealousy between Edward and Llewelyn. Edward sent him repeated summons to perform the duty of a vassal, and in 1276 levied an army to reduce him to obedience. The same intestine dissensions which had formerly weakened England now prevailed in Wales, and divided the reigning family. David and Roderic, brothers of Llewelyn, on some cause of discontent had recourse to Edward, and seconded with all their interest, which was extensive, his attempts to subdue their native country. Equally vigorous and cautious, Edward, entering by the north with a formidable army, pierced into the heart of the country; and having carefully explored every road before him, and secured every pass behind him, approached the Welsh army in its last retreat among the hills of Snowdon. Destitute of resources, cooped up in a narrow corner, they, as well as their cattle, suffered all the rigours of famine; and Llewelyn, without being able to strike a blow for his independence, was at last obliged to submit at discretion, and accept the terms imposed upon him by the victor (1277). He returned with Edward to England, and did homage to the king at Westminster; after which he received his bride, and was allowed to return to Wales. But complaints soon arose on the side of the vanquished. Prince David made peace with his brother, and on Palm Sunday, 1282, stormed Hawarden castle in his efforts for

* As the members of religious or monastic bodies were reckoned dead in law, land holden by them might with great propriety be said to be held *in mortuâ manu* (Kerr's *Blackstone*, i. 509). It must not be overlooked that the act was directed not so much against the clergy as against the *religiosi* (*religious*),

"bound," that is, by monastic vows. The encroachments of the great religious houses were as unfavourable to the bishops and clergy as to the crown. The identification of these bodies with the church of England by modern historians is a perpetual source of confusion.

independence. The Welsh flew to arms; and Edward, probably not displeased with the occasion of making his conquest final and absolute, assembled all his military tenants, and advanced into Wales with an army which the inhabitants could not reasonably hope to resist. The situation of the country gave the Welsh at first some advantage; but Llewelyn was surprised and slain. His head was carried to London, and, in derision of a prophecy that he should wear a crown in Westcheap, it was borne on a pole, adorned with a diadem of silver ivy-leaves, and fixed upon the Tower (1282). David, who succeeded his brother, could never collect an army sufficient to face the English. Chased from hill to hill and hunted from one retreat to another, he was obliged to conceal himself under various disguises, and was at last betrayed to the enemy. Edward sent him in chains to Shrewsbury; and brought him to a formal trial before the peers of England, who ordered him to be hanged, drawn, and quartered as a traitor (1283). The Welsh now laid down their arms; the lords who had joined in the rebellion were deprived of their lands; Anglesey, Caernarvon, and Merionethshire, with Flint, Cardigan, and Caermarthenshire, were retained by the crown. Into these new districts the English laws, with English judges and sheriffs, were introduced by the Statute of Wales (1284); whilst in the rest of the country the marchers were permitted to retain their ancient privileges and customs. Many strong castles were built, and English people settled in several of the chief towns.* This important conquest, which it had required 800 years fully to effect, was at last, through the abilities of Edward, now completed. It was long before national antipathies were extinguished. The principality was annexed to the crown of England; and Edward's second surviving son, who was born at Caernarvon (April 25, 1284), was, on the death of his elder brother Alfonso in August, invested with that dignity, which henceforth gave their title to the eldest sons of the kings of England.

§ 3. The settlement of Wales appeared so complete that in 1286 Edward visited Paris, to renew his homage (June 5) and make peace between Alfonso, king of Aragon, and Philip the Fair, who had lately succeeded his father, Philip the Hardy, on the throne of France. He had received powers from both princes to settle the terms, and he succeeded in his endeavours. He remained abroad above three years; and on his return found many disorders arising from open violence and the corruption of justice. To remedy these abuses, he summoned a parliament (1290), and brought the judges to trial, when all of them, except two, who were ecclesiastics, were con-

* Among these towns were Brecknock, Caernarthen, Montgomery, and Radnor, which the marchers were obliged to surrender to the crown.

victed of this crime, fined, and deposed. The same year was marked by the banishment of the Jews from England. Throughout Edward's reign the Jews had experienced both his anxiety for their conversion and the judicial rigour with which he visited their real or imputed offences. For the former purpose he built and endowed a hospital, now the Rolls' house in Chancery lane, for the support of his expected converts and their instruction in Christianity. Of his rigour the following are some examples:—Clipping the coin was in the early part of Edward's reign a crime of frequent occurrence, and its perpetration was facilitated by the custom, sanctioned by the laws, of cutting the silver penny into halves and quarters. In 1278, no less than 280 Jews were hanged for this crime in London alone, the mere possession of clipped money being deemed sufficient evidence of guilt. Many Christians, guilty of the same offence, were only heavily fined. About eight years afterwards all the Jews in England, including women and children, were thrown into prison for some imputed offence, and detained till they had paid a fine of 12,000*l*. At last in July, 1290, the whole race was banished the kingdom, to the number of 16,511. This severe step is attributed to the persuasion of Eleanor, the king's mother. Their lands and dwellings were forfeited, but Edward allowed them to carry abroad their money and movables, which proved a temptation to the sailors and others to murder many of them; for which, however, the king inflicted capital punishment. Jews were not permitted to live in England till the time of the Commonwealth.

§ 4. We turn to the affairs of Scotland, not the least important in this reign. Alexander III., who had espoused Margaret, the sister of Edward, died in 1286, without leaving any male issue, or any descendant, except a granddaughter, Margaret, born of Eric, king of Norway, and of Margaret, daughter of the Scottish monarch. This princess, commonly called *The Maid of Norway*, had, through her grandfather's care, been recognized as his successor by the Scottish estates; and on Alexander's death she was acknowledged queen of Scotland. On this incident, Edward was led to build mighty projects; and having lately, by force of arms, brought Wales into subjection, he proposed, by the marriage of Margaret with his eldest son, to unite the whole island under one monarchy. The estates of Scotland assented to the English proposals; but the project, so happily formed and so amicably conducted, failed of success by the sudden death of the Norwegian princess, who expired on her passage to Scotland (1290), and left a very dismal prospect to the kingdom. Numerous competitors sprung up; but three only had any real claim to the crown. These

were the descendants of the three daughters of David, earl of Huntingdon, and brother of William the Lion, king of Scotland, who was taken prisoner by Henry II.: John Balliol, lord of Galloway, grandson of Margaret, the eldest daughter; Robert Bruce, lord of Annandale, son of Isabel, the second daughter; and Hastings, lord of Abergavenny, grandson of Ada, the third daughter. Balliol and Bruce laid claim to the whole kingdom; and Hastings maintained that, in right of his mother, he was entitled to a third of it. The estates of Scotland, threatened with a civil war, agreed to refer the dispute to Edward; and he used the present favourable opportunity for reviving the claim of the English kings to a feudal superiority over Scotland. He caused the records of the monasteries to be searched for precedents of homage rendered by Scottish kings to English sovereigns. Backed with a great army, he repaired to Norham, on the banks of the Tweed, and invited the Scottish estates, and all the competitors, to attend him "as sovereign lord of the land of Scotland," and have their claims determined (1291). Astonished at so new a pretension, the Scots preserved silence; but were desired by Edward to return into their own country, deliberate upon his claim, and to inform him of their resolution. For this purpose he appointed a plain at Upsettleton, on the northern bank of the Tweed.

When the Scots had assembled in the place appointed, though indignant at the claim thus preferred, and the situation into which they were betrayed, they found it impossible for them to make any defence for their ancient liberty and independence. After some debate, Edward's claim was acknowledged by the nine competitors for the crown (June 5), and the next day the royal castles were put into his hands. Shortly after, a court, consisting of 80 Scots, and 24 Englishmen as their assessors, met at Berwick (August 2, 1292), and in the following November they reported in favour of Balliol. Edward gave sentence accordingly, and on the 26th December he received the homage of Balliol for the kingdom of Scotland.

The conduct of Edward, however otherwise unexceptionable, was irksome to his royal vassal. Balliol was required to proceed to London, and obliged to appear at the bar of parliament.* Though a prince of a soft and gentle spirit, he returned into Scotland highly

* Chiefly on complaints of a "denial of justice" in the Scottish courts. This was made particularly offensive to the vassal king in some cases, as in the suit of John Le Mason, a Gascon, who claimed a debt contracted by Alexander II., but which his executors satisfied the Scottish court

had been paid. The English court overruled this decision, and, though Balliol was not pretended to have any personal interest in the matter, he was ordered to pay the money, under a threat of losing his English lands.

provoked at this usage, and determined at all hazards to recover his liberty. The war which soon after broke out between France and England gave him a favourable opportunity for executing his purpose.

§ 5. In an accidental encounter between the crews of an English and a Norman vessel in a Norman port, one of the former was killed. A series of reprisals ensued on both sides, and the sea became a scene of piracy between both nations. At length a fleet of 200 Norman vessels set sail to the south for wine. In their passage they captured all the English ships which they met with, seized the goods, and hanged the seamen. The inhabitants of the English seaports, informed of this incident, fitted out a fleet of 60 sail, stronger and better manned than the others, and awaited the enemy on their return. After an obstinate battle, the English put them to the rout, and sunk, destroyed, or took the greater part of them (1293). The affair was now become too important to be any longer neglected by either sovereign. Philip IV. cited the king, as duke of Guienne, to appear in his court at Paris, and answer for these offences; and Edward, finding himself in immediate danger of war with the Scots, allowed himself to be deceived by an artifice of Philip, who proposed that, if Edward would consent to put Guienne into his hands, he should consider his honour was fully satisfied, would restore the province immediately, and be content with a moderate reparation of all other injuries. But no sooner was Philip in possession of Guienne than the citation was renewed; Edward was condemned for non-appearance, and Guienne, by a formal sentence, was declared to be forfeited and annexed to the crown (1294). Enraged at being thus overreached, Edward formed alliances with several princes on the continent, sent a powerful army into Guienne, met at first with some success, but was ultimately defeated in every quarter. To divide the English forces, and to engage Edward in dangerous wars, Philip now formed an alliance with Balliol, king of Scotland, who renounced his homage to Edward. This was the commencement of that strict union which during so many centuries was maintained by mutual interests and necessities between the French and Scottish nations.

§ 6. The expenses attending these frequent wars of Edward, and his preparations for war, joined to alterations which had insensibly taken place in the general state of affairs, obliged him to have constant recourse to parliament for supplies. He became sensible that the most expeditious way of obtaining them was to assemble deputies from the boroughs, and to lay his necessities before them. In 1295 writs were first issued to the bishops and clergy; on the 1st October to the barons; on the 3rd to the sheriffs, stating that the

king intended to hold a conference or parliament, with his earls, barons, and nobles, to provide against the dangers of the realm. They were therefore commanded to see two knights elected from every shire, and two burgesses of the better sort from every borough and city, "to execute whatever should be ordained in the premises by common consent." * As a representation of the three estates, this parliament of Edward I. may be considered as the model of those that followed it, and the first step towards limiting the vaguer sense in which the word parliament had till then been employed.

When Edward received intelligence of the treaty secretly concluded between John and Philip, he marched into Scotland with a numerous army, to chastise his rebellious vassal (1296). He gained a decisive victory over the Scots near Dunbar. All the southern parts of the country were instantly subdued by the English; and the feeble and timid Balliol hastened to make a solemn and irrevocable resignation of his crown to Edward (July 2). The English king marched to Aberdeen and Elgin, without meeting an enemy; and having brought the whole kingdom to a seeming state of tranquillity, he returned to the south with his army, removing from Scone the stone on which the Scotch kings were inaugurated, and to which popular superstition paid the highest veneration.† Balliol was carried prisoner to London, and committed to the Tower. Three years after he was restored to liberty, and retired to France, where he died in voluntary exile (1314). John de Warrenne, earl of Surrey, was left governor of Scotland (September 29).

§ 7. An attempt which Edward made about the same time for the recovery of Guienne was not equally successful. In order to carry on the war, the king stood in need of large sums of money, which he raised by arbitrary exactions both on the clergy and laity. Pressed by his necessities, he had seized, four years before, the wool of the merchants, and only released it after payment of four or five marks the sack. He had appropriated the treasure found in monasteries and cathedrals. In 1297 he had put the clergy out of his protection for refusing a new demand. After a violent struggle, they were obliged to submit, and to pay a fifth part of

* "Ad faciendum quod tunc de comuni consilio ordinabitur in premissis." The words are ambiguous; but can scarcely mean anything more than that these new representatives of the commons were to take measures for raising the aids required in their several counties and boroughs. The writs contemplated

no more than this; and no legislative privilege is implied in them. For whilst the writs to the clergy and barons contain a preamble, *ad tractandum nobiscum*, etc., no such clause is found in the writs to the commons.

† Now in the shrine of Edward the Confessor, Westminster Abbey.

all their movables. But the nobles and the commons were more successful in their resistance, and they found intrepid leaders in Humphrey Bohun, earl of Hereford, the constable, and Roger Bigod, earl of Norfolk, the marshal of England. Edward, intending to attack France on both sides, purposed to send over an army to Guienne, while he himself should in person make an impression on the side of Flanders. These forces he intended to place under the command of the earls of Hereford and of Norfolk. But they refused, affirming that they were only obliged by their office to attend his person in the wars. A violent altercation ensued. The king, in the height of his passion, addressing himself to the earl marshal, exclaimed, *Sir Earl, by God, you shall either go or hang. By God, Sir King,* replied Norfolk, *I will neither go nor hang.* And he immediately departed with the constable, and above thirty other considerable barons.

In the face of such an opposition the king laid aside the project of an expedition against Guienne, and crossed over into Flanders; but the constable and marshal, with the barons of their party, resolved to take advantage of his absence, and obtain an explicit assent to their demands. Summoned to attend the parliament at London, they came with a great body of troops, but refused to enter the city until the gates should be put into their custody (October 10). They required that the two charters (the Great Charter and that of the Forests) should receive a solemn confirmation; that clauses should be added to secure the nation against certain impositions and taxes without consent of "the magnates" (parliament); and that they themselves and their adherents, who had refused to go to Guienne, should be pardoned for the offence, and be again received into favour. The prince of Wales and his council assented to these terms, and the charters were sent over to the king at Ghent in Flanders, to be confirmed by him (November 5, 1297). Edward was at last obliged, after many struggles, to affix his seal to the charters, as also to the clauses that bereft him of the power he had hitherto assumed of imposing arbitrary aids and tolls. This took place in the 25th year of his reign. He attempted subsequently to evade these engagements, and in 1305 secretly applied to Rome, and procured from that mercenary court absolution from all the oaths and engagements which he had taken to observe both the charters; but he soon after granted a new confirmation. Thus, the Great Charter was finally established.*

* As to what was meant by the king and his opponents, the nobles, by the confirmation of the Charters (*Magna Carta* and *De Foresta*), there is no doubt and no

difficulty. But it is by no means so clear, as is sometimes represented, that Edward absolutely renounced all right of imposing taxation without the consent of the

In March, 1298, peace was concluded between France and England by the mediation of Boniface VIII. Philip agreed to restore Guienne; Edward agreed to abandon his ally, the earl of Flanders. The treaty was cemented by the double betrothal of king Edward with Margaret, Philip's sister, and of the young prince of Wales with Philip's infant daughter. Edward had lost his devoted wife, Eleanor, at Hareby, near Lincoln, in 1290, and had buried her at Westminster with extraordinary honours. His second marriage took place in 1299.

§ 8. But while Edward was still abroad, Scotland was the scene of a successful insurrection. William Wallace, of Ellerslie, near Paisley, descended from an ancient family in the west of Scotland, finding himself obnoxious to the government for murdering the sheriff of Lanark, had fled into the woods and collected a band of outlaws. Growing strong by the neglect of those in authority, he resolved to strike a decisive blow against the English government. With this view, he concerted a plan for attacking Ormesby, to whom as justiciary the government had been deputed by John de Warrenne. Ormesby, apprized of his intentions, fled hastily into England. De Warrenne, having collected an army of 40,000 men in the north of England, suddenly entered Scotland, but was defeated by Wallace with great slaughter at Cambuskenneth, near Stirling (September 11, 1297). Among the slain was Cressingham, the English treasurer, whose memory was so extremely odious to the Scots that they flayed his dead body, and made saddles and girths of his skin. Breaking into the northern frontiers during the winter season, Wallace exercised horrible atrocities. He laid every place waste with fire and sword; and after extending the fury of his ravages as far as the bishopric of Durham, he returned, laden with spoils, into his own country.

§ 9. Edward hastened over to England, and, putting himself at the head of an army, marched to the Forth without experiencing any opposition. He gained a decisive victory over the Scots at Falkirk (July 22, 1298). Wallace fled; the Scottish army was broken, and chased off the field with great slaughter. But Scotland was not yet completely subdued. The English army, after reducing the southern provinces, was obliged to retire for want of

nation, or that the barons ever demanded as much. What the king really did grant was, (1) that the aids levied by him for his wars should not be drawn into a precedent; and (2) that he would take no such aids henceforth, except by consent of the nation, *saving the ancient and customary aids*. These reservations are

far more consonant with the spirit of the times and the gradual development of the constitution than the Latin abstract of the chronicler, which is not found on the Roll, or in any authorized form. (See *Statutes of the Realm*, i. 124, reprinted by Stubbs, *Select Charters*, 484.

provisions, and left the northern counties in the hands of the natives whose nobles formed a commission of regency under John Comyn, lord of Badenoch. In 1303 the French king abandoned the Scots, and Edward, again entering the frontiers of Scotland, appeared with a force which the enemy could not think of resisting in the open field. The English navy, which sailed along the coast, secured the army from danger of famine; Edward's vigilance preserved it from surprises; and by this prudent disposition he marched victorious from one extremity of the kingdom to the other, ravaging the open country, reducing the castles, and receiving the submissions of the nobles, and even that of the regent, Comyn (February, 1304). Wallace, now a fugitive, was captured by Sir John Monteith, governor of Dumbarton castle, and given up to the king.* Edward resolved to overawe the Scots by an example of severity. He ordered Wallace to be carried in chains to London, to be tried and executed as a rebel and traitor, and his head to be suspended on a pole over London Bridge (August 23, 1305). It was not long before a new and more fortunate leader presented himself.

§ 10. By his grandfather's death in 1295, and his father's in 1305, Robert Bruce, grandson of that Robert who had been one of the competitors for the crown, had succeeded to all their rights. The retirement of John Balliol, and of Edward, his eldest son, seemed to open a full career to his genius and ambition. Of English lineage, and born at Westminster (1274), Bruce was brought up in England at the court of Edward I. Incurring the anger of the king for remonstrating against the execution of Wallace, Bruce suddenly left the court of Edward (1305). Halting at Dumfries, where the Scottish nobles were assembled, he met Comyn, the son of Balliol's sister, and nearest successor to the Scottish throne, in the cloisters of the Grey Friars. Having vainly tried to win over Comyn to his cause, Bruce ran him through the body, leaving him for dead. Coming forth to his attendants, who observed his agitation, he was asked, "What tidings?" "Bad," he replied. "I think I have slain Comyn!" "Think!" cried James Lindesay, and returning with Kilpatrick into the vestry, where Comyn lay, Lindesay stabbed him to the heart (February, 1306).

§ 11. The murder of Comyn affixed the seal to the confederacy of the Scottish nobles: no resource was now left but to shake off the yoke of England, or perish in the attempt. Bruce was solemnly crowned and inaugurated, in the abbey of Scone, by the bishop of St. Andrews, whom Edward had made warden of Scotland, and who had zealously embraced the Scottish cause (March 27, 1306). Not discouraged with these unexpected difficulties, Edward

* Fordun xli. 8.

sent Aymer de Valence, earl of Pembroke, with a considerable force into Scotland to check the progress of the malcontents; and that nobleman, falling upon Bruce at Methven in Perthshire, threw his army into such disorder as ended in a total defeat (July 22). Obligated to yield to superior fortune, Bruce took shelter, with a few followers, in the Western Isles. Edward, though sick to death, assembled a great army against the Scots, and was preparing to enter the frontiers, when he died at Burgh-on-the-Sands, three miles from Carlisle (July 7, 1307), enjoining with his last breath his son and successor to prosecute the enterprise, and never to desist till he had finally subdued the kingdom of Scotland. He expired in the 69th year of his age, and 35th of his reign, feared and hated by his neighbours, but revered by his own subjects.

The enterprises of this prince, and the projects which he formed, were more advantageous to the solid interests of his kingdom than those of either his ancestors or his successors. However arbitrary he may have shown himself on occasions, he was politic and warlike. He possessed industry, penetration, courage, vigilance, and enterprise; he was frugal in all expenses that were not necessary; he knew how to open the public treasures on a proper occasion; he punished criminals with severity; he was gracious and affable to his servants and courtiers; and being of a majestic figure, expert in all military exercises, and in the main well-proportioned in his limbs, notwithstanding the great length and the smallness of his legs, which earned him the byname of *Longshanks*, he was as well qualified to captivate the populace by his exterior appearance as to gain the approbation of men of sense by his more solid virtues. But the chief advantage which England reaped, and still continues to reap, from his reign, was the correction, extension, amendment, and establishment of the laws. For this he is justly styled the English Justinian.

EDWARD II.

§ 12. EDWARD II., b. 1284; r. 1307-1327.—This prince, called Edward of Caernarvon, from the place of his birth, was 23 years of age when he was proclaimed at Carlisle on the day after his father's death (July 8, 1307). Bruce, though his army had been dispersed, remained no longer inactive. Before the death of the late king, he had sallied from his retreat, and, collecting his followers, had appeared in the field and obtained at Loudon Hill some advantage over Aymer de Valence, who commanded the English forces. Edward, after receiving the homage of the Scots at Dumfries, returned and disbanded his army (1311). The nobles soon perceived that the authority of the crown had fallen into feebler hands; and

Edward's passion for favourites gave them a pretext for complaint. Piers Gaveston was the orphan son of Sir Arnold de Gaveston, a Gascon knight, who had been unjustly put to death in the English cause, and was by queen Eleanor placed in the household of the prince of Wales. He soon insinuated himself into the affections of his master by his agreeable behaviour. Banished by Edward I., he was now recalled by the young king, who, not content with conferring on him possessions which had sufficed as an appanage for a prince of the blood, daily loaded him with new honours and riches; married him to his own niece, sister of the earl of Gloucester; granted him the earldom of Cornwall; and seemed to enjoy no pleasure in his royal dignity but as it enabled him to exalt to the highest splendour this object of his affections. When he went to France, to do homage for the duchy of Guienne and espouse the princess Isabella, to whom he had long been affianced, Edward left Gaveston guardian of the realm (December 26, 1307).

§ 13. It would be useless to detail all the events which at last drew down his tragical fate upon the favourite. Thomas, earl of Lancaster, cousin-german to the king, and first prince of the blood, headed a confederacy of the nobles against Gaveston, and in a parliament held at Westminster, required the king to banish him (1308). Edward, however, converted even this circumstance into a mark of favour by making Gaveston lieutenant of Ireland, and shortly after contrived to procure his recall (1309). In 1311, the barons, besides extorting some measures of reform, obliged the king to assent to certain ordinances made in parliament for the removal of evil counsellors (October 10). Piers Gaveston himself was for ever banished the king's dominions, under pain of excommunication, if he ventured to return. These ordinances were drawn up by twenty-one bishops and barons, who were called "Lords Ordainers." But Edward, removing to York, freed himself from the immediate terror of the barons' power, invited back Gaveston, who had retired into Flanders, and declaring his banishment to be illegal, and, contrary to the laws and customs of the kingdom, openly reinstated him in his former credit and authority (January 18, 1312). Highly provoked at this conduct, the earl of Lancaster, Guy, earl of Warwick, Humphrey Bohun, earl of Hereford, Aymer de Valence, earl of Pembroke, and others, renewed with double zeal their former confederacies against the king. Lancaster suddenly raised an army and marched to York, but found the king already removed to Newcastle. He hastened thither in pursuit of him; and Edward had just time to escape to Tynemouth, where he embarked, and sailed with Gaveston to Scarborough. He left his

favourite in that fortress; but Gaveston, sensible of the bad condition of his garrison, was obliged to capitulate, and surrendered himself a prisoner on condition that his life should be spared. The condition was violated, and Gaveston was executed on Blacklow Hill, near Warwick, in the presence of Lancaster and other nobles (June 19, 1312).

§ 14. When the terror of the English power was thus abated by the unpopularity of the king, even the least sanguine of the Scots joined in efforts for recovering their independence; and by 1313 the whole kingdom acknowledged the authority of Robert Bruce, who invested the last English fortress at Stirling. Roused by the danger, Edward assembled a large army of men; but some of the nobles refused to serve, and others treacherously fled from the field. The army collected by Bruce was posted at Bannockburn, about two miles from Stirling, and gained a great and decisive victory, thus securing the independence of Scotland, and fixing Bruce on the throne of that kingdom (June 24, 1314). Edward himself, betrayed by Aymer de Valence and others of the nobles, narrowly escaped by taking shelter in Dunbar, whose gates were opened to him by the earl of March, and thence he fled to Berwick.

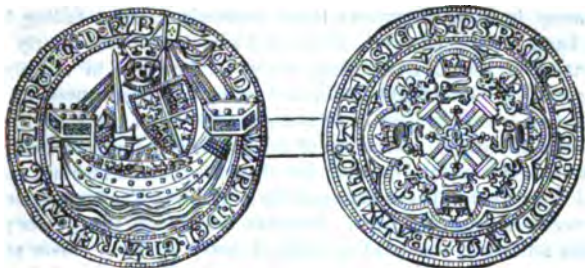
§ 15. Thomas, earl of Lancaster, who was suspected of holding treasonable correspondence with the Scots, now took advantage of the king's humiliation; and in a parliament held at York (September 9, 1314), Edward was compelled to dismiss his chancellor, treasurer, and other officers, whose places were immediately filled by the earl's nominees. Hugh le Despenser, the elder, and Walter Langton were removed from the council, and the king was reduced to an allowance of £10 a day. Lancaster did not fail to use these advantages to the prejudice of his unfortunate relative. In 1316 he entirely wrested the reins from Edward's hands, by procuring himself to be appointed president of the council, without whose consent nothing should be done. But the power thus gained he failed to exercise either with ability or with moderation. The son of Hugh le Despenser had succeeded Gaveston in the king's affections. The father was a nobleman venerable from his years, respected for his wisdom, valour, and integrity, and well fitted, by his talents and experience, to have supplied the defects both of the king and of his favourite. But no sooner was Edward's attachment declared for young Spenser than Lancaster and most of the great barons made him the object of their animosity, and formed plans for his ruin. They entered London with their troops (1321); and giving in to the parliament, which was then sitting, a charge against the Spensers, they procured a sentence of forfeiture and perpetual exile against these ministers. In the following year Edward hastened with his

army to the marches of Wales, the chief seat of the power of his enemies, whom he found totally unprepared for resistance. Lancaster, to prevent the total ruin of his party, summoned together his vassals and retainers; declared his alliance with Scotland, which had long been suspected; and, being joined by the earl of Hereford, advanced with all his forces against the king. Disappointed in this design, he fled with his army to the north, in expectation of being joined by his Scottish allies; was pursued by the king; and, with a diminished army, marched to Boroughbridge, where he was defeated and captured. Lancaster, as guilty of open rebellion, was condemned by a military court, and led to execution. He was clothed in a mean attire, placed on a lean jade without a bridle, conducted to an eminence near Pontefract, one of his own castles, and there beheaded (1322).

§ 16. After one more fruitless attempt against Scotland, Edward retreated with dishonour—for he had traitors among his officers—and found it necessary to terminate hostilities with that kingdom by a truce of thirteen years (1323). This truce was the more seasonable for England, because the nation was at that juncture threatened with hostilities from France. Charles the Fair had some grounds of complaint against the king's ministers in Guienne: and queen Isabella, who had obtained permission to go over to Paris and endeavour to adjust the difference with her brother, proposed that Edward should resign the dominion of Guienne to his eldest son, now thirteen years of age; that the prince should come to Paris, and do the homage which every vassal owed to his superior lord. Spenser was charmed with the contrivance. Young Edward was sent to Paris: and the danger covered by this fatal snare was never perceived or suspected by any of the English council (September 12, 1325).

The queen, on her arrival in France, had found there a great number of English fugitives, the remains of the Lancastrian faction; and their common hatred of Spenser soon begat a secret friendship and correspondence between them and Isabella. Among the rest was Roger Mortimer, lord of Wigmore, a potent baron in the Welsh marches, who was easily admitted to her court. Though he was married, the graces of his person and address advanced him quickly in Isabella's affections. He became her confidant and counsellor, and engaged her to sacrifice at last to her passion all the sentiments of honour and of fidelity to her husband. Mortimer lived in the most declared intimacy with her; a correspondence was secretly carried on with the malcontent party in England; and when Edward, informed of those alarming circumstances, required her speedily to return with the prince, she publicly replied that she would never set

foot in the kingdom till the Spensers were for ever removed from his presence and councils—a declaration which procured her great popularity in England, and threw a decent veil over all her treasonable designs. She affianced young Edward to Philippa, daughter of the count of Holland and Hainault; and having, by the assistance of this prince, enlisted in her service nearly 3000 men, she set sail from the harbour of Dort, and landed safely and without opposition on the coast of Suffolk (September 24, 1326). She was joined by Edward's half-brothers, the earls of Kent and Norfolk, and many of the nobility. Edward, deserted by his subjects, repaired to the west; but being disappointed in his expectations of loyalty in those parts, he passed over to Wales, where, he flattered himself, his name was still popular, and the natives less infected with the general contagion. The elder Spenser, created earl of Winchester, was left governor of the castle of Bristol; but the garrison mutinied against him, and he was delivered into the hands of his enemies and executed. The king took shipping for Ireland; but being driven back by contrary winds, he endeavoured to conceal himself in Wales. He was soon discovered, was put under the custody of the earl of Lancaster, and was confined in the castle of Kenilworth. The younger Spenser also fell into the hands of his enemies, and was hanged after a hasty trial. The queen then summoned a parliament at Westminster in the king's name (January 7, 1327). A charge was drawn up against the king, for whom no voice was raised. His deposition was voted: the young Edward, already declared regent by his party, was placed on the throne: and a deputation was sent to his father at Kenilworth, to require his resignation, which menaces and terror soon extorted from him (January 20). The unfortunate monarch, hurried from place to place, was at length transferred to Berkeley castle, and the impatient Mortimer secretly sent orders to his keepers to despatch him. It was believed that these ruffians threw him on a bed, held him down violently with a table which they flung over him, thrust into his intestines a red-hot iron, which they inserted through a horn; and though all outward marks of violence upon his person were prevented by this expedient, the horrid deed was discovered to all the guards and attendants by the screams with which the agonizing king filled the castle while his bowels were consuming (September 21). Thus miserably perished, in the 44th year of his age, Edward II., than whom it is not easy to imagine a prince less fitted for governing the fierce and turbulent barons subjected to his authority.



Noble of Edward III.

Obv.: EDWARD . DEI . GRA . REX . ANGL' Z FRANC' . D . HYN'G. The king standing in a ship (type supposed to relate to the naval victory gained by him over the French fleet off Sluys, A.D. 1340). Rev.: IHC : TRANSIENS : PER : MEDIVM : ILLORVM : IRAT + . Cross fleury, with a fleur-de-lis at each point, and a lion passant under a crown in each quarter.

CHAPTER X.

HOUSE OF PLANTAGENET—*Continued.*

EDWARD III. AND RICHARD II. A.D. 1327–1399.

- § 1. Accession of EDWARD III. War with Scotland. § 2. Fall of Mortimer. § 3. King's administration. War with Scotland. Battle of Halidon Hill. § 4. Edward's claim to the crown of France. § 5. War with France. § 6. Domestic disturbances. Affairs of Brittany. § 7. Renewal of the French war. Battle of Crécy. § 8. Captivity of the king of Scots. Calais taken. § 9. Institution of the Garter. War in Guienne and battle of Poitiers. § 10. Captivity of king John. Invasion of France and peace of Breteigny. § 11. The Black Prince in Castile. Rupture with France. § 12. Death of the prince of Wales. Death and character of the king. § 13. Miscellaneous transactions of this reign. § 14. Accession of RICHARD II. Insurrection. § 15. Discontents of the nobility. Expulsion or execution of the king's ministers. § 16. Counter-revolution. Ascendency of the duke of Lancaster. Cabals and murder of the duke of Gloucester. § 17. Death of John of Gaunt, duke of Lancaster. Revolt of his son Henry. Deposition, death, and character of the king. § 18. The Wickliffites.

1. EDWARD III., b. 1312; r. 1327–1377.—After the late king's deposition a council of regency was appointed by parliament, and Henry, earl of Lancaster, became guardian and protector of the king's person, who, at the age of 14, ascended the throne with the title of Edward III.* The real power, however, was in the hands of Isabella and Mortimer.

The Scots seized the opportunity offered by the unsettled state of the English government to make incursions into the northern counties. The young king, who had put himself at the head of

* His reign is dated from the 25th of January, 1327. He was crowned January 29.

an army in order to repress them, narrowly escaped falling into the hands of the enemy. Douglas, having surveyed exactly the situation of the English camp, entered it secretly in the night-time, with a body of 200 determined soldiers, and advanced to the royal tent, with the view of killing or carrying off the king in the midst of his army. But some of Edward's attendants, awaking in that critical moment, resisted; his chaplain and chamberlain sacrificed their lives to his safety; and the king himself, after a valorous defence, escaped in the dark. Douglas, having lost the greater part of his followers, was glad to make a hasty retreat. Soon after, the Scottish army decamped in the dead of night; and having thus got the start of the English, returned without further loss into their own country. This inglorious campaign was followed by a disgraceful peace. As the claim of sovereignty by England, more than any other cause, had tended to inflame the animosities between the two nations, Mortimer, besides stipulating for a marriage between Joan, sister of Edward, and David, the son and heir of Robert Bruce, consented to resign absolutely all claim of supremacy over Scotland, and to acknowledge Robert as an independent sovereign. The regalia were restored; many Scottish prisoners were released, the Scots agreeing to pay the sum of 30,000 marks in three years. This treaty was ratified by parliament (May 4, 1328).

§ 2. But the fall of Mortimer was now approaching. Having persuaded the earl of Kent that his brother, king Edward, was still alive and detained in some secret prison in England, he induced the unsuspecting earl to enter into a conspiracy for his restoration, and then caused him to be condemned on the charge by parliament, and executed (March 21, 1330). The earl of Lancaster was greatly alarmed, and feeling that he must himself be the next victim, he did his best to turn the young king against Mortimer. But Mortimer blindly persisted in his high-handed dealings; he was bent on sweeping from his path all who stood in the way of his ambition. He had, in 1328, been created earl of March, and he affected a state and dignity equal, if not superior, to the royal power. He became formidable to every one; and all parties, forgetting past animosities, agreed in detesting him. It was impossible that this could long escape the observation of a prince endowed with so much spirit and judgment as young Edward. He communicated to several nobles his intentions of humbling Mortimer; and the castle of Nottingham was chosen for the scene of their enterprise. The queen-dowager and Mortimer lodged in that fortress: the king also was admitted, though with a few only of his attendants; and as the castle was strictly guarded, the gates locked

every evening, and the keys carried to the queen, it became necessary to communicate the design to Sir William Eland, the governor, who zealously took part in it. By his direction the king's associates were admitted through a subterranean passage, which had formerly been contrived for a secret outlet from the castle, but was now buried in rubbish. Mortimer, without having it in his power to make resistance, was suddenly seized in an apartment adjoining to the queen's (October 19). In a parliament summoned at Westminster, Mortimer was arraigned on certain charges, assumed to be notorious; was condemned unheard, and hanged on a gibbet at Tyburn (November 29, 1330). The queen was confined to her own house at Castle Rising; and though the king paid her a visit of ceremony once or twice a year, she was never reinstated in any credit or authority. She died in 1357.

§ 3. Edward, having now taken the reins of government into his own hands, applied himself with industry and judgment to redress all those grievances which had proceeded either from want of an authority in the crown, or from the late abuses of it. During the convulsions of the last reign, murder and theft had multiplied enormously, and malefactors were openly protected by the great barons, who made use of them against their enemies. Gangs of robbers had become so numerous as to require the king's own presence to disperse them; and in executing this salutary office he exerted both courage and industry. For the next three or four years his attention was engaged with the affairs of Scotland. Robert Bruce, who had recovered the independence of his country, died (November 24, 1331) soon after the last treaty of peace with England, leaving David, his son, a young child, under the guardianship of Randolph, earl of Moray, the companion of all his victories. Great discontent had been excited among many of the English nobility by Bruce's non-performance of that article of the treaty by which they were to be restored to their estates in Scotland. Under the influence of these feelings they resolved on setting up Edward, the son of John Balliol, then residing in Normandy, as a pretender to the Scottish crown. Edward secretly encouraged Balliol, and countenanced the nobles who were disposed to join in the attempt. The arms of Balliol were attended with surprising success; he was crowned at Scone (1332); and David, his competitor, was sent over to France with his betrothed wife, Joan, sister to Edward. But Balliol's imprudence, or his necessities, making him dismiss the greater part of his English followers, he was attacked on a sudden near Annan by the Scots, enraged at his ceding the town of Berwick to Edward (November 23, 1332), was put to the rout, and chased into England in a miserable condition.

Thus he lost his kingdom in a few months by a revolution as sudden as that by which he had acquired it (December 12, 1332).

While Balliol enjoyed his short-lived and precarious royalty, he had offered to acknowledge Edward's claim of sovereignty, and to espouse the princess Joan, if the pope's consent could be obtained for dissolving her former marriage, which was not yet consummated. Edward willingly accepted the offer, and prepared to reinstate him in possession of the crown, for which the inroads of the Scots into the northern counties after the battle of Annan seemed to offer a reasonable pretext. At the head of a powerful army he advanced to lay siege to Berwick. Douglas was defeated and slain at Halidon Hill, a little north of that city. Berwick was surrendered (1333). Balliol was acknowledged king by a parliament held at Edinburgh (1334). The superiority of England was again recognized, and many of the Scottish nobility swore fealty to Edward. To complete the misfortunes of that nation, Berwick, Dunbar, Roxburgh, Edinburgh, and all the south-east counties of Scotland were ceded by the new king and declared to be for ever annexed to the English monarchy. But the Scots were still far from being subdued. In 1335, and again in the following year, Edward was obliged to proceed thither with an army; and as a war was now likely to break out between France and England, the Scots had reason to expect a great diversion of that force which had so long oppressed and overwhelmed them. Edward Balliol fled to England, and spent most of his nominal eight years' reign at Edward's court. David II. was recalled from exile in 1341, though still to a precarious throne.

§ 4. Upon the death of Charles IV. in 1328 without male issue, Philip of Valois, the cousin of Charles, succeeded as Philip VI., for by the Salic law all females were excluded from the crown. Edward III. claimed it as next male heir to Charles; for, though Isabella was, on account of her sex, incapable of reigning, he maintained that a right to the crown could be transmitted through her to her male offspring. This point had never yet been determined by the Salic law. He had acquiesced at first in the succession of Philip, and had twice done homage in general terms for the province of Guienne (1329, 1331). It was not until 1337 that he renewed his claim, irritated by the aid afforded by Philip to the Scots.

§ 5. Before preparing for invasion, Edward resolved to strengthen himself by various continental alliances. He assumed the title of king of France (October 7, 1337), and crossing over to Flanders, where he had obtained the adhesion of Jacob van Artevelde, the leader of the popular party among the Flemings (1338), he

invaded France in the following year, but was obliged to retreat without effecting anything, owing to the apathy of his allies. He was, however, a prince of too much spirit to be daunted by the first difficulties of an enterprise, and was anxious to retrieve his honour by more successful efforts. Philip, apprized by the preparations which were making both in England and the Low Countries that he must expect another invasion, fitted out a great fleet of 400 vessels, manned with 40,000 men, and stationed them off Sluys, with a view of intercepting the king in his passage to the continent. The English navy was much inferior in number, consisting only of 240 sail; but, either by the superior abilities of Edward or the greater dexterity of his seamen, they gained the wind of the enemy, and had the sun on their backs, and with these advantages the action began. It lasted nine hours, and ended in favour of Edward. 230 French ships were taken; 30,000 Frenchmen were killed, with two of their admirals. On the side of the English, two ships only were sunk and 4000 men slain (June 24, 1340). Elated with his success, Edward advanced to the frontiers of France at the head of 100,000 men, consisting chiefly of foreigners. He laid siege to Tournay, but after a few weeks agreed to a truce, as his money was exhausted, and he suddenly returned to England.

§ 6. It required all his genius and energy to extricate himself from his multiplied embarrassments. His claims on France and Scotland had engaged him in an implacable war with these two kingdoms: he had lost most of his foreign alliances by the irregularity of his payments: he was deeply involved in debts, and, except his naval victory, none of his military operations had been attended with glory. The animosity between him and the clergy, especially John Stratford, archbishop of Canterbury, to whom, as chancellor,* the charge of collecting the taxes had been chiefly intrusted, was open and declared. The people were discontented; and, what was more dangerous, the nobles, taking advantage of the king's present necessities, were determined to retrench his power, and, by encroaching on the ancient prerogatives of the crown, to acquire a greater amount of independence and authority. In 1340 parliament framed an act to confirm the Great Charter anew, and oblige all the chief officers of the law and of the state to swear to the regular observance of it. They petitioned that no peer should be punished but by the award of his peers in parliament; that the

* He and his brother Robert, bishop of Clchester, held the office of chancellor, alternately, for more than ten years. Robert, failing to furnish such liberal

supplies as Edward required in his wars, was suddenly displaced, December, 1340, and was succeeded by sir Robert Bouchier, the first layman who held that post.

chief officers of state should be appointed by the king in parliament, and should answer before parliament to any accusation brought against them. In return for these important concessions, the commons offered the king a grant of 30,000 sacks of wool. His wants were so urgent, so clamorous the demands of his foreign allies, that Edward was obliged to accept the supply on these conditions, with one important modification—that the choice of his ministers should rest only with himself, “he taking therein the assent of his council.” He ratified this statute in full parliament; but he subsequently issued an edict to abrogate and annul it, and two years after it was formally repealed.

A disputed claim to the succession of Brittany on the death of duke John III. opened the way to fresh attempts upon France. The dukedom was claimed by the count de Montfort, John’s brother by a second marriage, and by Charles de Blois, nephew of the French king, who had married John’s niece. Montfort offered to do homage to Edward as king of France for the duchy of Brittany, and proposed a strict alliance in support of their mutual pretensions. Edward saw immediately the advantages attending this treaty: Montfort, an active and valiant prince, closely united to him by interest, seemed likely to be far more serviceable than his allies on the side of Germany and the Low Countries. Montfort, however, fell into the hands of his enemies; was conducted as a prisoner to Paris; but Joan of Flanders, his countess, after she had put Brittany in a good posture of defence, shut herself up in Hennebon till she was relieved by the succours which Edward sent her under the command of sir Walter Manny, one of his ablest and bravest captains (1342).

§ 7. In the autumn of the same year Edward undertook her defence in person; and as the last truce with France had expired, the war, in which the English and French had hitherto embarked as allies to the competitors for Brittany, was now conducted in the name and under the standard of the two monarchs. This war, like the preceding, was carried on without any important advantages on either side till 1346, when the English gained the first of the two great victories which have shed such a lustre upon Edward’s reign. The king had intended to sail to Guienne, which was threatened by a formidable French army, and embarked at Southampton, on board a fleet of nearly 1000 sail of all dimensions, carrying with him, besides all the chief nobility of England, his eldest son, Edward, prince of Wales, now 16 years of age. The winds long proved contrary; and the king, in despair of arriving in time in Guienne, at last ordered his fleet to sail to Normandy, and safely disembarked his army at La Hogue (July, 1346).

This army, which, during the course of the ensuing campaign, was crowned with the most splendid success, consisted of 4000 men-at-arms, 10,000 archers, 12,000 Welsh infantry, and 6000 Irish. After laying waste Normandy and advancing almost to the gates of Paris, Edward retreated towards Flanders, pursued by the French king. He had crossed the river Somme below Abbeville, when he was overtaken by the French army, consisting of 100,000 men. He took up his position near the village of CRECY, about 15 miles east of Abbeville, and determined there to await the enemy. On the morning of August 26th, he drew up his army in three lines on a gentle ascent; the first was commanded by the prince of Wales, with whom were the earls of Warwick and Oxford; the earls of Arundel and Northampton commanded the second; and the king himself took his station on a hill with the third. In the front of each division stood the archers, arranged in the form of a portcullis. Having gained a day's respite, Edward had taken the precaution to throw up trenches on his flanks, in order to secure himself from the numerous bodies of the French, who might assail him from that quarter; and he placed all his baggage behind him in a wood, which was also secured by an intrenchment. Besides the resources which he found in his own genius and presence of mind, he is said to have employed a new invention against the enemy. He placed in the front some pieces of artillery. Artillery was at this time known in France as well as in England; but Philip, in his hurry to overtake the enemy, had probably left his cannon behind him, which he regarded as a useless encumbrance. After a long day's march from Abbeville, the French army, imperfectly formed into three lines, arrived, already fatigued and disordered, in presence of the enemy. The first line, consisting of 15,000 Genoese crossbow men, was commanded by Anthony Doria and Charles Grimaldi; the second was led by the count of Alençon, brother to the king; Philip himself was at the head of the third. John of Luxembourg, king of Bohemia, and his son, the king of the Romans, were also present, with all the nobility and great vassals of the crown of France. Numerous as was the army, the prudence of one man counterbalanced all this force and splendour.

A heavy storm, accompanied with incessant thunder and lightning, had further discomforted the French and wetted the strings of the Genoese bowmen. At five the weather cleared and the Genoese commenced the attack. Steady and immovable, the English received their fire; then, after a brief interval, they drew their bows from their cases, and poured in such a shower of arrows that the Genoese fell back in disorder. The second line, under

the count of Alençon, now advanced to the attack, supported by numerous cavalry; but as they approached through the narrow lanes flanked by the English archers, many fell and the rest were thrown into confusion. As the prince of Wales was now hard pressed by superior numbers, the second division advanced to his support. When the king was entreated by those about him to bring up his reserves to his son's assistance, "No," said he; "let the boy win his spurs, and gain the glory of the day!" Inspired with this proof of the king's confidence, the English fought with renewed courage. After a stout resistance the French cavalry gave way: the count of Alençon was slain: the Welsh and Irish infantry rushed into the throng, and with their long knives cut the throats of all who had fallen. No quarter was given that day by the victors. The king of France advanced in vain with the rear to sustain the line commanded by his brother. His horse was killed under him, and he was obliged to quit the field of battle. The whole French army took to flight, was followed and put to the sword, without mercy, till darkness put an end to the pursuit. On his return to the camp, Edward, embracing the prince of Wales, exclaimed, "Sweet son! God give you good perseverance: you are my son; for most loyally have you acquitted yourself this day, and you are worthy of a crown." From this time the young prince became the terror of the French, by whom he was called the Black Prince, from the colour of the armour which he wore on that day (August 26, 1346).

The dead found on the field included, on the French side, 11 princes, 80 bannerets, 1200 knights, 1400 gentlemen, 4000 men-at-arms, besides about 30,000 of inferior rank. Among the slain was the old and blind king of Bohemia. Resolved to hazard his person and set an example to others, he ordered the reins of his bridle to be tied on each side to two gentlemen of his train; and his dead body, and those of his attendants, were afterwards found among the slain, with their horses standing by them in that situation. It is said that the crest of the king of Bohemia was three ostrich feathers, and his motto *Ich dien*, "I serve," which the prince of Wales and his successors adopted in memorial of this great victory.* The loss sustained by the English was very slight. But, notwithstanding his success, the king was compelled by his necessities to limit his ambition for the present to the conquest of Calais; to which, after an interval of a few days employed in interring the slain, he now turned his attention.

§ 8. While Edward was engaged in this siege, which employed

* There is, however, great doubt respecting the truth of this tradition. See the essay by sir H. Nicolas in the *Archæologia*, vol. xxxii.

him exactly eleven months, other events occurred to the honour of the English arms. The earl of Lancaster, who commanded the English forces in Guienne, carried his incursions to the banks of the Vienne, and devastated all the southern provinces of France. The Scots, under the command of their king, David Bruce, entered Northumberland, but were completely defeated by Henry Percy, at Neville's Cross, near Durham (October 17, 1346): the king himself was taken prisoner, with many of the nobility. David Bruce was detained in captivity till 1357, when he was liberated for a ransom of 100,000 marks.

The town of Calais was defended with remarkable vigilance, constancy, and bravery by the townsmen, during a siege of unusual length; and Philip had in vain attempted to relieve it. At length, after enduring all the extremities of famine, John de Vienne, the governor, surrendered unconditionally (August 3, 1347). The story runs that Edward had at first resolved to put all the garrison to death; but that at last he only insisted that six of the most considerable citizens should be sent to him, to be disposed of as he thought proper; that they should come to his camp, carrying the keys of the city in their hands, bareheaded and barefooted, with ropes about their necks; and on these conditions he promised to spare the lives of the remainder. When this intelligence was conveyed to Calais, the inhabitants were struck with consternation. Whilst they found themselves incapable of coming to any resolution in so cruel and distressful a situation, at last one of the principal citizens, called Eustace de St. Pierre, stepped forth and declared himself willing to suffer death for the safety of his friends and companions; another, animated by his example, made a like generous offer; a third and a fourth presented themselves to the same fate; and the whole number was soon completed. These six heroic burgesses appeared before Edward in the guise of malefactors, laid at his feet the keys of their city, and were ordered to be led out to execution. But the entreaties of his queen saved Edward's memory from this infamy: she threw herself on her knees before him, and, with tears in her eyes, begged the lives of these citizens. Having obtained her request, she carried them into her tent, ordered a repast to be set before them, and, after making them a present of money and clothes, dismissed them in safety. The king, after taking possession of Calais, removed the inhabitants to make way for English settlers; a policy which probably preserved so long to his successors the possession of that important fortress. He made it the staple of wool, leather, tin, and lead; the four chief, if not the sole, commodities of the kingdom for which there was at that time any considerable demand in foreign markets.

Through the mediation of the pope's legates Edward concluded a truce with France; but, even during this cessation of arms, an attempt was made to deprive him of Calais (1349). Being informed of the plot, he proceeded to Calais with 1000 men; and, when the French presented themselves to take possession of the town at the time appointed, Edward sallied forth to oppose them. On this occasion he fought hand to hand with a French knight, named Ribaumont. Twice he was struck to the ground, but contrived at last to make his assailant prisoner. The French officers who had fallen into the hands of the English were admitted to sup with the prince of Wales and the English nobility. After supper the king entered the apartment, and conversed familiarly with his prisoners. On Ribaumont he openly bestowed the highest encomiums, admitting that he himself had never been in greater danger. In token of his valour he presented Ribaumont with a chaplet of pearls which he wore about his own head (January, 1349).

§ 9. About the same time the king is said to have instituted the order of the Garter (1349). Its true origin is lost in obscurity. According to the popular account, the countess of Salisbury dropped her garter at a court-ball, when the king picked it up; and observing some of the courtiers to smile, he exclaimed, *Honi soit qui mal y pense*, "Evil be to him that evil thinks;" and gave these words as the motto of the order.

A grievous calamity, called the *Black Death*, more than the pacific disposition of the two princes, served to maintain and prolong the truce between France and England. It invaded England as well as the rest of Europe; and is computed to have swept away nearly a third of the inhabitants in every country attacked by it (1349). Above 50,000 souls are said to have perished by it in London alone. Public business was interrupted; war was discontinued until 1355; the legal and judicial work ceased for two years, and the population, especially among the lower orders, was greatly diminished. To augment the evils of the time, cattle and sheep were attacked by it, and the resources of the country were severely impaired. This malady first appeared in the north of Asia, spread over all that country, and made its progress from one end of Europe to the other, depopulating every state through which it passed. As labourers decreased in England, the survivors endeavoured by combination to obtain higher wages. The attempt was resented by parliament, and an act was passed, called the Statute of Labourers (23 Edw. III. c. 1), which ordered them to work at their accustomed wages. As they were little inclined to do this, another statute was passed a few years after,

making them liable to severe punishments if any wilfully remained idle, or quitted their usual place of abode.

The truce between the two kingdoms expired in 1355. John the Good had succeeded to the French throne on the death of his father, Philip of Valois, in 1350; and France was distracted by the factions excited by Charles the Bad, king of Navarre. John had succeeded in seizing and imprisoning that prince; but the cause of Charles was maintained by his brother Philip, and Geoffrey d'Harcourt, who had recourse to the protection of England. Well pleased that the factions in France had at length gained him partisans in that kingdom, which his pretensions to the crown had never been able to secure, Edward purposed to attack his enemy both on the side of Guienne, under the command of the prince of Wales, and on that of Calais, in his own person. Young Edward arrived in the Garonne with his army, overran Languedoc, advanced even as far as Narbonne, laying every place waste around him. After an incursion of six weeks, he returned with a vast booty and many prisoners to Guienne, where he took up his winter quarters. His father's incursion from Calais was of the same nature, and attended with the same results. After plundering and ravaging the open country, he retired to Calais, and thence to England, in order to defend his kingdom against a threatened invasion of the Scots, who, taking advantage of the king's absence, had surprised Berwick. But on the approach of Edward they abandoned that place, which was not tenable while the castle was in the hands of the English; and, retiring northwards, gave the enemy full liberty of burning and destroying the whole country from Berwick to Edinburgh.

In the following year (1356) the prince of Wales, encouraged by the success of the preceding campaign, took the field from Bordeaux with an army of 12,000 men, of which not a third were English; and with this small body he ventured to penetrate into the heart of France. His intentions were to march into Normandy, and to join his forces with those of the duke of Lancaster and the partisans of the king of Navarre; but, finding all the bridges on the Loire broken down, and every pass carefully guarded, he was obliged to think of making his retreat into Guienne. The king of France, provoked at this insult, and entertaining hopes of punishing the young prince for his temerity, collected an army of 60,000 men; and advanced by hasty marches to intercept his enemy. They came within sight at Maupertuis, near POITIERS; and Edward, sensible that his retreat had now become impracticable, prepared for battle with all the courage of a young hero, and with all the prudence of the oldest and most experienced commander. His

army was now reduced to 8000 men. At the instance of the cardinal of Périgord, John lost a day in negociation; and thus the prince of Wales had leisure during the night to strengthen, by new intrenchments, the post he had before so judiciously chosen. He contrived an ambush of 300 men-at-arms and as many archers, whom he ordered to make a circuit, that they might fall on the flank or rear of the French army during the engagement. The van of his army was commanded by the earl of Warwick, the rear by the earls of Salisbury and Suffolk, the main body by the prince himself. The king of France also arranged his forces in three divisions. The English position was surrounded by hedges, and was only accessible by a single road, flanked on each side by English archers. As the enemy advanced they were shot down with impunity, and the passage was choked by their dead. Discouraged by the unequal combat, and diminished in number, they arrived at the end of the lane, and were met on the open ground by the prince of Wales himself, at the head of a chosen body, ready for their reception. Discomfited and overthrown, and recoiling upon their own men, the whole army was thrown into disorder. In that critical moment the men placed in ambush appeared and attacked the dauphin's line in flank. The duke of Orleans and several other French commanders fled with their divisions. King John made the utmost efforts to retrieve by his valour what his imprudence had betrayed, till, spent with fatigue and overwhelmed by numbers, he and his son yielded themselves prisoners. Young Edward received the captive king with every mark of regard and sympathy; administered comfort to him amidst his misfortunes; paid him the tribute of praise due to his valour; and ascribed his own victory merely to the blind chance of war, or to a superior Providence which controls all the efforts of human force and prudence. The behaviour of John showed him not unworthy of this courteous treatment; his present abject fortune never made him forget for a moment that he was a king. More touched by Edward's generosity than by his own calamities, he confessed that, notwithstanding his defeat and captivity, his honour was still unimpaired; and that, if he yielded the victory, it was at least gained by a prince of consummate valour and humanity. Edward ordered a repast to be prepared in his tent for the prisoner, and he himself served at the royal captive's table, as if he had been one of his retinue. He stood at the king's back during the meal; constantly refused to take a place at table; and declared that, being a subject, he was too well acquainted with the distance between his own rank and that of royalty to assume such freedom. The battle of Poitiers was fought September 19, 1356.

The prince of Wales conducted his prisoner to Bordeaux ; and, not being provided with forces numerous enough to enable him to push his present advantages further, he concluded a truce for two years with France, and returned with his royal prisoner to England. On entering London (May 24, 1357), he was met by a great concourse of people of all ranks and stations. The prisoner was clad in royal apparel, and mounted on a white steed, distinguished by its size and beauty and by the richness of its furniture. The conqueror, in meaner attire, rode by his side on a black palfrey. In this situation, more glorious than all the insolent parade of a Roman triumph, he passed through the streets of London, and presented the king of France to his father, who advanced to meet him, and received him with as much courtesy as if he had been a neighbouring potentate that had voluntarily come to pay him a friendly visit.

§ 10. During the captivity of John, France was thrown into the greatest confusion by domestic factions and disorders. Edward employed himself during a conjuncture so inviting chiefly in negotiations with his prisoner ; and John had the weakness to sign terms of peace, by which he agreed to restore all the provinces formerly possessed by Henry II. and his two sons, and to annex them for ever to England, without any obligation of homage or fealty on the part of the English monarch. But the dauphin and the states of France rejected a treaty so dishonourable and pernicious to the kingdom ; and Edward, on the expiration of the truce, having now, by subsidies and frugality, collected sufficient treasure, prepared for a new invasion of France (1359). It is unnecessary to follow the ravages of the English during this invasion, in which many of the French provinces were laid waste with fire and sword, and the people suffered incredible miseries. At length Charles, the dauphin, agreed to the terms of a peace, which was concluded at Bretigny near Chartres, on the following conditions :—It was stipulated that John should be restored to his liberty, and should pay for his ransom three millions of crowns of gold (about 1,500,000 pounds of our present money) in successive instalments ; that Edward should for ever renounce all claim to the crown of France, and to the provinces of Normandy, Maine, Touraine, and Anjou, possessed by his ancestors ; and should receive in exchange the full sovereignty of the duchy of Aquitaine, including, besides Guienne and Gascony, the provinces of Poitou, Saintonge, l'Aginois, Périgord, the Limousin, Quercy, Rouergue, l'Angoumois, and other districts in that quarter, and also Calais, Guisnes, Montreuil, and the county of Ponthieu, on the other side of France ; that France should renounce all title to feudal jurisdiction, homage, or appeal

on their behalf; that the king of Navarre should be restored to all his honours and possessions; that Edward should renounce his confederacy with the Flemings, and John his connections with the Scots; that the disputes concerning the succession of Brittany between the family of Blois and Montfort should be decided by arbiters appointed by the two kings; and that forty hostages, to be agreed on, should be sent to England as security for the execution of all these conditions (May 8, 1360). In consequence of this arrangement the king of France was brought over to Calais, whither Edward also soon after repaired; and there both princes solemnly ratified the treaty. John was sent to Boulogne; the king accompanied him a mile on his journey, and the two monarchs parted with many professions of mutual amity. As he was unable to fulfil the terms of his release, John returned to England (January 4, 1364). He soon after sickened and died in the palace of the Savoy, where he had resided during his captivity. He was succeeded on the throne by his son Charles V., a prince educated in the school of adversity, and well qualified, by his consummate prudence and experience, to repair the losses which France had sustained from the errors of his two predecessors.

§ 11. In 1367 the Black Prince marched into Castile, in order to restore Peter, surnamed the Cruel, who had been driven from the throne of that country by his natural brother, Henry, count of Transtamare, with the assistance of the French. Henry was defeated by the English prince at Navarrete, and was chased off the field, with the loss of above 20,000 men. Peter, who well merited the infamous epithet which he bore, proposed to murder all his prisoners in cold blood, but was restrained from this barbarity by the remonstrances of the prince of Wales. All Castile now submitted to the victor; Peter was restored to the throne; and Edward finished this perilous enterprise with his usual glory. But the barbarities exercised by Peter over his helpless subjects, whom he now regarded as vanquished rebels, revived all the animosity of the Castilians against him. On the return of Henry of Transtamare, with reinforcements levied in France, the tyrant was again dethroned and was taken prisoner. His brother, in resentment of his cruelties, slew him with his own hand; and was placed on the throne of Castile, which he transmitted to his posterity. The duke of Lancaster, John of Gaunt, who espoused in second marriage the eldest daughter of Peter, inherited only the empty title of sovereignty, and, by claiming the succession, increased the animosity of the new king of Castile against England.

But the prejudice which the affairs of prince Edward received from this splendid though imprudent expedition ended not with it.

He had involved himself so much in debt by his preparations and the pay of his troops, that he found it necessary, on his return, to impose a new tax on his French subjects. This incident revived the animosity of the Gascons, who were encouraged to carry their complaints to Charles, as to their lord paramount, against these oppressions of the English government. Charles, in open breach of the treaty of Bretigny, sent to the prince of Wales a summons to appear in his court at Paris, and there to justify his conduct towards his vassals. The prince replied that he would come to Paris, but it should be at the head of 10,000 men. War between the French and English broke out afresh; and Edward, by advice of parliament, resumed the title of king of France (1369). The French invaded the southern provinces; and by means of their good conduct, the favourable disposition of the people, and the ardour of the French nobility, made every day considerable progress. The state of the prince of Wales's health did not permit him to mount on horseback, or exert his usual activity; and when he was obliged by his increasing infirmities to throw up the command and return to his native country, the affairs of the English in the south of France seemed to be menaced with total ruin. Shortly before his departure the prince perpetrated an act of cruelty which is a foul blot upon his fair name. Having retaken the town of Limoges, which had revolted from him, he ordered the inhabitants to be butchered in cold blood (1370). This was his last conquest; for sickness forced him to return home. After his departure the king endeavoured to send succours into Gascony; but all his attempts, both by sea and land, proved unsuccessful. He was at last obliged, from the necessity of his affairs, to conclude a truce with the enemy (1374), after most of his ancient possessions in France had been ravished from him, except Bordeaux and Bayonne, and all his conquests except Calais.

§ 12. The decline of the king's life was thus exposed to many mortifications, and corresponded not to the splendid scenes which had filled the beginning and the middle of it. This prince, who during the vigour of his age had been chiefly occupied in the pursuits of war and ambition, being now a widower, attached himself to one Alice Perrers, who acquired a great ascendancy over him. Her influence caused such general disgust, that, in order to satisfy the parliament, he was obliged to remove her from court. In its measures for redress, this parliament, called *The Good*, was supported by the Black Prince, in opposition to his brother, John of Gaunt, whose influence was distasteful to the commons. The prince of Wales died soon after of a lingering illness, in the 46th year of his age (June 8, 1376). His valour

and military talents formed the smallest part of his merit. His generosity, affability, and moderation gained him the affections of all men; and he was qualified to throw a lustre, not only on the rude age in which he lived, but on the most shining period of ancient or modern history. He was buried in the cathedral of Canterbury, where his tomb is still shown. The king survived him about a year, and expired in the 65th year of his age and the 51st of his reign (June 21, 1377), and was buried at Westminster. The ascendancy which the English then began to acquire over France, their rival and supposed national enemy, made them cast their eyes on this period with great complacency. But the domestic government of this prince is really more admirable than his foreign victories; and England enjoyed, by the prudence and vigour of his administration, a longer interval of domestic peace and tranquillity than she had been blest with in any former period, or than she experienced for many ages after. Edward gained the affections of the great, yet curbed their licentiousness: he made them feel his power without their daring or even being inclined to murmur at it. His affable and obliging behaviour, his munificence and generosity, made them submit with pleasure to his dominion. His valour and conduct made them successful in most of their enterprises; and their unquiet spirits, directed against a public enemy, had no leisure to breed domestic disturbances. This was the chief benefit which resulted from Edward's victories and conquests.

§ 13. Conquerors, though often the bane of human kind, proved in those times the most indulgent of sovereigns. They stood most in need of supplies from their people; and, not being able to compel them by force to submit to the exactions required, they were obliged to make compensation by equitable laws and popular concessions. So was it with Edward III. He took no steps of any moment without consulting his parliament and obtaining their approbation, which he afterwards pleaded as a reason for their supporting his measures. Parliament, therefore, rose into greater consideration during his reign, and acquired more regular authority, than in any former time.*

One of the most popular laws enacted by any prince was the Statute of Treasons, which limited the cases of high treason, before vague and uncertain, to three principal heads, namely, conspiring the death of the king, levying war against him, and adhering to his enemies (25 Edward III. st. 5, c. 2, 1351).

The magnificent castle of Windsor was rebuilt by Edward III., and his method of conducting the work may serve as a specimen of the condition of the people in that age. Instead of engaging work-

* See Notes and Illustrations to chap. xii. : On the Parliament.

men by contracts and wages, he assessed every county in England to send him a certain number of masons, tilers, and carpenters, as if he had been raising an army.

It is easy to imagine that a prince of so much sense and spirit as Edward would be no slave to the court of Rome. Though the tribute granted by John was paid during some years of Edward's minority, it was afterwards withheld; and when the pope, in 1366, threatened to cite him to the court of Rome for default of payment, he laid the matter before his parliament. That assembly unanimously declared that king John could not, without consent of the nation, subject his kingdom to a foreign power; and that they were therefore determined to support their sovereign against this unjust pretension.* During this reign the Statute of Provisors was enacted,† rendering it penal to procure any presentations to benefices from the court of Rome, and securing the rights of the patrons, which had been extremely encroached on by the pope. By a subsequent statute, every person was outlawed who carried any cause by appeal to the court of Rome.‡

Edward III. may be called the father of English commerce. He encouraged Flemish weavers to settle in his kingdom, and protected them against the violence of the English weavers. Wool was the chief article of export and source of revenue. The merchants carried on an extensive trade with the Baltic. The use of the French language in pleadings was abolished in this reign. The first document in English dates as far back as 1258.

Edward had seven sons and five daughters by his queen Philippa of Hainault. His sons were: 1. Edward, the Black Prince, who married Joan, daughter of his great-uncle the earl of Kent, who was beheaded in the beginning of this reign. She was first married to Sir Thomas Holland, by whom she had children. By the prince of Wales she had a son Richard, who survived his father. 2. William of Hatfield, who died young. 3. Lionel, duke of Clarence, who left one daughter, Philippa, married to Edmund Mortimer, earl of March. 4. John of Gaunt, so called from being born at Ghent, duke of Lancaster, and father of Henry IV. 5. Edmund, duke of York. 6. William of Windsor, who died young. 7. Thomas, duke of Gloucester.

RICHARD II.

§ 14. RICHARD II., b. 1366; r. 1377-1399.—As Richard II., son of the Black Prince, upon whom the crown devolved by the death

* This was not the real reason. The tribute had been paid by Henry III. and Edward I.; but when the papacy was transferred to Avignon in 1309, the tribute

was withheld, as the pope had now become a mere instrument in the hands of France.

† 25 Edward III., st. 6, 1351.

‡ 27 Edward III., c. 1, 1353.

of his grandfather, was born at Bordeaux in 1366, and was now only 11 years of age, the House of Commons, who were now beginning to take a greater share in public affairs, petitioned the king and lords, to elect a council of eight to assist "the king's other state officers" in the affairs of the realm (October 13). Richard was crowned at Westminster July 16.

The first three or four years of Richard's reign passed without anything memorable, except some fruitless expeditions against France, which increased the unpopularity of John of Gaunt. The expenses of these armaments, and the usual want of economy attending a minority, exhausted the English treasury, and obliged the parliament, besides making some alterations in the councils, to impose a new tax of three groats, or twelve pence, on every person, male and female, above fifteen years of age; and though they ordained that, in levying the tax, "the richer should aid the poorer sort," the injustice of taxing all alike provoked resistance (1380). The first disorder commenced among the bondmen of Essex, and Kent soon followed the example. The tax-gatherers came to the house of a tiler in Dartford, and demanded payment for his daughter, whom her mother asserted to be below the age assigned by the statute. When one of these fellows laid hold of the maid in a scandalous manner, her father, hearing her cries, rushed in from his work, and knocked out the ruffian's brains with his hammer. The bystanders applauded the action, and exclaimed that it was full time for the people to take vengeance on their tyrants, and to vindicate their native liberty. They immediately flew to arms: the whole neighbourhood joined them: the flame spread in an instant over the surrounding district; and, faster than the news could fly, the people rose in Kent, Hertford, Surrey, Sussex, Suffolk, Norfolk, Cambridge and Somersetshires. The disorder soon grew beyond control. Under leaders who assumed such names as Wat Tyler, Jack Straw, Jack Carter, and Jack Miller, they committed everywhere the most outrageous violence on such of the gentry or nobility as had the misfortune to fall into their hands.

The insurgents, amounting to 100,000 men, assembled on Blackheath (June 12, 1381), under their leaders Tyler and Straw, and were addressed by an itinerant priest, John Ball, whom they had released from Maidstone gaol. Ball took for his text a rude couplet—

"Whanne Adam dalfe and Evé span,
Who was thanne a gentil man?"

The rioters broke into the city, and burned the Savoy, the palace of the duke of Lancaster, who was then in Scotland; cut off the heads of the gentlemen who fell into their hands, and pillaged the

mérchants' warehouses. Another body quartered themselves at Mile End; and, as they insisted on laying their grievances before the king, Richard, who was then in the Tower, consented to hear their demands. They required a general pardon, the abolition of bondage, freedom of commerce in market towns without toll or impost, and a fixed rent on lands, instead of the services due by villeinage. These requests were complied with; charters to that purpose were granted them, and they immediately dispersed and returned to their several homes.

During the king's absence another body of the rebels, breaking into the Tower, had murdered Simon Sudbury, the archbishop of Canterbury and chancellor, Sir Robert Hales, the treasurer, and other persons of distinction, and continued their ravages in the city. The next morning, as the king was passing along Smithfield, very slenderly guarded, he was met by Wat Tyler, at the head of his followers, and entered into a conference with him. Tyler, having ordered his companions to retire until he gave the signal for an attack, drew near the royal retinue. He behaved himself with so much insolence that Sir William Walworth, then mayor of London, thinking the king was in danger, drew his sword and struck the rebel a violent blow, which brought him to the ground, where he was instantly despatched by the king's attendants. Seeing their leader fall, the mutineers prepared themselves for revenge; and the whole company, with the king himself, would undoubtedly have perished on the spot, had it not been for an extraordinary presence of mind which Richard discovered on the occasion. Putting spurs to his horse, he rode into the very midst of the enraged multitude; and accosting them with an affable and intrepid countenance, as they bent their bows, "What, my friends," he exclaimed, "would you shoot your king? Are ye angry that ye have lost your leader? Follow me; I am your king: I will be your leader." Overawed by his presence, the populace implicitly obeyed, and were led by him into the fields, to prevent any disorder which might have arisen by their continuing in the city. Being joined there by Sir Robert Knollys, and a body of veteran soldiers, who had been secretly drawn together, Richard strictly prohibited that officer from falling on the rioters and committing an indiscriminate slaughter, and then peaceably dismissed them with the same charters which had been granted to their fellows. Soon after the nobility and gentry, in obedience to the royal summons, flocked to London with their adherents and retainers, and Richard took the field at the head of an army 40,000 strong. The rebels had no alternative but to submit. Many were executed by the judges on circuit, and among them John Ball.

The charters of enfranchisement and pardon were revoked by parliament. But it afterwards passed an act of general pardon, refusing, however, the king's proposal to enfranchise the serfs.*

§ 15. A youth of sixteen (for that was the king's age), who had discovered so much courage and address, raised great expectations. But with advancing years these hopes vanished, and his want of judgment appeared in all his enterprises. In 1385 he undertook a fruitless expedition against the Scots; advanced as far as the Forth and burned Edinburgh, ravaging all the towns and villages in his way. But provisions failing him, or suspicious of the designs of his uncle, the duke of Lancaster, he returned to England.

The subjection in which Richard was held by his uncles, and more particularly by Thomas of Woodstock, duke of Gloucester, was extremely disagreeable to the king, and he attempted to shake off the yoke. Robert de Vere, earl of Oxford, a young man of noble family, of an agreeable figure, but of dissolute manners, had acquired great influence over him. This partiality on the king's part excited the jealousy of the princes of the blood and of the chief nobility; and the usual complaints against the insolence of favourites were loudly echoed and greedily received in every part of the kingdom. Their first attempts were directed against the king's ministers; and Michael de la Pole, the chancellor, a man of low descent, lately created earl of Suffolk, was, at the instigation of the duke of Gloucester, impeached and condemned by the parliament on questionable charges of corruption (1386). Gloucester and his associates next attacked the king himself, and framed a commission, ratified by parliament, by which a council of regency was formed with Gloucester at the head, thus virtually depriving the king of all authority. In the following year, Richard, having obtained from five of the judges, whom he met at Nottingham, a declaration that the commission was derogatory to the royal prerogative, attempted to recover his power; but Gloucester and his adherents took up arms, defeated the forces of the king, and executed or banished his adherents. Robert de Vere, whom the king had created duke of Ireland, fled into the Low Countries, where he died in exile a few years after (1387).

§ 16. In little more than a twelvemonth, however, Richard, now in his twenty-third year, declared in council that, as he had now at-

* The causes and motives of this insurrection, which spread dismay through all ranks of society, have never been precisely ascertained. It is probable that they varied according to place and circumstances. Originating, perhaps, in a desire for emancipation and social equality,

as the passions of the insurgents rose with success, nothing less than the subversion of the laws and of the whole fabric of society would have contented them. It is the only instance in our history of a war of class against class.

tained the full age which entitled him to govern by his own authority, he was resolved to exercise his right of sovereignty (1389). Gloucester and some others were removed from the council; and no opposition was made to these changes. Soon after the duke of Lancaster, who had returned from Spain, having resigned his pretensions to the crown of Castile for a large sum of money, effected a reconciliation between Gloucester and the king.

The wars, meanwhile, which Richard had inherited with his crown, were conducted with little vigour, by reason of the weakness of all parties. The French war was scarcely heard of; the tranquillity of the northern borders was only interrupted by one inroad of the Scots, which proceeded more from a rivalry between the two martial families of Percy and Douglas than from any national quarrel. A fierce battle or skirmish, celebrated in the ballad of "Chevy Chase," was fought at Otterbourne (August 19, 1388), in which young Percy, surnamed *Hotspur*, from his impetuous valour, was taken prisoner, and Douglas was slain. Insurrections among the Irish obliged the king to make an expedition into that country, which he reduced to obedience (1394); and he recovered, in some degree, by this enterprise, his character for courage. At last the English and French courts began to think in earnest of a lasting peace, but found it so difficult to adjust their opposite pretensions, that they were content to establish a truce of twenty-five years. To render the amity between the two crowns more durable, Richard, who had lost his first consort, Anne of Bohemia, was married to Isabella, the daughter of Charles VI., a child of eight years old (1396). Meanwhile the duke of Gloucester, taking advantage of this incident, and appealing to the national antipathy against France, resumed his plots and cabals. The king, seeing that either his own or his uncle's ruin was inevitable, caused Gloucester, then living at Pleshy, to be suddenly arrested. He was hurried on board a ship lying in the river, and conveyed to Calais. The earls of Arundel and Warwick were seized at the same time. Thus suddenly deprived of their leaders, the malcontents were overawed; and the concurrence of the dukes of Lancaster and York in those measures deprived them of all possibility of resistance. A parliament was summoned; charges were preferred against Gloucester and his associates; the commission which usurped the royal authority was annulled, and it was declared treasonable to attempt, in any future period, the revival of any similar body (1397). The commons then preferred an impeachment against Thomas, archbishop of Canterbury, brother to the earl of Arundel, and accused him for his concurrence in procuring the illegal commission, and in attainting the king's ministers. The primate pleaded guilty,

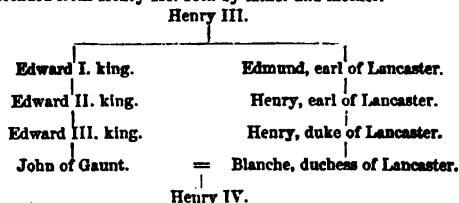
was banished the kingdom, and his temporalities were sequestered. His brother was condemned and executed (September 21). The life of the earl of Warwick was spared for his submissive behaviour, but he was doomed to perpetual banishment in the Isle of Man. A warrant was next issued to bring over the duke of Gloucester from Calais, to take his trial; but the earl marshal returned for answer that the duke had died. In the subsequent reign attestations were produced in parliament that he had been suffocated by his keepers. But these proceedings in Henry's reign may have been nothing more than an unworthy attempt to blacken the memory of Richard. Gloucester left a written acknowledgment of his guilt; and his acts when in power give him little claim to compassion.

§ 17. In 1398 Henry, duke of Hereford, son and heir of the duke of Lancaster, had accused Thomas Mowbray, duke of Norfolk, of slandering the king. On Norfolk's denial, it was agreed that the dispute should be settled by wager of battle. The parties met at Coventry, but the combat was suspended by Richard. To preserve the peace of the realm, he banished Hereford for ten years and Norfolk for life. Next year Lancaster died, and Richard seized his estates. Hereford had acquired, by his conduct and abilities, the esteem of the people; he was connected with the principal nobility by blood, alliance, or friendship; and as the injury done him by the king might in its consequences affect them all, he easily brought them, by a sense of common interest, to take part in his resentment. Embarking from Brittany with a retinue of sixty persons, among whom were the archbishop of Canterbury and the young earl of Arundel, nephew to that prelate, he landed at Ravenspur in Yorkshire (July 4, 1399). He was immediately joined by the earls of Northumberland and Westmoreland, two of the most potent nobles in England. The malcontents in all quarters flew to arms: London discovered the strongest symptoms of its disposition to mutiny: and Henry's army, increasing on every day's march, soon amounted to the number of 60,000 combatants. Richard was at this time absent in Ireland, to avenge the death of the lord lieutenant, Roger Mortimer, earl of March, his cousin. His uncle, the duke of York, whom he had left guardian of the realm, assembled an army of 40,000 men, but found them entirely destitute of zeal and attachment to the royal cause, and soon after openly joined the duke of Lancaster, who was now entirely master of the kingdom. Receiving intelligence of this invasion and insurrection, Richard hastened from Ireland and landed at Milford Haven; but being deserted by his troops, was taken prisoner and carried first to Flint castle and afterwards to London (September 1). The duke of Lancaster now extended his designs

to the crown itself. He first extorted a resignation from Richard (September 29); but as he knew that this deed would plainly appear the result of force and fear, he resolved, notwithstanding the danger of the precedent, to have him solemnly deposed in parliament for tyranny and misconduct. A charge, consisting of 33 articles, was accordingly drawn up against Richard and presented to parliament. He was accused of 'infringing the constitution, alienating the crown estates, levying excessive purveyance, extorting loans, granting protections from lawsuits, &c. The charge was not canvassed, nor examined, nor disputed in either house, and appears to have been received at once with almost universal approbation. Richard was deposed by the suffrages of both houses (September 30); and, the throne being now vacant, the duke of Lancaster stepped forth, and having crossed himself on the forehead and on the breast, and called upon the name of Christ, he pronounced these words:—"In the name of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, I, Henry of Lancaster, challenge this realm of England, and the crown, with all the members and appurtenances; als (as) I that am descended by right line of the blood, coming fro the good lord king Henry III.; and through that right that God of His grace hath sent me, with help of kin and of my friends, to recover it; the which realm was in point to be undone by default of governance and undoing of the good laws."

In order to understand this speech, it must be observed that a story was circulated among the Lancastrians, that Edmund Crouchback, earl of Lancaster, son of Henry III., was really the elder brother of Edward I.; but that, by reason of the deformity of his person, he had been postponed in the succession, and his younger brother imposed on the nation in his stead. As the present duke of Lancaster inherited from Edmund by his mother, this genealogy made him the true heir of the monarchy.* It is therefore insinuated in Henry's speech, but was too gross an absurdity to be

* He was descended from Henry III. both by father and mother.



The rightful heir to the crown, on the deposition of Richard, was Edmund Mortimer, earl of March, then a child of seven years old, son of Roger Mortimer, who had lately been killed in Ireland, and great-grandson of Lionel, duke of Clarence. See Genealogical Table H.

openly avowed either by him or by the parliament. The case is the same with regard to his right of conquest: he was a subject who rebelled against his sovereign; he entered the kingdom with a retinue of no more than sixty persons; he could not therefore be the conqueror of England; and this right is accordingly insinuated, not avowed. But no objection was taken to his claims, and by the voice of lords and commons he was placed on the throne (September 30).^{*} Six days after, Henry called together, without any new election, the same members; and this assembly he denominated a new parliament. They were employed in the usual task of reversing every deed of the opposite party. On the motion of the earl of Northumberland, the House of Peers resolved unanimously that Richard should be imprisoned under a secure guard in some secret place, and should be deprived of all commerce with his friends or partisans. It was easy to foresee that he would not long remain alive in the hands of his enemies. The manner of his death is unknown, for the common account that he was murdered at Pontefract by sir Piers Exton rests on no sufficient evidence. A corpse said to be his, but so muffled as not to be recognized, was exhibited at St. Paul's in March, 1400, and buried at King's Langley, but removed by Henry V. to Westminster. Richard left no posterity. His government was arbitrary, especially during the latter years of his reign. He had, however, succeeded to a kingdom greatly disorganized by the wars of his grandfather. As a child he had to rule over nobles demoralized by long periods of military licence, and he lost the support of the clergy from his indifference to Lollardy. The charges against him must be received with caution, for a parliament surrounded by a victorious army can never be regarded as a just or independent tribunal, or its judgments of any value in determining the verdict of history.

§ 18. In this and the previous reign JOHN WICKLIFFE, a secular priest educated at Oxford, began his attack on the papal claims and the friars who supported them. He made many disciples among men of all ranks and stations. Denying the supremacy of the popes, he held that kings were their superiors, and that it was lawful to appeal from a spiritual to a secular tribunal. His cardinal principle, that dominion is founded in grace, was taken up by his followers, the Lollards, and carried by them to practical conclusions which Wickliffe himself perhaps never anticipated. His greatest service to the Reformation was his translation of the Bible. He was patronized by John of Gaunt, who made no scruple, as well as lord Percy, the marshal, to appear openly in court with him, when

^{*} This scene was acted in the new hall of the palace of Westminster, the present "Westminster Hall," which Richard had just rebuilt.

he was cited before the tribunal of the bishop of London (1377). Wickliffe died of a palsy, December 31, 1384, at his rectory at Lutterworth, in the county of Leicester. GEOFFREY CHAUCER, who flourished at this period, may be regarded as the father of English poetry.

NOTES AND ILLUSTRATIONS.

A. DEATH OF RICHARD II.

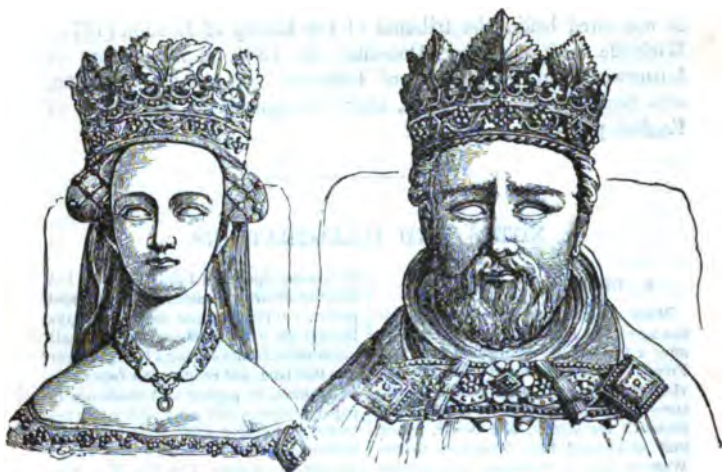
Many contemporary English authorities agree that Richard died of starvation, after a few months' imprisonment. The French chroniclers assert that he was violently murdered. On the other hand, three or four Scotch writers, of whom the principal are Winton and Bower, assert that he escaped from Pontefract to the Western Isles of Scotland; that he was there recognized and carried to the court of Robert III.; and that he lived under that monarch and the regent Albany till 1419, when he died at Stirling.

The truth of the Scotch account has been maintained at great length by Mr. Tytler (*Hist. of Scotland*, vol. iii. App.), who has been followed by Mr. Williams (Preface to the *Chronique de la Traison et Mort de Richard II.*, published by the English Historical Society, 1846) and a few others. That a person pretending to be Richard was maintained in Scotland is sufficiently clear; but an examination of the evidence has failed to convince us that he was the deposed English monarch.

B. STATUTE OF PRÆMUNIRE.

This statute, passed 16 Ric. II. c. 5 (A.D. 1393), was enacted to check the exorbitant power claimed and exercised by the pope in England. It was so called from the words of the writ used for the citation of a party who had broken the statute: *Præmunire facias A. B.*, "Cause A. B. to be forewarned" that he appear before us to answer the contempt with which he stands charged. Hence the word *præmunire* denominated,

in common speech, not only the writ, but also the offence of maintaining the papal power. "The original meaning," says Blackstone, "of the offence which we call *præmunire*, is introducing a foreign power into this land, and creating an *imperium in imperio*, by paying that obedience to papal process which *constitutionally* belonged to the king alone, long before the Reformation in the reign of Henry VIII." Though the statute of 16 Ric. II. c. 5, is usually called the Statute of *Præmunire*, several others of a similar kind had been enacted in preceding reigns. The 23 Edw. III. was the first statute made against papal provisions, the name applied to a previous nomination to certain benefices, of which the pope claimed the patronage, by a kind of anticipation, before they became actually void, though afterwards indiscriminately applied to any kind of patronage exerted or usurped by the pope. In the reign of Edward III. more stringent laws were enacted against papal provisions. By 16 Ric. II., c. 5, "whoever procures at Rome, or elsewhere, any translations, processes, excommunications, bulls, instruments, or other things, which touch the king, against him, his crown, and realm, and all persons aiding and assisting therein, shall be put out of the king's protection, their lands and goods forfeited to the king's use, and they shall be attached by their bodies to answer to the king and his council: or process of *præmunire facias* shall be made out against them, as in any other cases of provisors." In the reign of Henry VIII. the penalties of *præmunire* were extended still further against the authority of the pope.



Henry IV. and his queen, Joan of Navarre. From their monument at Canterbury.

CHAPTER XI.

THE HOUSE OF LANCASTER.

HENRY IV., HENRY V., HENRY VI. A.D. 1399–1461.

- § 1. Accession of HENRY IV. Insurrections. Persecution of the Lollards. § 2. Rebellions of the earl of Northumberland. Battle of Shrewsbury. § 3. Foreign transactions. Captivity of prince James of Scotland. Death and character of the king. § 4. Accession of HENRY V. His reformation. § 5. Proceedings against the Lollards. Sir John Oldcastle. § 6. Invasion of France. Battle of Agincourt. § 7. New invasion of France. Conquest of Normandy. Treaty of Troyes and marriage of Henry with Katharine of France. § 8. Further conquests of Henry V. His death and character. § 9. HENRY VI. Settlement of the government. French affairs. § 10. Siege of Orleans. Joan of Arc. § 11. Charles VII. crowned at Rheims. Henry VI. crowned at Paris. § 12. Capture, trial, and execution of the Maid of Orleans. § 13. Treaty of Arras. Death of Bedford. § 14. Marriage of Henry VI. Death of the duke of Gloucester. The English expelled from France. § 15. Claim of the duke of York to the crown. His powerful connections. § 16. Unpopularity of the government. Suffolk accused and executed. § 17. Insurrection of Jack Cade. Disaffection of the commons. Rising of the duke of York. § 18. The duke of York protector. First battle of St. Albans. § 19. Civil war. Decision of the House of Peers. Battle of Wakefield and death of the duke of York. § 20. Second battle of St. Albans. EDWARD IV. saluted king by the citizens of London.

§ 1. HENRY IV., b. 1366; r. 1399–1413.—This monarch was born at Bolingbroke in Lincolnshire, in 1366, and was of the same age

as his deposed cousin. He was declared king, as we have already seen, September 30, 1399. The rightful heir to the crown, Edmund Mortimer, earl of March, was a child of only seven years old, and was detained by Henry in honourable custody at Windsor castle.

Henry was hardly seated upon the throne before several nobles favourable to Richard's cause formed a conspiracy for seizing the king's person. The plot was betrayed to the king by the earl of Rutland, the elder son of the duke of York (January 4, 1400), and the conspirators perished either in the field or on the scaffold. This unsuccessful attempt hastened the death of Richard, who was shortly afterwards murdered, as narrated in the preceding chapter.

Henry, finding himself possessed of the throne by so precarious a title, resolved, by every expedient, to pay court to the clergy. Till now there were no penal laws against heresy; but he engaged the parliament to pass a law that, when any heretic who relapsed, or refused to abjure his opinions, was delivered over to the secular arm by the bishop or his commissaries, he should be committed to the flames by the civil magistrates. This weapon did not long remain unemployed; and William Sautré, a secular priest in London, was burned for his erroneous opinions (1401).

The revolution in England proved likewise the occasion of an insurrection in Wales. Owen Glendower (properly *Glyndwr*), who was descended from the ancient princes of that country,* and part of whose estates had been seized by lord Grey of Ruthyn, recovered possession by the sword. He ravaged the English marches, captured Radnor, and beheaded the garrison. In an engagement with the English forces he took prisoner sir Edmund Mortimer, uncle of the earl of March, the true heir to the crown. The English were defeated with great loss, and their bodies brutally mutilated by the Welsh women. As Henry dreaded and hated all the family of March, he allowed Mortimer to remain in captivity; and though that nobleman was nearly allied to the Percys, to whose assistance he himself had owed his crown, he refused permission to the earl of Northumberland to treat with Glendower for his ransom. To this disgust another was soon added. The Percys, in repulsing an inroad of the Scots, in 1402, at Homildon Hill, captured earl Douglas and several others of the Scotch nobility. Henry sent Northumberland orders not to ransom his prisoners,

* He was on his father's side descended from Griffith ap Madoc, the last Welsh owner of the castle of Dinas Bran, and by his mother was the sixth in descent from Ilewelyn. He had a large estate in Merionethshire, and married Margaret

the daughter of sir David Hanmer, a judge of the King's Bench in the time of Richard II. He was in attendance on Richard when captured at Flint, and being thus compromised, the neighbouring marchers attempted to seize his lands.

which that nobleman regarded as his right by the laws of war. The king intended to detain them, that he might be able, by their means, to make an advantageous peace with Scotland. The Percys were farther discontented by the withholding from them of large sums due to them as warders of the marches.

§ 2. The factious disposition of the earl of Worcester, younger brother of Northumberland, and the impatient spirit of his son Harry Percy, surnamed *Hotspur*, inflamed the discontents of that nobleman. Tempted by revenge, and the precarious title of Henry, to overturn that throne he had so greatly contributed to establish, he entered into a correspondence with Glendower. He gave Douglas his liberty, and made an alliance with him; roused up all his partisans to arms; and such was the authority at that time of the feudal lords, that the same men, whom a few years before he had conducted against Richard, now followed his standard in opposition to Henry. When war was ready to break out, Northumberland was seized with a sudden illness at Berwick; and young Percy, taking the command of the troops, about 12,000 in number, marched towards Shrewsbury, in order to join his forces with those of Glendower. The king, however, who had an army of about the same force on foot, attacked him before the junction could be effected (July 23, 1403). No battle was ever more hotly contested. Henry exposed his person in the thickest of the fight; his gallant son, afterwards so renowned for his military achievements, here performed his noviciate in arms, and even when he had received a wound in the face, he could not be induced to quit the field. Percy fell by an unknown hand, and the royalists prevailed. The loss was great on both sides. The earls of Worcester and Douglas were taken prisoners. The former was beheaded at Shrewsbury (July 25); the latter was treated with the courtesy due to his rank and merit. The earl of Northumberland was condemned to imprisonment, but a few months after obtained a full pardon, and his attainder was reversed.

Two years afterwards Northumberland again rose in rebellion, was joined by Thomas Mowbray, earl of Nottingham, and Richard Scrope, archbishop of York. The archbishop and Nottingham were entrapped into a conference by Ralph Neville, earl of Westmoreland, were seized, condemned, and executed. This was the first instance in English history in which an archbishop perished by the hands of the executioner (1405). Northumberland escaped into Scotland; but in 1403, having entered the northern counties in hopes of raising the people, he was defeated and slain at Bramham Moor by sir Thomas Rokeby, sheriff of Yorkshire. The only domestic enemy now remaining was Glendower, over whom

the prince of Wales obtained some advantages; but the Welsh leader continued the struggle for some years after Henry's death.

§ 3. The remaining transactions of this reign are not of much interest. In 1405 fortune gave Henry an advantage over that neighbour who, by his situation, was most able to disturb his government. Robert III., king of Scots, was a prince of slender capacity; and Scotland, at that time, was little fitted for enduring sovereigns of that character. The duke of Albany, his brother, governor of Scotland, on whom Robert relied with unsuspecting confidence, secretly aspired to the throne. As David, duke of Rothesay, was a dissolute prince, Albany had him thrown into prison at Falkland, in Fife, where he perished by hunger. James alone, the younger brother of David, now stood between the duke's ambition and the throne; and Robert, sensible of his son's danger, embarked him on board ship, with a view of sending him to France, and intrusting him to the protection of that friendly power. Unfortunately, the vessel was taken by the English; James, a boy about nine years of age, was carried to London; and though there was at that time a truce between the two kingdoms, Henry refused to restore the young prince to his liberty. Worn out by this last misfortune, Robert soon after died, leaving the government in the hands of Albany (1406). But though Henry, by detaining James in the English court, had shown himself deficient in generosity, he made amends by giving that prince an excellent education, which afterwards qualified him, when he mounted the throne, to reform, in some measure, the barbarous manners of his native country.

Throughout this reign an unfriendly feeling prevailed between England and France; but the civil disturbances in both nations prevented it from breaking out into serious hostilities. The cause of the murdered Richard was warmly espoused by the French court, but their zeal evaporated in menaces. Soon after his accession, Henry, at the demand of Charles, had restored Isabella, the widow of the late king, but had retained her dowry on the pretence of setting it off against the unpaid ransom of the French king John.

The king's health declined some months before his death. He was subject to fits, which bereaved him, for the time, of his senses; and, though he was yet in the flower of his age, his end was visibly approaching. He expired at Westminster (March 20, 1413), in the 46th year of his age, and the 13th of his reign. The great popularity which Henry enjoyed before he attained the crown, and by which he had been so much aided in the acquisition of it, was entirely lost before the end of his reign; and he governed his people more by terror than by affection, more by his own policy than by their sense of duty or allegiance. His prudence and vigilance

in maintaining his power were admirable; his courage, both military and political, without blemish; and he possessed many qualities which fitted him for his high station, and rendered his usurpation rather salutary than otherwise to his people. The augmentation of the power of the commons during this reign was chiefly shown by the punishment which they awarded to sheriffs for making false returns, by the increased freedom of debate, and by the control which they exercised over the supplies.

Henry was twice married: by his first wife, Mary de Bohun, daughter and co-heir of the earl of Hereford, he had four sons, Henry, his successor in the throne, Thomas duke of Clarence, John duke of Bedford, and Humphrey duke of Gloucester; two daughters, Blanche and Philippa, the former married to the duke of Bavaria, the latter to the king of Denmark. His second wife, Joan, whom he married after he was king, and who was daughter of the king of Navarre, and widow of the duke of Brittany, brought him no issue.

HENRY V.

§ 4. HENRY V., *b.* 1388; *r.* 1413–1422, was born at Monmouth, August 9. His father, naturally exposed to many jealousies, had entertained suspicions with regard to the fidelity of his eldest son; and, during the latter years of his life, he had excluded the prince from all share of public business. He was even displeased to see him at the head of armies, where his martial talents, though useful to the support of government, acquired him a renown which his father thought might prove dangerous to his own authority. Shut out from more serious occupations, the active spirit of young Henry found employment, during his father's life, in pleasure and amusement away from the court. Though the stories told of his riots and excesses are doubtless exaggerated, he inherited his father's love of popularity and courted the good opinions of those beneath him. On one occasion it is said that a riotous companion of the prince's had been indicted before Gascoigne, the chief justice, for felony, and Henry was not ashamed to appear at the bar with the criminal, and afford him countenance and protection. He demanded the liberation of the prisoner, and would have proceeded to violence. But Gascoigne, mindful of the character which he then bore, and the majesty of the laws which he sustained, ordered the prince to be carried to prison. The spectators were agreeably disappointed when they saw the heir of the crown submit peaceably to the sentence, make reparation for his error, and check his impetuous nature in the midst of its extravagant career. The memory of this incident, and of others of a like nature, rendered the prospect of

the future reign nowise disagreeable to the nation, and increased the joy which the death of so unpopular a prince as the late king naturally occasioned. At his accession he dismissed his former companions, and retained in office the wise ministers of his father, with the exception of the archbishop, Thomas Arundel, and the chief justice.*

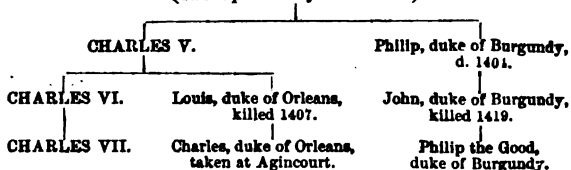
§ 5. One party only in the nation seemed likely to trouble him. The Lollards were every day increasing, and the attitude now assumed by them appeared dangerous to the church, and formidable to the civil authority. The head of this sect was sir John Oldcastle (lord Cobham by marriage), a nobleman who had distinguished himself on many occasions, and acquired the esteem both of the late and of the present king. Presuming on his supposed influence with the king, the Lollards fixed seditious papers on the doors of the London churches, intimating that 100,000 men were ready to rise and espouse their principles. Roused by the danger, the clergy assembled in convocation, and called upon the archbishop to take proceedings against Oldcastle for heresy. After Henry had vainly endeavoured to induce Oldcastle to submit, he was brought before the primate, was condemned for heresy, and delivered to the secular arm (1413). Before the day appointed for his execution, he contrived to escape from the Tower, and assembled his followers in St. Giles's Fields, with the design of seizing the king. They were defeated by Henry's vigilance; many of the Lollards were seized, and some executed (1414). Cobham, who saved himself by flight, was not brought to justice till four years after, when, in execution of the double sentence pronounced against him, he was hanged in chains as a traitor and burnt as a heretic (1418).

§ 6. The disorders into which France was plunged through the lunacy of its monarch, Charles VI., and the consequent struggle for the regency between his brother the duke of Orleans, and his cousin the duke of Burgundy,† had resulted in open warfare. Impelled by the vigour of youth and the ardour of ambition, Henry

* Sir William Hankford was appointed in his place on March 29, 1413, only nine days after Henry's accession.

† The following genealogical table shows the relationship of these princes:—

JOHN II. king of France.
(Taken prisoner by Edward III.)



determined to carry war into that distracted kingdom (April, 1415), but was detained for a while by a conspiracy to place the earl of March upon the throne. The chief conspirators, Richard earl of Cambridge, younger son of the late duke of York,* Henry lord Scrope, and sir Thomas Grey, were arrested, summarily condemned, and executed in August. The earl of March, who had revealed the plot, was taken into favour. Trusting to the assistance of the duke of Burgundy, who had been secretly soliciting the alliance of England, Henry put to sea, and landed near Harfleur, at the head of an army of 6000 men at arms and 24,000 foot, mostly archers. Harfleur was obliged to capitulate after a siege of five weeks (September 22); but his troops were so wasted by fatigue and dysentery that Henry was advised to return to England. He dismissed his transports, and determined on marching by land to Calais, although a French army of 14,000 men at arms and 40,000 foot was by this time assembled in Normandy. Not to discourage his troops, now reduced to 6000, by the appearance of flight, or expose them to the hazards which naturally attend precipitate marches, he made slow and deliberate journeys till he reached the Somme, and, after encountering many difficulties and hardships, was dexterous or fortunate enough to surprise a passage near St. Quentin, which had not been sufficiently guarded, and thus transport his army in safety. He then bent his march northwards to Calais, exposed to great and imminent danger from the enemy, who had also passed the Somme, and threw themselves in his way, intending to intercept his retreat. Passing the small river of Ternois, at Blangi, he was surprised to observe from the heights the whole French army drawn up in the plains of Agincourt, and so posted that it was impossible for him to decline an engagement. The enemy was four times more numerous than the English; was headed by the dauphin and all the princes of the blood; and was plentifully supplied with provisions. Henry's situation was exactly similar to that of Edward at Crécy, and that of the Black Prince at Poitiers, and he observed the same manœuvres. Seeing the French army cooped up between two woods, where their narrow front and crowded masses neutralized the advantage of numbers, Henry patiently expected the attack of the enemy (October 25, 1415). The French archers on horseback and their men at arms, crowded in their ranks, advanced upon the English archers, who had fixed palisadoes in their front to break the charge of the enemy, and safely plied them from behind that defence with a shower of arrows which nothing could resist. The clay soil, moistened by rain which had lately fallen, proved

* Edmund Langley, son of Edward III., died in 1402

another obstacle to the force of the French cavalry: the wounded men and horses discomposed their ranks: the narrow compass in which they were pent up hindered them from recovering any order: the whole army was a scene of confusion, terror, and dismay. Perceiving his advantage, Henry led an impetuous charge of his men at arms, and ordered the archers to advance and gall the enemy's flanks. These falling on the foe, who, in their present posture, were incapable either of flight or of defence, hewed them in pieces without resistance, and covered the field with the killed, wounded, dismounted, and overthrown. No battle was ever more fatal to France for the number of princes and nobility slain or taken prisoners. Among the latter were the dukes of Orleans and Bourbon. The killed are computed, on the whole, to have amounted to 10,000 men; and Henry was master of 14,000 prisoners. The loss of the English was very small, being only about 1600, including, however, the duke of York and the earl of Suffolk. Henry, not being in a condition to pursue his victory, carried his prisoners to Calais, and thence to England, and concluded a truce with the enemy.

§ 7. During this brief interruption of hostilities, France was exposed to all the furies of civil war; and the several parties became every day more exasperated against each other. In consequence of the capture of the duke of Orleans at Agincourt, the count of Armagnac, his father-in-law, became the head of his party (hence called the Armagnacs), and was created constable of France. The duke of Burgundy, who had aspired to this dignity, formed an alliance with the English, promising to do homage to Henry. His power was strengthened by the accession of Isabella, the queen, who had formerly been his enemy, but had now quarrelled with the Armagnacs. The dauphin sided with the latter; and open war broke out between the two factions. Whilst the country was ill prepared to resist a foreign enemy, Henry landed again at Touques on the Seine, with 25,000 men (August 1, 1417), and met with no considerable opposition from any quarter. He made himself master of Caen; Bayeux and Falaise submitted to him; and having subdued all lower Normandy, and received a reinforcement of 15,000 men from England, he formed the siege of Rouen, which he took after an obstinate defence (January 19, 1419). Henry still continued to negotiate, and had almost arranged advantageous terms, when John, duke of Burgundy, secretly made a treaty with the dauphin. The two princes agreed to share the royal authority during king Charles's lifetime, and to unite their arms in order to expel foreign enemies. This alliance seemed at first to cut off from Henry all hopes of further success, but

the treacherous assassination of the duke of Burgundy soon afterwards (1419) by the partisans of the dauphin opened the way to a new and favourable arrangement. Philip, count of Charolois, now duke of Burgundy, thought himself bound by every tie of honour and of duty to revenge the murder of his father, and to prosecute the assassins to the utmost extremity. In December a league was concluded at Arras between him and Henry, by which the duke of Burgundy, without stipulating anything for himself except the prosecution of his father's murderers and the marriage of Henry's brother, the duke of Bedford, with his sister, was willing to sacrifice the kingdom to Henry's ambition. He agreed to every demand made by that monarch. To finish this astonishing treaty, which was to transfer the crown of France to a stranger, Henry went to Troyes, accompanied by his brothers, the dukes of Clarence and Gloucester; and was there met by the duke of Burgundy (1420). The imbecility into which Charles had fallen made him incapable of seeing anything but through the eyes of those who attended him; as they on their part saw everything through the medium of their passions. A treaty, already concerted among the parties, was immediately drawn, signed, and ratified (May 21). By the principal articles Henry was to espouse the princess Katharine, daughter of the king; Charles, during his lifetime, was to enjoy the title and dignity of king of France; and Henry was to be regent, and to succeed to the throne on the death of Charles, to the exclusion of the dauphin. In a few days after, Henry espoused the princess Katharine, but next day led his army again into the field. Sens, Montereau, and Melun yielded to his arms. In December he made his triumphal entry into Paris. He there assembled the estates of France, and procured from them a ratification of the treaty of Troyes. But soon after, the necessity of providing supplies, both of men and money, obliged him to return to England (1421). He appointed his uncle, Thomas Beaufort, duke of Exeter,* as regent during his absence (June 10).

§ 8. After the coronation of Katharine, Henry, raising fresh forces, returned to Paris in May, with 24,000 archers and 4000 horsemen, and was received with great joy. During his absence a body of 7000 Scots, fearing to see France fall into the power of their ancient enemy, had proceeded to the assistance of the dauphin, and had defeated and killed the duke of Clarence at Cœugé. But the presence of Henry soon restored all. The dauphin was chased beyond the Loire, and almost totally abandoned the northern provinces; he was even pursued into the south by the united arms of the English and Burgundians, and threatened with total destruc-

* For the Beaufort family, see the Genealogical Tables.

tion. To crown Henry's good fortune, his queen was delivered of a son, who was called by his father's name, and whose birth was celebrated by rejoicings no less pompous at Paris than at London. But his glory was suddenly extinguished with his life. He was attacked by pleurisy, and, finding himself unable to rejoin his army, was carried to Vincennes, near Paris, where he expired, exclaiming in the midst of his suffering, "My portion is with the Lord Jesus." He died August 31, 1422, in the 35th year of his age and the 10th of his reign. He left the regency of France to his next surviving brother, John, duke of Bedford; that of England to Humphrey, duke of Gloucester; and the care of his son's person to the earl of Warwick. He was buried in the Confessor's chapel, at Westminster.

This prince possessed many eminent virtues; and if we give indulgence to ambition in a monarch, or rank it, as the vulgar are inclined to do, among his virtues, they were unstained by any considerable blemish. His abilities appeared equally in the cabinet and in the field. The boldness of his enterprises was no less remarkable than his personal valour in conducting them. He had the talent of attaching his friends by affability, and of gaining his enemies by address and clemency. He was an accomplished musician, and fond of the learning in which he had been trained at Queen's College, Oxford, under his uncle, bishop Beaufort. His stature was somewhat above the middle size, his countenance beautiful, his limbs slender, but full of vigour.

Katharine of France, Henry's widow, married soon after his death a Welsh gentleman, Owen Tudor, said to be descended from the ancient princes of that country. She bore him two sons, Edmund and Jasper, of whom the eldest was created earl of Richmond, and was father of Henry VII.; and the second was earl of Pembroke.

HENRY VI.

§ 9. HENRY VI., *b.* 1421; *r.* 1422-1461, was born at Windsor, December 6, and was scarcely nine months old when he succeeded his father. The duke of Gloucester claimed the regency under the will of the late king, but his claim was resisted by the Great Council; and when parliament assembled, the lords, setting aside the late king's will, appointed Gloucester protector, with limited authority, and entrusted the substantial powers of government to a committee of lords and commons. The regency of France fell to the duke of Bedford, with the consent of the duke of Burgundy. The person and education of the infant prince was committed to Henry Beaufort, bishop of Winchester, his great-uncle, the legitimated son of John of Gaunt, duke of Lancaster.

The interest of the early part of this reign centres in the affairs of France. Charles VI. expired about two months after the death of his son-in-law Henry. His son, Charles VII., a young prince of a popular character, and rightful heir to the throne, asserted his claim against his infant competitor, but, in the face of such overwhelming power as the English then possessed, such pretensions appeared ridiculous. Bedford, a skilful politician, as well as a good general, strengthened himself by forming an alliance with the duke of Brittany, who had received some disgusts from the French court. To avert the hostility of the Scots, many of whom were serving under Charles VII., Bedford persuaded the English council to form an alliance with James, their prisoner, to release him from his long captivity, and connect him with England by marrying him to a daughter of John Beaufort, earl of Somerset, cousin of the young king. The treaty was concluded; a ransom of 40,000*l.* was stipulated; and the king of Scots was restored to the throne of his ancestors (1424).

§ 10. The great victory gained by the duke of Bedford over the French and Scots at Verneuil opened Maine to the English (August 16, 1427). The affairs of Charles grew more desperate than ever; and in 1428 Bedford determined to penetrate into the south of France, which remained in obedience to Charles VII. With this view he invested Orleans, which commanded the passage of the Loire, the key of the southern provinces. The command of the besieging forces was intrusted to the earl of Salisbury, one of the most distinguished generals of the age. Upon his death by a cannon-ball, the siege was continued by William de la Pole, earl of Suffolk, and had lasted several months, when relief appeared from an unexpected quarter.

In the village of Domremi, near Vaucouleurs, on the borders of Lorraine, there lived a peasant girl, seventeen years of age, called Jeanne or Jeannette d'Arc (in English, Joan of Arc), the daughter of a poor cottager. Unable to read or write, she had seen visions in her youth, and heard angelic voices. Persuaded that she had a mission from Heaven to expel the invaders of her country, she went to Vaucouleurs, procured admission to Baudricourt, the governor, and informed him that she had an order from her Lord to deliver Orleans. Baudricourt paid little regard to her entreaties; but on her frequent returns and repeated importunities, he consented to send her to the French court, which at that time resided at Chinon. Dressed as a soldier, she started on her journey of 250 miles through a country infested by the English. Admitted into the king's presence, it is pretended that she distinguished him at once from all his courtiers, though they were dressed more magnificently than him-

self. She told him she had been sent by God to assist him, and conduct him to Rheims, to be there crowned and anointed. On his expressing doubts of her mission, she revealed to him a secret known only to himself; and she demanded, as the instrument of her future victories, a particular sword, which was kept in the church of St. Katharine of Fierbois, which she minutely described, though she had never seen it. Her requests were at last complied with; she was armed cap-a-pie, mounted on horseback, and shown in martial habiliments to the people. Her dexterity in managing her steed was regarded as a fresh proof of her mission; and she was received with the loudest acclamations by the spectators. Her first exploit was to conduct a convoy of provisions into Orleans; and the English, daunted by a kind of supernatural terror, did not venture to resist (April 29, 1429). The maid entered Orleans mounted on a white charger, arrayed in her military garb, and, displaying her consecrated banner, was received as a deliverer from Heaven.

She now called upon the garrison to remain no longer on the defensive, but attack the redoubts of the enemy surrounding the city. These enterprises succeeded. In one attack Joan was wounded in the neck with an arrow; she retreated a moment behind the assailants, pulled out the arrow with her own hands, had the wound quickly dressed, and hastened back to head the troops, and to plant her victorious banner on the ramparts of the enemy. By these successes the English were discouraged, and evacuated the forts on the north. As it seemed dangerous to Suffolk, with such intimidated troops, to remain any longer in the presence of so courageous and victorious an enemy, he raised the siege, and retreated with all the precaution imaginable (May 8).

§ 11. The raising of the siege of Orleans was one part of the maid's promise to Charles; the crowning of him at Rheims was the other; and she now vehemently insisted that he should forthwith set out on that enterprise. A few weeks before, such a proposal would have appeared the most extravagant in the world. But Charles, at the head of only 12,000 men, marched to that town without opposition. The ceremony of his coronation was performed with the holy oil, which all France believed a dove had brought to king Clovis from heaven on the first establishment of the French monarchy (July 17). The Maid of Orleans, as she was now called, stood by his side in complete armour, and displayed her sacred banner, which had so often confounded his fiercest enemies. The people shouted with unfeigned joy at viewing such a complication of wonders. Charles, thus crowned and anointed, became more formidable in the eyes of all his subjects. Many

towns and fortresses in that neighbourhood, immediately after the ceremony, submitted to him on the first summons; and the whole nation was disposed to yield him the most zealous proofs of their duty and affection.

Nothing can impress us with a higher idea of the wisdom, address, and resolution of the duke of Bedford, than his ability to maintain himself in so perilous a situation, and to preserve some footing in France, after the defection of so many places, and amidst the universal inclination of the rest to imitate so contagious an example. The small supplies, both of men and money, which he received from England, set the talents of this great man in a still stronger light. It happened fortunately, in this emergency, that the bishop of Winchester, now created a cardinal, landed at Calais with a body of 5000 men, which he was conducting into Bohemia on a crusade against the Hussites. He was persuaded to lend these troops to his nephew during the present difficulties; and the regent was thereby enabled to take the field, and oppose the French king, who was advancing with his army to the gates of Paris, when an accident put into the duke's hands the person that had been the author of all his calamities.

§ 12. In making a sally from Compiègne, the Maid of Orleans was taken prisoner by the Burgundians (May 26, 1430). A complete victory could not have given more joy to the English and their partisans. *Te Deum* was publicly celebrated at Paris on this auspicious event. The duke of Bedford fancied that he should again recover his former ascendancy in France, and purchased the captive from John of Luxemburg. She was tried and condemned by an ecclesiastical court for sorcery and magic; her revelations were declared to be inventions of the devil; and she was sentenced to be delivered over to the secular arm. Joan, who had borne her trial with amazing firmness, was at last subdued. She declared herself willing to recant; she acknowledged that her pretensions to a divine influence were illusive, and promised never to assert them more. Her sentence was then mitigated: she was condemned to perpetual imprisonment, and to be fed on bread and water. But the barbarous vengeance of Joan's enemies was not satisfied with this victory. They purposely placed in her apartment a suit of her own armour. On the sight of a dress in which she had acquired so much renown, and which, she once believed, she wore by the particular appointment of Heaven, her former enthusiasm revived. She ventured in her solitude to clothe herself again in the forbidden garments. Her insidious enemies caught her in that situation: her fault was interpreted to be no less than a relapse into heresy: no recantation would now suffice, and no

pardon could be granted her.* She was condemned to be burned in the market-place of Rouen; and the infamous sentence was accordingly executed (May 30, 1431).

§ 13. From this period the authority of the English in France, the result of which we shall here anticipate, fell insensibly to decay. The regent endeavoured to revive the declining state of his affairs by bringing over the young king of England and having him crowned and anointed at Paris (December 17, 1431). In 1432 the duchess of Bedford, who was sister to the duke of Burgundy, died; and by the regent's subsequent hasty marriage with Jacqueline of Luxemburg, the last link was severed which had hitherto preserved some appearance of friendship between these princes; an open breach took place, and the duke of Burgundy determined to reconcile himself with the court of France. In 1435 a treaty was concluded at Arras between the duke of Burgundy and Charles VII., and whilst it was in progress the duke of Bedford died at Rouen (September 14th, 1435). The English continued to hold a gradually declining footing in France for some years after that event; but the period offers few interesting or memorable occurrences. Shortly after the regent's death, and before his successor, the duke of York, could arrive, the forces of the French king were admitted into Paris by the citizens. Lord Willoughby, who had retired with the small English garrison into the Bastile, was forced to capitulate on the condition of an honourable retreat (April, 1436). Yet the struggle was still feebly protracted on both sides. In 1444 a truce of twenty-two months was concluded, chiefly through the influence of the bishop of Winchester, now cardinal Beaufort; for the duke of Gloucester still retained the idea of subduing France. It was afterwards prolonged to April, 1450.

§ 14. We now turn to the affairs of England. The death of Bedford was an irreparable loss to the English nation. During his ascendancy some show of agreement had been preserved between the duke of Gloucester and cardinal Beaufort, but after his death they became open enemies. The truce with France had been concluded through the influence of cardinal Beaufort, in opposition to the duke of Gloucester; and each party was now ambitious of choosing a queen for Henry, as it was probable that this circumstance would decide the victory between them. Henry was now in the twenty-third year of his age. Of harmless, inoffensive, simple manners, but of slender capacity, he was fitted, both by the softness of his temper and the weakness of his understanding, to be perpetually governed by those who surrounded him; and it was easy to foresee

* According to other authorities, her dress was taken from her as she slept, and replaced by male attire, leaving her no alternative in the matter.

that his reign would prove a perpetual minority. The duke of Gloucester proposed to marry Henry to a daughter of the count of Armagnac, but had not credit enough to effect his purpose. The cardinal and his friends preferred Margaret of Anjou, daughter of René, count of Provence, and nominally duke of Maine and Anjou, as well as titular king of Sicily, Naples, and Jerusalem. The princess herself was the most accomplished of her age, both in body and mind. She seemed to possess those qualities which would equally enable her to acquire ascendancy over Henry, and supply all his defects and weaknesses. William de la Pole, earl of Suffolk, who had previously negotiated the treaty with France, now made proposals of marriage to Margaret, which were accepted (1444); and in order to ingratiate himself with her and her family, he engaged, by a secret article, that the province of Maine, which was at that time in the hands of the English, should be ceded to Charles of Anjou, her uncle. The marriage took place in April, 1445; Suffolk obtained first the title of marquis, then that of duke, and received the thanks of parliament for his services. The princess fell immediately into close connections with the dukes of Somerset, Suffolk, and Buckingham,* who, fortified by her powerful patronage, resolved on the final ruin of the duke of Gloucester. The king's aversion for his uncle favoured their design, in addition to an intractable temper which alienated Gloucester's friends. In 1423 he had married the heiress of the count of Hainault, whose husband was still alive; grew tired of her, and then took up with a mistress, Eleanor Cobham, whom he afterwards married. She was accused of witchcraft; and it was alleged that there was found in her possession a waxen figure of the king, which she and her associates, Roger Bolingbroke, a priest, and one Margery Jourdain of Eye, melted with unhallowed ceremonies before a slow fire, with an intention of making Henry's force and vigour waste away by like insensible degrees. The charge led to further investigations of her past life. She was charged with using philters to secure the affections of the duke and draw him into a discreditable marriage with herself. She was condemned to walk through the streets of London, on three different days, with a taper in her hand, and was then consigned to perpetual imprisonment (1441). To effect their purpose against the duke, Suffolk and his party caused a parliament to be summoned at Bury St. Edmund's, where they expected that he would lie entirely at their mercy (1447). As soon as Gloucester appeared he was arrested, and a few days after he was found dead in his lodgings; and though his body, which was exposed to public view, bore no marks of outward violence, many believed that he had fallen a victim to the vengeance of

* See the Genealogical Tables.

his enemies. The cardinal himself survived his nephew only a few weeks.*

Suffolk, raised to a dukedom, had become prime minister, and the affairs of the nation were directed by him and Margaret. While the court was divided into parties, French affairs were neglected. The province of Maine was ceded to Charles of Anjou, according to the marriage treaty. After the conclusion of the truce, Charles VII. had employed himself with great judgment in repairing the numberless ills of France; and in 1449 he availed himself of a favourable opportunity to break the truce. He overran Normandy and Guienne without resistance; and by the summer of 1451 the English were completely dispossessed of all they had once held in France, with the exception of Calais. Though no peace or truce was concluded, the war was at an end, and the civil dissensions which ensued in England permitted but one feeble effort more, in 1453, for the recovery of Guienne, in which the veteran Talbot lost his life.

§ 15. Meanwhile the incapacity of Henry, which appeared every day in a fuller light, had encouraged the appearance of a claimant of the crown. All the male line of the house of Mortimer was extinct; but Anne, the sister of the last earl of March, having espoused the earl of Cambridge, who was beheaded in the reign of Henry V., had transmitted her latent but not forgotten claim to her son, Richard, duke of York. This prince, thus descended, by his mother, from Philippa, only daughter of the duke of Clarence, third son of Edward III., stood plainly in the order of succession before the king, who derived his descent from the duke of Lancaster, fourth son of that monarch;† and that claim could not, in many respects, have fallen into more dangerous hands than those of the duke of York. To valour and abilities, Richard added a prudent conduct and mild disposition. He possessed an immense fortune from the union of so many successions, those of York on the one hand with those of Mortimer on the other; and his marriage with the daughter of Ralph Nevil, earl of Westmoreland, had widely extended his interest among the nobility. He was closely allied to the earls of Salisbury and Warwick, the son and grandson of Westmoreland, the greatest noblemen in the kingdom. The personal qualities of these two earls, especially of Warwick, enhanced the splendour of their nobility, and increased their influence. Warwick, commonly known afterwards as the *King-maker*, was distinguished

* The popular belief, adopted by Shakespeare, of the cardinal's remorse for his share in Gloucester's death, is now considered to be unfounded. After Henry's marriage and Suffolk's rise, the cardinal

took no part in state affairs. The duke by no means deserved the praises too commonly bestowed upon him.

† See the Genealogical Tables.

for his gallantry in the field, the hospitality of his table, the magnificence and the generosity of his expense, and for the spirit and audacity of his actions. No less than 30,000 persons are said to have daily fed at his board in the different manors and castles which he possessed in England. Soldiers were allured by his munificence, as well as by his bravery, and the people in general bore him a warm affection.

§ 16. Though the English were never willing to grant the supplies necessary for keeping possession of the conquered provinces in France, they repined extremely at the loss of these boasted acquisitions. The voluntary cession of Maine to the queen's uncle made them suspect treachery in the loss of Normandy and Guienne. They considered Margaret as a Frenchwoman and a latent enemy of the kingdom. To augment the unpopularity of the government, the revenues of the crown, which had long been disproportioned to its power and dignity, had been extremely impaired during the minority of Henry. The royal demesnes were dissipated; and at the same time the king was loaded with a debt of 372,000 pounds, a sum so great that parliament could never think of discharging it. This unhappy situation forced the ministers upon many arbitrary measures. The household itself could not be supported without stretching to the utmost the right of purveyance, and rendering it a kind of universal robbery upon the people. Suffolk, once become odious, bore the blame of the whole; and every grievance, in every part of the administration, was universally imputed to his tyranny and injustice. The commons sent up to the peers an accusation of high treason against him (1450). The charge was incredible and preposterous. But Henry, seeing no means of saving him from present ruin, banished him the kingdom for five years. On his passage to Flanders, a captain of a vessel was employed by his enemies to intercept him; he was seized near Dover, his head was struck off on the side of a long-boat, and his body thrown into the sea (May 2nd). No inquiry was made after the actors and accomplices of this atrocious deed.

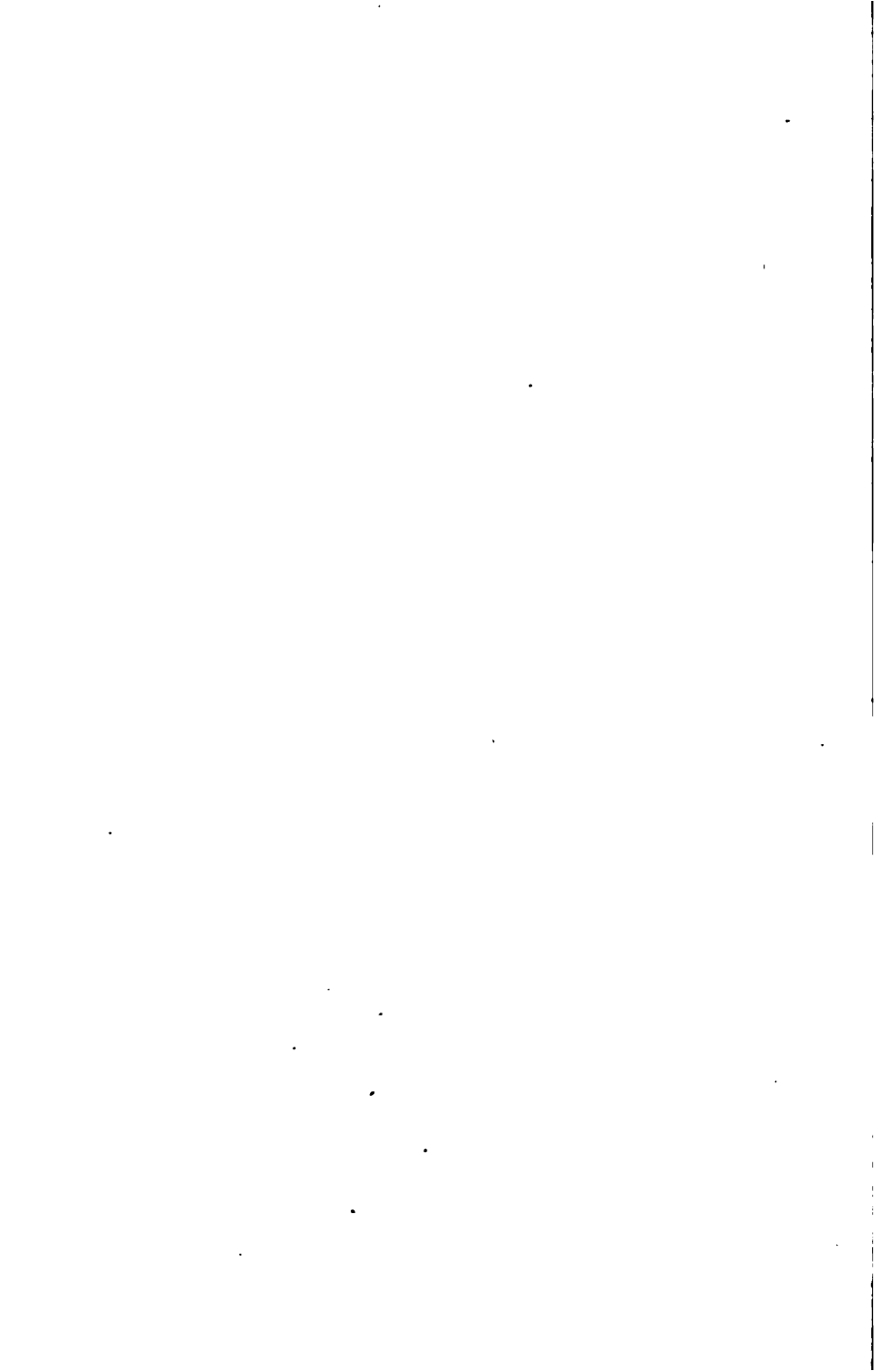
§ 17. The humours of the people, set afloat by the parliamentary impeachment and by the fall of so great a favourite as Suffolk, broke out into various commotions. The most dangerous was that excited by one John Cade, a native of Ireland, who had served in the wars with France, and took the name of John Mortimer. On the first mention of that popular name, the people of Kent, to the number of 20,000, flocked to Cade's standard. Sir Humphrey Stafford, who had opposed him with a small force, was defeated and slain in an action near Sevenoaks; and Cade, advancing with his followers towards London, encamped on Blackheath. Though

A. D. 1455-1485

A. D. 1455-1485

Scale of Statute Miles





elated by his victory, he still maintained the appearance of moderation, and sent to the court a long list of grievances. When the city opened its gates to Cade, he put to death Lord Say and his son-in-law, William Crowmer, sheriff of Kent. He maintained, for some time, order and discipline among his followers. But as they commenced to pillage the houses of unpopular citizens, the authorities, assisted by lord Scales, governor of the Tower, drove them out with great slaughter. Upon receiving offers of a general pardon, many dispersed. On Cade's attempting fresh disturbances, he was pursued out of Kent into Sussex, where he was taken by Alexander Iden. Dying shortly after of his wounds, his head was fixed on London Bridge (1450).

Suffolk was succeeded as minister by Edmund Beaufort, duke of Somerset, who had been governor of Normandy, but his loss of that province made him unpopular. The duke of York, who had recently returned from the government of Ireland, where his popularity long influenced the fortunes of his house, raised an army of 10,000 men, and marched towards London (1452), demanding a reformation of the government, and the removal of Somerset. Having suffered himself, however, to be entrapped into a conference, he was seized, but dismissed; and he retired to his seat of Wigmore, on the borders of Wales.

§ 18. The queen's delivery of a son (October 13, 1453), who received the name of Edward, removed all hopes of the peaceable succession of the duke of York. Henry, always unfit to exercise the government, fell at this time into a distemper which rendered him incapable of maintaining even the appearance of royalty. The queen and the council, destitute of this support, found themselves unable to resist the Yorkists, and were obliged to yield to the torrent. They sent Somerset to the Tower, and appointed the duke of York lieutenant of the kingdom, with powers to open and hold a session of parliament. That assembly, taking into consideration the state of the kingdom, created him protector during the king's pleasure (1454). As the king recovered his health in the following year, the protectorship of the duke was annulled; Somerset was released from the Tower, and the administration was committed to his hands. The duke of York levied an army, but still without advancing any pretensions to the crown. He complained only of the king's ministers, and demanded a reformation of the government. A battle was fought at St. Albans (May 23, 1455), in which the Yorkists were victorious; among the slain were the duke of Somerset and many other persons of distinction. The king himself fell into the hands of the duke of York, who treated him with great respect and tenderness: he was only obliged

(which he regarded as no hardship) to commit the whole authority of the crown into the hands of his rival. This was the first blood spilt in that fatal quarrel, which was not finished in less than a course of 30 years, and was signalized by 12 pitched battles.* It opened a scene of extraordinary fierceness and cruelty, cost the lives of many princes of the blood, and almost entirely annihilated the ancient nobility of England. The supporters of the house of Lancaster chose a red rose as a party distinction; the Yorkists a white one; and the civil wars were thus known as the *Wars of the Roses*. In 1456 the king was restored to the sovereign authority; and for two or three years both parties seemed reconciled in outward appearance. But when one of the king's retinue insulted one of the earl of Warwick's, the most important partisan of the duke of York, their companions on both sides took part in the quarrel, and a fierce combat ensued. The earl, thinking his life was in danger, fled to his government of Calais; and both parties, in every county of England, openly made preparations for deciding the contest by arms (1459).

§ 19. A civil war was now fairly kindled. The duke of York assembled his forces at Ludlow, and the earl of Salisbury, marching to join him, defeated the Lancastrians at Bloreheath (September 23). A few days after (October 13), Sir Andrew Trollope went over to the Lancastrians, and the duke's army dispersed. The duke, who had sought refuge in Ireland, was attainted in a parliament at Coventry. In 1460 the Yorkists landed in England, and, marching to Northampton, defeated and captured the king (July 10). Though the duke of York displayed great moderation after this success, he publicly intimated his expectation that he should be raised to the throne. The rival claims were submitted to the decision of the House of Peers, whose sentence was calculated, as far as possible, to please both parties. They declared the title of the duke of York to be certain and indefeasible; but in consideration that Henry had enjoyed the crown, without dispute or controversy, during the course of 38 years, they determined that he should continue to possess the title and dignity during the remainder of his life; that the administration of the government, meanwhile, should remain with the duke of York; and that he should be acknowledged the true and lawful heir of the monarchy. The duke acquiesced in this decision, and Henry himself, being a prisoner, could not oppose it. But queen Margaret, who, after the defeat at Northampton, had fled to Durham and thence to Scotland, had, with the assistance of the northern barons, collected an army 20,000 strong. The duke

* See the list, p. 212, at end of this chapter.

of York, informed of her appearance in the north, hastened thither with a body of 5000 men, to suppress, as he imagined, the beginnings of an insurrection; but, on his arrival at Wakefield, he found himself greatly outnumbered by the enemy. He nevertheless hazarded a battle, in which the queen gained a complete victory (December 30). The duke was killed in the action; and when his body was found among the slain, the head was cut off by Margaret's orders, and fixed on one of the gates of York, with a paper crown upon it in derision of his title. His second son, the earl of Rutland, a youth of 17, was brought to lord Clifford; and in revenge for his father's death, who had perished in the battle of St. Albans, Clifford is said to have stabbed him in cool blood. The earl of Salisbury was wounded, taken prisoner, and beheaded the next day at Pontefract. The duke of York perished in the 50th year of his age, and left three sons, Edward (afterwards Edward IV.), George (afterwards duke of Clarence), Richard (afterwards duke of Gloucester and king Richard III.), and three daughters, Anne, Elizabeth, and Margaret.

§ 20. The queen, after this important victory, divided her army. She sent the smaller division to the aid of Jasper Tudor, earl of Pembroke, half-brother to the king, who was raising forces in Wales against Edward, the new duke of York. She herself marched with the larger division towards London, where the earl of Warwick had been left with the command of the Yorkists. Edward met them at Mortimer's Cross, in Herefordshire, when Pembroke was defeated, with the loss of nearly 4000 men (February 2, 1461): his army was dispersed; he himself escaped by flight; but his father, sir Owen Tudor, was taken prisoner and immediately beheaded. Margaret compensated this defeat by a victory which she obtained over the earl of Warwick at St. Albans (February 17), when the person of the king fell again into the hands of his own party; but she gained little advantage from this victory. Edward advanced upon her from the other side, and, collecting the remains of Warwick's army, was soon in a condition to give her battle with superior forces. Sensible of her danger while she lay between the enemy and the city of London, which favoured the Yorkists, she found it necessary to retreat with her army to the north. Edward entered the capital amidst the acclamations of the citizens (February 28), and was proclaimed king by the title of Edward IV. (March 3, 1461).

LIST OF THE BATTLES IN THE WARS OF THE ROSES.

The more decisive battles are distinguished by small capitals.

DATE.	PLACE.	VICTORS.	COMMANDER.
1455. May 23	ST. ALBANS (first)	York	Richard, duke of York. Henry VI. taken prisoner.
1459 Sept. 23	Llorekeath, in Staffordshire (Fought to join the duke of York at Ludlow.)	York	Earl of Salisbury.
Oct. 13	Ludlow No real battle; York, deserted, disbands his army.	Lancaster	Henry VI.
1460. July 10	NORTHAMPTON	York	Warwick and Edward. Henry VI. again taken prisoner.
Dec. 30	WAKEFIELD	Lancaster	Queen Margaret. Death of Richard, duke of York, and his son, the earl of Rutland.
1461. Feb. 2	MORTIMER'S CROSS, in Herefordshire.	York	Edward, duke of York. Sir Owen Tudor taken and beheaded.
Feb. 17	St. Albans (second), or Barnard's Heath.	Lancaster	Queen Margaret. Total but temporary defeat of Warwick.
Feb. 28	Edward enters London, and becomes king as EDWARD IV. (March 3.)		
Mar. 29	TOWTON (near York)	York	Edward IV. Somerset and Margaret (with Henry VI.) defeated.
1464. Apr. 25	Heigeley Moor, in Northumberland.	York	Lord Montacute, brother of Warwick. Queen Margaret defeated.
May 15	HUXHAM	York	Lord Montacute. Henry VI. and Margaret defeated, and become fugitives.
1466. July	Henry VI. taken prisoner in Lancashire, brought to London, and imprisoned in the tower.		
1470.	Rebellion of Warwick and Clarence.		
Oct. 3, 9	Flight of Edward IV., and restoration of Henry VI.		
1471. Apr. 14	Return of Edward IV., who lands at Ravenspur, March 14. BARNET	York	Edward IV. Warwick defeated. Death of Warwick.
May 4	TEWKESBURY	York	Edward IV. Queen Margaret taken prisoner, and her son, Edward, prince of Wales, murdered.
1485. Aug. 22	BOSWORTH FIELD, in Leicestershire.	Lancaster	Henry, earl of Richmond, crowned on the field as HENRY VII. Death of RICHARD III., and final defeat of the White Rose.



Reverse of Great Seal of Edward IV.
Edwardus : Dei Gratia. Rex : anglie
et : francie : et : Dominus : Hibernie.



Reverse of Great Seal of Richard III.
Ricardus . dei . gracia . Rex . anglie
et . francie . et . Dominus . Hibernie.

CHAPTER XII.

THE HOUSE OF YORK.

EDWARD IV., EDWARD V., RICHARD III. A.D. 1461-1485.

§ 1. EDWARD IV. assumes the crown. Wars of the Roses. Battle of Towton. § 2. Battle of Hexham. Flight of Margaret and capture of Henry VI. § 3. Edward's marriage. Discontent of Warwick. § 4. Warwick flies to France and leagues himself with Margaret. § 5. Warwick invades England, expels Edward, and restores Henry. § 6. Return of Edward. Battles of Barnet and Tewkesbury. Death of Henry VI. § 7. Peace of Pecquigny. Execution of Clarence. Death and character of the king. § 8. Accession of EDWARD V. Violent proceedings of Richard, duke of Gloucester. § 9. Execution of Rivers, Hastings, and others. § 10. RICHARD III. Murder of Edward V. and the duke of York. § 11. Conspiracy in favour of the earl of Richmond. His invasion, and death of Buckingham. § 12. Richmond's second invasion. Battle of Bosworth and death of Richard. § 13. State of the nation under the Plantagenets. Progress of the constitution. § 14. Civil rights of individuals. Villeinage. § 15. General progress of the nation.

§ 1. EDWARD IV., *b.* 1442; *r.* 1461-1483.—Supported by the citizens of London, Edward summoned a council of the lords and protested his right to the crown. Henry was formally deposed for breach of the late contract between himself and the duke of York, and Edward's claim was at once admitted. The next day he made a solemn progress through the city, and was crowned at Westminster. He had no time for repose. Queen Margaret had collected a force of 60,000 men in Yorkshire, whilst the earl of

Warwick, at the head of 49,000, hastened to check her advance, and Edward speedily followed. The hostile armies met at Towton, near Tadcaster (March 29, 1461), when a fierce and bloody battle ensued, which ended in a complete victory on the side of the Yorkists. Edward issued orders to give no quarter; and above 36,000 men are computed to have fallen in the battle and pursuit, of whom 28,000 were Lancastrians. For ten miles, to the very gates of York, the ground was strewn with the slain. The snow, dyed with their blood, ran down, as it melted, in crimson streams. Henry and Margaret had remained at York during the action; but, learning the defeat of their army, and sensible that no place in England could now afford them shelter, they fled with great precipitation into Scotland. Edward returned to London, where a parliament was summoned to settle the government. It recognized the title of Edward, by hereditary descent through the family of Mortimer; and declared that he was king by right, from the death of his father, who also was "in his life very king in right." Henry VI., queen Margaret, and their infant son, prince Edward, besides many other persons of distinction, were attainted and their possessions forfeited. The royal family were reduced to great distress. On one occasion it is said that Margaret, flying with her son into a forest, where she endeavoured to conceal herself, was beset during the night by robbers, who, either ignorant or regardless of her quality, despoiled her of her rings and jewels, and treated her with the utmost indignity. The partition of so rich a booty raised a quarrel among them; and while their attention was thus engaged, she took the opportunity of making her escape with her son into the thickest of the forest, where she wandered for some time, overspent with hunger and fatigue. In this wretched condition, she saw a robber approach; and finding she had no means of escape, she suddenly embraced the resolution of trusting herself to his faith and generosity. She advanced towards him, and presenting to him the young prince, "Here, my friend," said she, "save the son of your king." The brigand took the child "with very good will;" and conducted the queen in safety to Sluys and thence to Bruges, where she and her son were received with honour.

§ 2. Twice did Margaret sail to France to solicit assistance. Louis XI., who had succeeded his father, Charles VII., was prevailed upon to grant her a small body of troops, on promise of the surrender of Calais if her family should by his means recover the throne of England. She invaded England in 1464; but was defeated in two battles by Lord Montacute, brother of the earl of Warwick, first at Hedgley Moor (April '65), and afterwards at

Hexham (May 15). The duke of Somerset and the lords Roos and Hungerford were taken in the pursuit, and immediately beheaded. Conveyed into Lancashire, Henry remained concealed more than a twelvemonth; but he was at last delivered up to Edward and thrown into the Tower (1466).

§ 3. Though inured to the ferocity of civil wars, Edward was, at the same time, extremely devoted to the softer passions. Jaqueline of Luxemburg, duchess of Bedford, had, after her husband's death, married sir Richard Woodville, a private gentleman, to whom she bore several children; and among the rest Elizabeth, who was remarkable for the grace and beauty of her person, as well as for her accomplishments. This lady had married Sir John Grey, by whom she had children; and her husband being slain in the second battle of St. Albans, fighting on the side of Lancaster, and his estate confiscated, his widow retired to live with her father at his seat of Grafton, in Northamptonshire. The king, then two and twenty, who had hitherto lived the life of a libertine, came accidentally to the house after a hunting party, and was so charmed with the beauty of the young widow that he offered to share his throne with her. The marriage was privately celebrated at Grafton, but was not avowed by Edward till the autumn of 1464. It gave great offence to the earl of Warwick, who had intended to strengthen the throne of Edward by a more splendid connection with France. The influence of the queen soon became apparent, as she sought to draw every grace and favour to her own friends and kindred, and to exclude those of Warwick, whom she regarded with dislike. The earl perceived with disgust that his credit was lost; and the nobility of England, envying the sudden growth of the Woodvilles, were inclined to take part with Warwick, to whose grandeur they were already accustomed. But the most considerable associate that Warwick acquired was George, duke of Clarence, the king's second brother, by offering him in marriage Isabel, his eldest daughter, co-heir of his immense fortunes (1469). Thus an extensive and dangerous combination was insensibly formed against Edward and his ministry.

§ 4. There is no part of English history since the Conquest so obscure or disconnected, as that of the wars between the two Roses; and as they exhibit a mere struggle for power, we narrate them as briefly as possible. In 1470 Warwick and Clarence, being denounced as traitors, took refuge in France, and were well received by Louis XI. Margaret was sent for from Anjou; and in spite of the injuries which Warwick had experienced at her hands; and the inveterate hatred which he bore to the house of Lancaster, an agreement was, from common interest, soon concluded between

them. It was stipulated that Warwick should espouse the cause of Henry, and endeavour to re-establish him on the throne; that the administration of the government during the minority of young Edward, Henry's son, should be intrusted conjointly to the earl of Warwick and the duke of Clarence; that prince Edward should marry the lady Anne, second daughter of Warwick; and that the crown, in case of the failure of male issue of that prince, should descend to the duke of Clarence, to the entire exclusion of king Edward and his posterity.

§ 5. Louis now prepared a fleet to escort the earl of Warwick, and granted him a supply of men and money. That nobleman landed at Dartmouth (September 13, 1470), with the duke of Clarence, the earls of Oxford and Pembroke, and a small body of troops, while the king was in the north, engaged in suppressing an insurrection which had been raised by lord Fitz-Hugh, brother-in-law to Warwick. The scene which ensued resembles more a page of fiction than an event in history. The popularity of Warwick drew such multitudes to his standard, that in a very few days his army amounted to 60,000 men, and was continually increasing. Edward hastened southwards to encounter him; but being deserted by the marquis of Montacute, Warwick's brother, he hurried with a small retinue to Lynn, in Norfolk, where he luckily found some ships ready, on board of which he instantly embarked (October 3). Thus the earl of Warwick, in no longer space than twenty days after his first landing, was left entire master of the kingdom. He hastened to London, and, taking Henry from the Tower, proclaimed him king with great solemnity. A parliament was summoned, in the name of that prince, to meet at Westminster; and the treaty with Margaret was fully ratified (1471). Henry was recognized as lawful king; but his incapacity for government being avowed, the regency was intrusted to Warwick and Clarence till the majority of prince Edward; and in default of that prince's issue, Clarence was declared successor to the crown.

§ 6. The duke of Burgundy had treated Edward with great coldness on his first landing in Holland, but subsequently hired for him a small squadron of ships and about 2000 men. With these the king landed at Ravenspur, in Yorkshire (March 14, 1471). Partisans every moment flocked to his standard: he was admitted into the city of York, and was soon in such a situation as gave him hopes of succeeding in all his claims and pretensions. Warwick assembled an army at Leicester, with the intention of meeting and giving him battle; but Edward, by taking another road, passed him unmolested, and presented himself before the gates of London, where his admittance by the citizens made him master

not only of that rich and powerful city, but also of the person of Henry, who, destined to be the perpetual sport of fortune, thus fell again into the hands of his enemies. Edward soon found himself in a condition to face the earl of Warwick, who had taken post at Barnet, near London (April 14). Meanwhile his son-in-law, the duke of Clarence, in fulfilment of some secret engagements which he had formerly taken with his brother, to support the interests of his own family, deserted to the king in the night-time, and carried over a body of 12,000 men along with him. Warwick, however, was too far advanced to retreat; and as he rejected with disdain all terms of peace offered by Edward and Clarence, he was obliged to hazard a general engagement, in which his army was completely routed. Contrary to his more usual practice, Warwick engaged that day on foot, resolving to show his army that he meant to share the same fortune with them. He was slain in the thickest of the engagement: his brother experienced the same fate: and, as Edward had issued orders not to give quarter, a great and undistinguished slaughter was made in the pursuit. The same day on which this decisive battle was fought, queen Margaret and her son, now about 18 years of age, and a young prince of great hopes, landed at Weymouth, supported by a small body of French forces. She advanced through the counties of Dorset, Somerset, and Gloucester, increasing her army on each day's march; but was at last overtaken by the rapid and expeditious Edward at Tewkesbury, on the banks of the Severn. The Lancastrians were totally defeated (May 4). Margaret and her son were taken prisoners and brought to the king, who asked the prince, after an insulting manner, how he dared to invade his dominions? The young prince, more mindful of his high birth than of his present fortune, replied that he came thither to claim his just inheritance. Edward, insensible to pity, struck him on the face with his gauntlet; and the dukes of Clarence and Gloucester, lord Hastings, and sir Thomas Grey, taking the blow as a signal for further violence, hurried the prince into the next apartment, and despatched him with their daggers. Margaret was thrown into the Tower: Henry expired there soon after the battle of Tewkesbury; but whether he died a natural or violent death is uncertain.* It is pretended, and was generally believed, that the duke of Gloucester killed the king with his own hands; but the universal odium which that prince has incurred inclined the nation to aggravate his crimes without any sufficient authority. Henry was buried at Chertsey Abbey; but his body was removed by

* The date also is doubtful, but it was probably May 21st or 22nd.

Richard III., and laid beside his rival, Edward IV., in the new royal vault of St. George's chapel, Windsor.

§ 7. The Lancastrians were reduced to the most abject poverty. One of them, Hugh Holland, duke of Exeter, though he had married a sister of Edward IV., was seen in the Low Countries, bare-legged and bare-footed, begging from door to door. Every legitimate prince of the line was dead: and peace being restored to the nation, a parliament was summoned, which ratified, as usual, all the acts of the victor, and recognized his legal authority. Relying on the assistance of the duke of Burgundy, Edward now invaded France in 1475 with a considerable army. The expedition was popular. The supplies voted by Parliament were supplemented by loans upon the wealthy, known then and afterwards by the name of Benevolences. Disappointed in his expectations from Burgundy, Edward readily listened to the advances of Louis, who was willing to conclude a truce on terms more advantageous than honourable. He agreed to pay Edward immediately 75,000 crowns, on condition that he should withdraw his army from France, and promised to pay a sum of 50,000 crowns a year: it was added that the dauphin, when of age, should marry Edward's eldest daughter. The two monarchs ratified this treaty, by which Louis saved the integrity of France, in a personal interview at Pecquigny, near Amiens.* The most honourable part of it was the stipulation for the liberty of queen Margaret. Louis paid 50,000 crowns for her ransom; and that princess, who had been so active on the stage of the world, passed the remainder of her days in privacy, till the year 1482, when she died.

Notwithstanding the services of the duke of Clarence in deserting Warwick, he had never been able to regain the king's friendship, which he had forfeited by his former confederacy with that nobleman. He had also the misfortune to displease the queen herself, as well as his brother Richard, duke of Gloucester, a prince of consummate astuteness and policy. He had refused to divide with Gloucester, who had married Anne, widow of Edward, prince of Wales, stabbed at Tewkesbury, the inheritance of their father-in-law, the late earl of Warwick. The variance was increased when Clarence, now a widower, was desirous of marrying Mary, the heiress of Charles, duke of Burgundy. Some gentlemen of his household had been tried and executed for sorcery, and the duke loudly protested against the sentence. Highly offended with his freedom, the king committed the duke to the Tower, and summoned a parliament, by whom he was pronounced guilty (February 7,

* To avoid the possibility of treachery, with a wooden grating, through which a bridge was thrown across the river, the two kings shook hands.

1478). The manner of his death is unknown; but, according to rumour, he was drowned in a butt of Malmsey (February 18).

Instead of carrying out the treaty of Pecquigny, Louis found his advantage in contracting the dauphin to the princess Margaret, daughter of the emperor Maximilian. Edward, cruelly disappointed, prepared for revenge. But in the midst of his preparations he was seized with a distemper, and expired in the forty-first year of his age, and twenty-second of his reign (April 9, 1483). Handsome in person and affable in manners, his qualities were more showy than solid. Brave, but cruel; addicted to pleasure, though capable of activity in great emergencies; he was less fitted to prevent ills by wise precautions, than to remedy them after they had taken place by his vigour and enterprise.

Besides five daughters, this king left two sons: Edward, prince of Wales, his successor, then in his thirteenth year, and Richard, duke of York, in his eleventh.

EDWARD V.

§ 8. EDWARD V., b. 1470; r. 1483.—The young king, at the time of his father's death, resided in the castle of Ludlow, on the borders of Wales, under the care of his uncle, Anthony, earl of Rivers, the most accomplished nobleman in England.* The queen, anxious to preserve that ascendancy over her son which she had long maintained over her husband, wrote to the earl that he should levy a body of forces, in order to escort the king to London, to protect him during his coronation, and to keep him from falling into the hands of his enemies. The duke of Gloucester, meanwhile, whom the late king, on his death-bed, had nominated as regent, set out from York, attended by a numerous train of the northern gentry. Falling in with the king's escort at Stony Stratford, he caused lord Rivers and sir Richard Grey, one of the queen's sons, together with sir Thomas Vaughan, to be arrested (April 30); and the prisoners were conducted to Pontefract. Gloucester approached the young prince with the greatest demonstrations of respect, and endeavoured to satisfy him for the violence committed on his uncle and brother; but Edward, much attached to these near relations, by whom he had been tenderly educated, was not such a master of dissimulation as to conceal his displeasure.

As the young king and his uncle approached London, they were met by the corporation at Hornsey. Edward's coronation was postponed till June 22, and by act of the Great Council Richard was declared protector. Apprehensive of the consequences, Elizabeth fled

* This nobleman first introduced the art of printing into England. Caxton was recommended by him to the patronage of Edward IV.

into sanctuary at Westminster, attended by the marquis of Dorset; and she carried thither the five princesses, together with the duke of York. But being at length persuaded by the archbishops of Canterbury and York to surrender her son into their hands, that he might join his brother, struck with a kind of presage of his future fate, she bedewed him with tears, and bade him an eternal adieu.

§ 9. Gloucester, who had hitherto concealed his designs with the most profound dissimulation, no longer hesitated at removing the obstructions which lay between him and the throne. The death of earl Rivers, and of the other prisoners detained in Pontefract, was first determined; and he easily obtained the consent of the duke of Buckingham, as well as of lord Hastings, the two chief leaders of the party opposed to the queen, to this sanguinary measure. Orders were accordingly issued to sir Richard Ratcliffe to cut off the heads of the prisoners. The protector then assailed the fidelity of Buckingham by all the arguments capable of swaying a vicious mind, which knew no motive of action but interest and ambition, and easily obtained from him a promise of supporting him in all his enterprises. He then sounded the sentiments of Hastings by means of Catesby, a lawyer, who lived in great intimacy with him; but found him firm in his allegiance to the children of Edward. He saw, therefore, that there were no longer any measures to be kept with him; and he determined to ruin the man whom he despaired of engaging to concur in his usurpation. Accordingly he summoned a council in the Tower; whither Hastings, suspecting no design against him, repaired without hesitation. The duke of Gloucester appeared in the easiest and most gracious humour imaginable. After some familiar conversation he left the council, as if called away by other business; but soon after returning with an angry and inflamed countenance, he demanded what punishment they deserved that had plotted against the life of one who was so nearly related to the king, and was intrusted with the administration of government? Hastings replied that they merited the punishment of traitors. "These traitors," cried the protector, "are the sorceress, my brother's wife, and Jane Shore, his mistress, with others, their associates. See to what a condition they have reduced me by their incantations and witchcraft:" upon which he laid bare his arm, all shrivelled and decayed. The counsellors, who knew that this infirmity had attended him from his birth, looked on each other with amazement. Lord Hastings, who, since Edward's death, had been engaged in an intrigue with Jane Shore, ventured to reply, "Certainly, my lord, if they have done so heinously, they deserve the most heinous punishment." "What!" exclaimed Richard, "dost thou bandy me with *ifs* and *ans*? I

aver they have done it; and I will make it good on thy body, thou traitor!" So saying, he struck the table with his fist. Armed men rushed in at the signal. Hastings was seized, hurried away, and instantly beheaded on a timber log intended for repairs in the Tower. Lord Stanley, the archbishop of York, the bishop of Ely, and other counsellors, were committed to different chambers. To carry on the farce of his accusations, Richard ordered the goods of Jane Shore to be seized: and he summoned her to answer before the council for sorcery and witchcraft. Eventually he directed her to be tried in the spiritual court, for incontinence; and she did penance in a white sheet in St. Paul's, before the people.

§ 10. These acts of violence, exercised against the nearest connections of the late king, prognosticated the fate of his defenceless children; and, after the murder of Hastings, the protector no longer made a secret of his intentions to usurp the crown. Dr. Shaw, in a sermon at St. Paul's cross, attempted to persuade the people that Edward IV. had been previously married to Lady Butler, and that therefore Edward V. and his other children by Elizabeth Woodville were illegitimate. Various other artifices were employed to induce the people to salute Richard as king. At length Buckingham and the lord mayor proceeded with a body of prelates, nobles, and commons to his residence at Baynard's castle. He was assured that the nation was resolved to have him for their sovereign; and, after some well-acted hesitation, he accepted the crown (June 26). The farce was soon after followed by the murder of the two young princes. Richard gave orders to sir Robert Brakenbury, constable of the Tower, to put his nephews to death; but this gentleman, to his honour, refused such an infamous office. The tyrant then sent for sir James Tyrrel, who promised obedience; and he ordered Brakenbury to resign to Tyrrel the keys and government of the Tower for one night. Choosing associates, Dighton and Forest, Tyrrel came in the night-time to the door of the chamber where the princes were lodged; and sending in the assassins, he bade them execute their commission, while he himself stayed without. They found the young princes in bed, and fallen into a profound sleep. After suffocating them with the bolster and pillows, they showed their naked bodies to Tyrrel, who ordered them to be buried at the foot of the stairs, deep in the ground, under a heap of stones *

* This story has been questioned by Walpole in his *Historic Doubts*, and subsequently by other writers; but, on the whole, the balance of probability greatly preponderates in its favour. In 1674, during some repairs, the bones of two youths were discovered under a staircase in the White Tower, and were interred in Westminster Abbey by order of Charles II. as those of Edward V. and his brother.

§ 11. RICHARD III., b. 1450; r. 1483-1485.—The first acts of Richard's administration were to bestow rewards on those who had assisted him in gaining the crown, and to conciliate by favours those who were best able to support his government. He loaded the duke of Buckingham especially, who was allied to the royal family, with grants and honours. But it was impossible that friendship could long remain inviolate between the two. Soon after Richard's accession, the duke, disappointed, or delayed, in some requests he had made, began to form a conspiracy against the government, and attempted to overthrow that usurpation which he himself had so zealously contributed to establish. Morton, bishop of Ely, a zealous Lancastrian, whom the king had committed to the duke's custody, encouraged these sentiments. By his exhortations the duke turned his thoughts towards the young earl of Richmond, as the only person who could free the nation from the present usurper. On his mother's side he was descended from John of Gaunt by Katharine Swynford, a branch legitimated by parliament (1397), but excluded from the succession by Henry IV. (1407). On his father's side he was grandson of Owen Tudor and Katharine of France, relict of Henry V.*

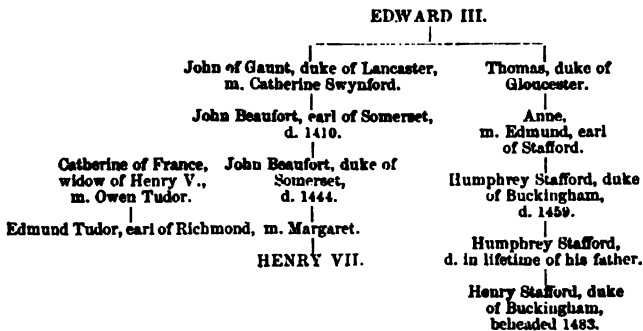
The universal detestation of Richard's conduct after the death of the two young princes turned the attention of the nation towards Henry, from whom only it could expect deliverance. It was therefore suggested by Morton, and readily assented to by the duke, that, to overturn the present usurpation, the opposite factions should be united by contracting a marriage between the earl of Richmond and the princess Elizabeth, eldest daughter of king Edward. Margaret, Richmond's mother, assented to the plan without hesitation; whilst on the part of the queen dowager, the desire of revenge for the murder of her brother and of her three sons, apprehensions for her surviving family, and indignation against her confinement, easily overcame all her prejudices against the house of Lancaster, and procured her approbation of a marriage to which the age and birth, as well as the present situation, of the parties seemed so naturally to invite them. She secretly borrowed a sum of money in the city, sent it over to the earl of Richmond, who was at present detained in Brittany in a kind of honourable custody, required his oath to celebrate the marriage as soon as he should arrive in England, advised him to levy as many foreign forces as possible, and promised to join him on his first appearance, with all the friends and partisans of her family. The plan was secretly communicated to the principal persons of

* For the genealogy of Henry of Richmond and the duke of Buckingham, see the Genealogical Tables.

both parties in all the counties of England; and a wonderful alacrity appeared in every order of men to forward its success and completion. The duke of Buckingham took up arms in Wales, and gave the signal to his accomplices for a general insurrection in all parts of England. But heavy rains having rendered the Severn, with the other rivers in that neighbourhood, impassable, the Welshmen, partly moved by superstition at this extraordinary event, partly distressed by famine in their camp, fell off from him; and Buckingham, finding himself deserted by his followers, put on a disguise, and took shelter in the house of Banaster, an old servant of his family. Tempted by the reward, Banaster betrayed his retreat. He was brought to the king at Salisbury, and was instantly executed, according to the summary method practised in that age (November 2, 1483). The other conspirators immediately dispersed. The earl of Richmond, in concert with his friends, had set sail from St. Malo, with a body of 5000 men levied in foreign parts; but, as his fleet was at first driven back by a storm, he did not appear in England till after the dispersion of his friends, and he found himself obliged to return to Brittany.

The king, everywhere triumphant, ventured at last to summon a parliament, which had no choice left but to recognize his authority, and acknowledge his right to the crown. To reconcile the nation to his government, Richard passed some popular laws, particularly against Benevolences; but he soon after resorted to the same practice. His consort Anne, the second daughter of the earl of Warwick, and widow of Edward, prince of Wales, having borne him but one son, who died about this time, he considered her as an invincible obstacle to the settlement of his fortune. It is said that, in anticipation of her death, he proposed, by means of a papal

Genealogy of Henry of Richmond and of the duke of Buckingham:—



See the Genealogical Table of the House of Lancaster.

dispensation, to espouse the princess Elizabeth, and thus to unite in his own family their contending titles.

§ 12. Exhorted by his partisans to prevent this marriage by a new invasion, and having received assistance from the court of France, Richmond set sail from Harfleur in Normandy, with a small army of about 2000 men. After a *voyage* of six days he arrived at Milford Haven, in Wales, where he landed without opposition (August 7, 1485). The earl, advancing towards Shrewsbury, received every day fresh reinforcements from his partisans.

The two rivals at last approached each other at Bosworth, near Leicester; Henry at the head of 6000 men, Richard with an army nearly double the number. Before the battle began, lord Stanley, who, without declaring himself, had raised an army of 7000 men and had so posted himself as to be able to join either party, appeared in the field, and declared for the earl of Richmond. The intrepid tyrant, sensible of his desperate situation, cast his eyes around the field, and, desecrating his rival at no great distance, he drove against him with fury, in hopes that either Henry's death, or his own, would decide the victory between them. He killed with his own hands sir William Brandon, standard-bearer to the earl: he dismounted sir John Cheyney: he was now within reach of Richmond himself, who declined not the combat; when sir William Stanley, breaking in with his troops, surrounded Richard, who, fighting bravely to the last moment, was overwhelmed by numbers, and perished by a fate too mild and honourable for his multiplied enormities (August 22, 1485). The naked body of Richard was thrown carelessly across a horse, carried to Leicester amidst the shouts of the insulting spectators, and interred in the Grey Friars' church of that place.

The historians who lived in the subsequent reign have probably exaggerated the vices of the monarch whom their master overthrew; and some modern writers have attempted to palliate the crimes by which he procured possession of the crown. It is certain that he possessed energy, courage, and capacity; but these qualities would never have compensated his subjects for the usurpation and the vices of which he was guilty. Inured to scenes of bloodshed from his childhood, and all the horrors of a civil war, it was inevitable that his courage should be stained with cruelty, and that danger should have taught him dissimulation. His personal appearance has even been a subject of warm controversy: while some represent him as small of stature and humpbacked, others maintain that his only defect was in having one shoulder a little higher than the other.

§ 13. The reign of the house of Plantagenet expired with Richard III. on Bosworth field. In a limited monarchy, change of a dynasty is generally accompanied by some revolution in the state. The reigns of Henry VII., and of his successors of the house of Tudor, bear a character distinct from those of the Plantagenet princes. The exhaustion of the kingdom through the protracted Wars of the Roses, and the almost entire annihilation of the greater English nobility, enabled the Tudors to rule with a despotic power unknown to their predecessors.

The period of the Plantagenets forms an important and interesting epoch in English history. Its leading feature is the gradual development of the English constitution. The first ostensible act in the process is the Great Charter wrung from John. In the subsequent reigns Magna Carta was repeatedly confirmed. The weak and long reign of Henry III., and the necessities of Edward I., served to foster the infancy of English freedom, whilst the establishment of the commons as a permanent estate of the great council of the nation forms, in a constitutional point of view, the chief glory of this era of history.

§ 14. From the constitution we naturally turn our view to those who were its subjects. As early at least as the reign of Henry III., the legal equality of all freemen below the rank of the peerage appears to have been completely established. The civil rights of individuals were protected by that venerable body of ancient customs, which, under the name of the common law, still obtains in our courts of justice. Its origin is lost in the obscurity of remote antiquity. A very small portion of it may be traced to the Anglo-Saxon times; but the greater part must have sprung up after the Conquest, since we find the pecuniary penalties which marked the Anglo-Saxon legislation exchanged in criminal cases for capital punishment.

It is difficult to trace the steps by which villenage was gradually mitigated under the Plantagenets; but on the whole it is certain that at the termination of their dynasty it was rapidly falling into disuse. Tenants in villenage were gradually transformed into copyholders. Villeins bound to personal service escaped to distant parts of the country, where they could not easily be traced and reclaimed, and entered into free and voluntary service under a new master. Others hid themselves in towns, where a residence of a twelvemonth made them free by law, though they were not admitted to municipal privileges. Something must also be attributed to manumission. The influence of the church was exerted on behalf of this degraded class; and the repentant lord was exhorted by his spiritual adviser to give freedom to his fellow Christians. As public opinion became more enlightened and humane, the courts

of law leaned to the side of the oppressed peasantry in all suits in which their rights were concerned. The statutes framed for the regulation of wages, and the popular insurrection in the time of Richard II., betray an advance in the condition of the lower classes; and, though they attest a large amount of villenage, they discover at the same time a greater extension of freedom.

§ 15. With regard to the general progress of the nation, we perceive under the sway of the Plantagenets a notable increase in its wealth and intelligence, as well as in its freedom. The woollen manufactures were established in various parts of England, and began to supply foreign nations. In the reign of Edward III. the English were remarkable for their excellence in the arts of peace as well as of war. A rich literature, adorned with the names of Chaucer and Gower, of Wickliffe and Mandeville, was now destined to exercise a better influence, by the invention of printing, introduced into England in the reign of Edward IV.

NOTES AND ILLUSTRATIONS.

A. ORIGIN AND PROGRESS OF PARLIAMENT.

The word *Parliament* (*parlement* or *colloquium* as some of our historians translate it) is derived from the French, and signifies any assembly that meets and confers together. It appears on the Close Rolls of 1244, as applied to the meeting of king John and the barons at Runnymede. The constituent parts of parliament in its more restricted sense are now, and were under the later Plantagenet kings, the sovereign and the three estates of the realm, the lords spiritual, the lords temporal (who sit, together with their sovereign, in one house), and the commons, who sit by themselves in another. The parliament, as so constituted, is an outgrowth of the Great Council of the realm, held under the Anglo-Norman kings, the constitution of which has been already explained (p. 129). It will be convenient to trace separately the history of each house.

1. THE HOUSE OF LORDS.—The spiritual peerage consisted originally of archbishops, bishops, and abbots; and the lay peerage only of barons and earls, but every earl was also a baron. For more than two centuries after the Norman conquest the only baronies known were baronies by tenure, being

incident to the tenure of land held immediately under the crown. Hence the right of peerage was originally territorial, being annexed to certain lands, and, when they were alienated, passing with them as an appendant. Thus in 1433 the possession of the castle of Arundel was adjudged to confer an earldom "by tenure" on its possessor.

Afterwards, when the alienations of land became frequent, and the number of those who held of the king in *capite* increased, it became the practice, either in the reign of John or Henry III., for the king to summon to the Great Council, by *Writ*, all such persons as he thought fit so to summon. In this way the dignity of the peerage became personal instead of territorial. Proof of a tenure by barony became no longer necessary, and the record of the writ of summons came to be sufficient evidence to constitute a peer.

The third mode of creating peers is by *Letters Patent* from the crown, in which the descent of the dignity is regulated, being usually confined to heirs male. The first peer created by patent was lord Beauchamp of Kidderminster, in the reign of Richard II. (1387). It is still occasionally the practice to call up the eldest son of a peer to the House of Lords by writ of summons in the name of his father's barony; but, with this

exception, peers are now always created by letters patent.

The first instance in which earls and barons are called peers is in 14 Edw. II. (1321), in the award of exile against the Despensers.

The degrees of nobility are dukes, marquesses, earls, viscounts, and barons.

1. The title of *Duke* or *dux* was used among the Anglo-Saxons as a title of dignity; but as William the Conqueror and his successors were dukes of Normandy, they would not honour any subject with the title till the reign of Edward III., who, claiming to be king of France, created his eldest son Edward, the Black Prince, duke of Cornwall (1337). Several of the royal family subsequently received the title of duke. 2. The title of *Marquess* or *marchio* was originally applied to a Lord Marcher, or lord of the frontier districts, called the marches, from the Teutonic word *marka*, a limit; but it was first created a parliamentary dignity by Richard II., who made Robert de Vere marquess of Dublin (1386). 3. An *Earl* corresponded to the Saxon ealdorman or alderman, who originally had the administration of a shire. Under the Norman kings the title became merely personal, though the earl continued to receive a third penny of the emoluments arising from the pleas in the county courts. In Latin the earl was called *Comes*, and after the Norman conquest *Count*, whence the name *county* is still applied to the shires; but the title of count never superseded the more ancient designation of earl, and soon fell into disuse. The title of earl continued to be the highest hereditary dignity till the reign of Edward III. 4. The dignity of *Viccount* or *Vice-Comes* was borrowed from France, and was first conferred in 1440 by Henry VI., who had been crowned king of France. 5. The title of *Baron* has been already explained. (See p. 126.)

II. THE HOUSE OF COMMONS.—The members of the House of Commons consist of the knights of the shires, and the burgesses, or representatives of the cities, universities, and boroughs. The origin of the knights of the shires is traced to the fourteenth clause in the charter of John, by which the sheriff was bound to summon to the Great Council all the (inferior) tenants in chief. The principle of representation introduced by Simon de Montfort in the 49th of Henry III. (1265)

has been already explained (p. 146). From this time till the 23rd of Edward I. (1295) the representatives of the cities and boroughs were occasionally summoned; but they were not permanently engrafted upon parliament till the latter date, when the expenses of Edward, arising from his foreign wars, led him to have recourse to this means for obtaining supplies of money. *This is the true date of the House of Commons* (Stubbs, p. 402). The success of the experiment insured its repetition; and the king found that he could more readily obtain larger sums of money by the subsidies of the citizens and burgesses than he had previously obtained by tallages upon their towns. It must be recollected that the only object of summoning the citizens and burgesses was to obtain money, and that it was not originally intended to give them the power of consenting to the laws. And often after this period the upper house continued to sit and pass laws, when the commons had retired. But gradually the power of the purse procured them a share in legislation.

At first both houses sat in the same chamber; but from the earliest times they voted separately, and imposed separate taxes, each upon its own order. The knights of the shires voted at first with the earls and barons; but in the latter years of Edward III. the houses deliberated apart, and were divided as we now find them.

In the feeble reign of Edward II. the commons were not slow in advancing their rights; and the rolls of parliament show that on one occasion, at least, they granted supplies on condition that the king should redress the grievances of which they complained. Gradually the assent of the commons came to be considered necessary for the enactment of laws; and in the long and prosperous reign of Edward III. the three essential principles of our government were generally established: (1) The consent of parliament to all extraordinary aids and taxes; (2) the concurrence of the two houses in all matters affecting the realm; (3) the right of the commons to inquire into public abuses, and to impeach public counsellors. With regard to the second constitutional principle mentioned above, we find in 15 Edward II. that "matters to be established for the estate of the king and his heirs, and for the

estate of the realm and of the people; shall be treated, accorded, and established, in parliament by the king, and by the assent of the prelates, earls, and barons, and the commonalty of the realm, according as has been before accustomed." It was the practice that the petitions of the commons, with the respective answers made to them in the king's name, should be drawn up after the end of the session in the form of laws, and entered upon the statute-roll. Still it must be observed that the statutes do not always express the true sense of the commons, as their petitions were frequently modified and otherwise altered by the king's answers. The first instance in which the commons exercised the third constitutional principle alluded to was in 50 Edward III., when, instigated by the Black Prince, they impeached lord Latimer and other ministers of the king.

Under the reign of Richard II. the power of the House of Commons made still further progress, which was continued under the three kings of the house of Lancaster, who owed their throne to a parliamentary title. Among the rights established under these kings the two following were the most important: 1. The introduction, in the reign of Henry VI., of complete statutes under the name of bills, instead of the old petitions, to which the king gave his consent, and which he was not at liberty to alter, as he had done in the case of petitions. It now became the practice for either house to originate a bill, except in the case of money bills, which continued to be originated exclusively by the commons. 2. That the king ought not to take notice of matters pending in parliament, and that the commons should enjoy liberty of speech.

The persons who had the right of voting for knights of the shire were declared by 3 Hen. VI. c. 7, to be all freeholders of lands and tenements of the annual value of 40s., equivalent at least to 20l. of our value; which was a limitation of the number of voters, since it would appear from 7 Hen. IV. c. 15, that all persons whatever, present at the county court, had previously the right of voting for the knights of their shires. For further particulars as to the House of Lords, see Sir Harris Nicolas, *The Historic Peerage of England*, Introduction, in the edit. of 1857; and as to the House of Commons, Hallam's *Middle Ages*, vol. iii. c. 8.

B. AUTHORITIES FOR THE PERIOD OF THE PLANTAGENETS FROM JOHN TO RICHARD III.

A reference to Note C, appended to chapter vii. (pp. 129, 130), will show what histories already mentioned extend into this period. In addition may be named the *Annals of Dunstable* to 1297 (Rolls); Walter of Hemingford, *Lives of Edward I., II., III.*; John Trokelowe, *Annales Edwardi II.*, with a continuation by Henry Blanford (Rolls); Robert of Avesbury, *Historia de Mirabilibus Gestis Edwardi III.*; the Monk of Evesham, *Hist. Vita et Regni Ricardi II.*; Otterbourne's *Chronicle*, from Brute to 1420; Whethamstede's *Chronicle*, 1441 to 1460 (Rolls); Elmham, *Vita et Gesta Henrici V.* (Rolls); Titus Livius, *idem.*; William of Worcester, *Annales Rerum Anglicarum*, 1334 to 1491; Rous, *Historia Regum Angliæ* (to 1485). The preceding works are published in Hearne's collection. The following are in the collection of Hall: Nicholas Trivet, *Annales sex regum Angliæ*, 1135 to 1318; Adam Murimuth, *Chronicle* (with continuation), 1303 to 1390. The *Chronicle of Lanercost*, published by the Bannatyne Club, extends from 1201 to 1346. Joan. Amundesham, 1422-1440 (Rolls). The following are in Camden's *Anglica*, &c.: Thos. de la More, *De Vita et Morte Edwardi II.*; Walsingham, *Historia brevis Angliæ*, 1272 to 1422: the same author's *Hypodigma Neustrie*, containing an account of the affairs of Normandy to Henry V. (Rolls), is also in Camden. Froissart's *Chroniques* (translated by Lord Berners) is an interesting but not very trustworthy work for the times of Edward III. and Richard II. Chron. Angliæ, 1328-1388 (Rolls). The *Chroniques of Monstrelet* (1400 to 1467) and the *Mémoires of Philip de Comines* (1461 to 1498) may also be consulted for foreign affairs during the later Plantagenets.

The early printed chronicles which treat of this period, with the exception of Fabian's (to 1509) and Hardyng's (to 1538), are not contemporary. The principal are those of Hall, Grafton, Hollinshed, and Stowe. Sir Thos. More's *History of Richard III.* is the best authority for that period: he was old enough to have heard the facts from contemporaries, and especially from bishop Morton, in whose service he had lived.



Henry VII. and Elizabeth of York. From their monument in Westminster Abbey.

BOOK IV.

THE HOUSE OF TUDOR.

A.D. 1485-1603.

CHAPTER XIII.

HENRY VII. A.D. 1485-1509.

§ 1. Introduction. § 2. Accession of HENRY VII. His coronation, marriage, and settlement of the government. § 3. Discontents. Invasion of Lambert Simnel, and battle of Stoke. Coronation of the queen. § 4. Foreign affairs. Peace of Estaples. § 5. Perkin Warbeck. Execution of lord Stanley. § 6. Further attempts of Perkin. Cornish insurrection, and battle of Blackheath. § 7. Perkin again invades England, is captured, and executed. Execution of Warwick. § 8. Marriage and death of prince Arthur. Marriage of the princess Margaret. Oppression of Empson and Dudley. § 9. Matrimonial negotiations of Henry. Death and character of the king. § 10. Miscellaneous occurrences.

§ 1. THE accession of the Tudors to the English throne is nearly coincident with the proper epoch of modern history. The final important change in the European populations had been effected by

the settlement of the Turks at Constantinople in 1453. The improvement in navigation was soon to lay open a new world, as well as a new route to that ancient continent of Asia, whose almost fabulous riches had attracted the wonder and cupidity of Europeans since the days of Alexander the Great. Hence was to arise a new system of relations among the states of Europe. The commerce of the East, previously monopolized by the Venetians and Genoese, began to be diverted to the Western nations; its richest products to be rivalled by those of another hemisphere. The various European states, having consolidated their domestic institutions, were beginning to direct their attention to the affairs of their neighbours. The invasion of Italy by Charles VIII. of France, in the reign of Henry VII., is justly regarded as the commencement of the political system of Europe, or of that series of wars and negotiations among its different kingdoms which has continued to the present day. The house of Tudor, lifted to the throne by the civil wars, and strengthened by the very desolation which they had occasioned, was enabled to play an effective part upon the continent, and to lay the foundation of that European influence which England still commands.

Besides the advantages derived from commerce, the intercourse of nations is beneficially felt in their mutual influence upon opinion and the progress of society. Europe, first cemented into a whole by the conquests of the Romans, derived a still firmer bond of union from its common Christianity. The distinguishing historical feature of the reign of the Tudors is the progress and final establishment of the Reformation. That great revolution was accompanied by an astonishing progress in manners, literature, and the arts; but, above all, it encouraged that spirit of civil freedom, by which, under the house of Stuart, the last seal was affixed to our constitutional liberties.

§ 2. The victory which the earl of Richmond gained at Bosworth was entirely decisive. Sir William Stanley placed upon his head the crown which Richard had worn in the battle; and the acclamations of "Long live Henry the Seventh!" by a natural and unpremeditated movement, resounded from all quarters of the field (August 22, 1485). Henry was now in his 30th year. He had no real title to the crown; but he determined to put himself in immediate possession of regal authority, and to show all opponents that nothing but force of arms should be able to expel him. He brought to the throne all the bitter feelings of the Lancastrians. To exalt that party, and depress the adherents of the house of York, were his favourite objects, and through the earlier part of his reign were never forgotten. His first command after the battle

of Bosworth was to secure the person of Edward Plantagenet, earl of Warwick, son of the duke of Clarence, who had been put to death by his brother, Edward IV. Henry immediately afterwards set out for the capital. His journey bore the appearance of an established monarch making a peaceable progress through his dominions, rather than that of a prince who had opened his way to the throne by force of arms. The promise he had made of marrying Elizabeth, the daughter of Edward IV., seemed to insure a union of the contending titles of the two families; but, though bound by honour as well as by interest to complete this alliance, he was resolved to postpone it till the ceremony of his own coronation should be finished, and his title recognized by parliament. Anxious to support his personal and hereditary right to the throne, he dreaded lest an earlier marriage with the princess should imply a right in her to participate in the sovereignty, and raise doubts of his own title through the house of Lancaster. On the 30th of October Henry was crowned at Westminster by cardinal Bouchier, archbishop of Canterbury. The parliament, which assembled soon after, seemed entirely devoted to him. It was enacted "That the inheritance of the crown should rest, remain, and abide in the king, and none other;" but whether as rightful heir, or only as present possessor, was not determined. In the following year Henry applied to the papal authority for a confirmation of his title. The parliament, at his instigation, passed an act of attainder against the late king and the richest of his adherents; they also reversed the attainders of Henry VI. and 107 Lancastrians. Henry bestowed favours and honours on some particular persons who were attached to him; but the ministers whom he most trusted and favoured were not chosen from among the nobility, or even from among the laity. John Morton and Richard Fox, two clergymen of singular industry and capacity, who had shared in his dangers and distresses, were called to the privy council; Morton was restored to the bishopric of Ely, and Fox was created bishop of Exeter (1487). The former, soon after, upon the death of Bouchier, was raised to the see of Canterbury. The king's marriage was celebrated at London, January 18, 1486, with greater demonstrations of joy than appeared either at his first entry or his coronation. But, though married, the queen was not crowned until the end of the next year.

§ 3. In the course of this year an abortive attempt at insurrection was made by lord Lovel; but though Henry had been able to defeat this hasty rebellion, raised by the relics of Richard's partisans, his government was disturbed by a more formal attempt. There lived in Oxford one Richard Simon, a priest, who entertained the design of disturbing Henry's government by raising up a pretender

to the crown. For that purpose he cast his eyes on Lambert Simnel, a youth of fifteen years of age, who was son of a joiner, or, as some say, of a baker. Being endowed with understanding above his years, and address above his condition, Simnel seemed well fitted to personate a prince. A report had been spread among the people and received with great avidity, that Richard, duke of York, second son of Edward IV., had escaped from the cruelty of his uncle, and lay somewhere concealed in England. Taking advantage of this rumour, Simon instructed his pupil to assume that name, which he found to be so fondly cherished by the public; but hearing afterwards a new report, that the earl of Warwick had made his escape from the Tower, and observing that this news was attended with no less general satisfaction, he changed his plans, and made Simnel personate that unfortunate prince. As the Irish were zealously attached to the house of York, and bore an affectionate regard to the memory of Richard, duke of York, Warwick's grandfather, who had been their lieutenant, Ireland was selected for the first scene of the plot. Gerald Fitzgerald, earl of Kildare, the deputy, and other persons of distinction, gave countenance to Simnel; and he was crowned at Dublin, under the appellation of Edward VI. (May, 1487). The whole island followed the example of the capital, and not a sword was drawn in Henry's quarrel. The king's first act on this intelligence was to order the queen-dowager and her son, the marquis of Dorset, into close confinement, the former in the nunnery of Bermondsey, the latter to the Tower. He next ordered Warwick to be taken from the Tower, he led in procession through the streets of London, be conducted to St. Paul's, and there exposed to the view of the whole people. The expedient had its effect in England; but in Ireland the people still persisted in their revolt, and Henry had soon reason to apprehend that the design against him was not laid on such slight foundations as the absurdity of the contrivance seemed to imply. John, earl of Lincoln, son of John de la Pole, duke of Suffolk, and of Elizabeth, eldest sister of Edward IV., whom Richard III. had declared heir to the throne, was engaged in the conspiracy; and he induced Margaret, the dowager duchess of Burgundy, another sister of Edward IV., to join it. After consulting with Lincoln and lord Lovel, she hired a body of 2000 veteran Germans, under the command of Martin Schwartz, a brave and experienced officer, and sent them over, together with these two noblemen, to join Simnel in Ireland. An invasion of England was resolved on. Simnel landed in Lancashire, and advanced as far as Stoke, near Newark. He was defeated by Henry in a decisive battle (June 16, 1487). Lincoln and Schwartz perished on the field, with 4000 of their followers. Lovel escaped, but was

never more seen or heard of.* Simnel, with his tutor Simon, was taken prisoner. Simon, being a priest, was not tried at law, and was only committed to close custody. Simnel was too contemptible to be an object either of apprehension or resentment. He was pardoned, and made a scullion in the king's kitchen, from which post he was afterwards advanced to the rank of falconer.

§ 4. The foreign transactions of this reign present little of interest or importance. The cautious and parsimonious temper of the king rendered him averse to war, and he could never be induced to take up arms when he saw the least prospect of attaining his ends by negotiation. About this time events in France compelled his interference; but it was exercised too late, and without vigour enough to be effective. Charles VIII., who had succeeded to the throne of France in 1483, was extremely desirous of annexing Brittany to his dominions; and, at the invitation of some discontented Breton barons, the French invaded that province with a large army (1488). Henry entered into a league with Maximilian of Germany and Ferdinand of Arragon for the defence of Brittany; but the resources of these princes were distant, and Henry himself only despatched an army of 6000 men, which, in virtue of a secret agreement with Charles, never took the field (1489). An unforeseen event disconcerted the policy of the allies. Anne, who had succeeded to the duchy of Brittany on the death of her father in 1488, had made a contract with Maximilian, but Charles invested Rennes, where the duchess resided, with a large army, and extorted a promise of marriage as the condition of her release. The nuptials were accordingly celebrated, and Anne was conducted to Paris, which she entered amidst the joyful acclamations of the people. Thus Brittany was finally annexed to the French crown (1491).

On pretence of a French war, Henry now levied a *benevolence*,† and the parliament, which met soon after, inflamed with the idea of a war with France, voted him a supply. He crossed over to Calais with a large army, and proceeded to invest Boulogne; but notwithstanding these professions of hostility, secret advances

* "Towards the close of the 17th century, at his seat at Minster Lovel, in Oxfordshire, was accidentally discovered a chamber under the ground, in which was the skeleton of a man seated in a chair, with his head reclining on a table. Hence it is supposed that the fugitive had found an asylum in this subterraneous chamber, where he was perhaps starved to death through neglect."—*Lingard*.

† Parliament consented that a *benevolence*, or contribution, should be levied

"from the abler sort." This mode of raising money, devised by Edward IV., was abolished by Richard III., but afterwards revived by him, under another name, and now by Henry VII., with the consent of parliament. In 1505 Henry raised another *benevolence*, without consent of parliament. "So forcible," says Coke, "is once a precedent fixed in the crown, add what proviso you will." 2 *Ins.* p. 61, 4 *Ins.* p. 32.

had been made towards peace above three months before, and commissioners had been appointed to treat of the terms. They met at Estaples. The king of France consented to pay £149,000 in half-yearly instalments for the peaceable possession of Brittany (1492). Thus the king, as remarked by his historian, Lord Bacon, made profit upon his subjects for the war, and upon his enemies for the peace. (Supplement, Note I.)

§ 5. Henry had now reason to flatter himself with the prospect of durable peace and tranquillity; but his inveterate and indefatigable enemies raised up an adversary who long kept him in alarm, and sometimes even brought him into danger. The report was revived that Richard, duke of York, had escaped from the Tower when his elder brother was murdered; and, finding this rumour greedily received, the enemies of Henry looked out for some young man to personate that unfortunate prince. There was one Pierce Osbeck, or Perkin Warbeck, born at Tournay of respectable parents, who by the natural versatility and sagacity of his genius seemed to be perfectly fitted to act any part, or assume any character. He was comely in his person, graceful in his air, courtly in his address, full of docility and good sense in his behaviour and conversation. The war which was then ready to break out between France and England seemed to afford a proper opportunity for the discovery of this new phenomenon; and Ireland, which still retained its attachment to the house of York, was chosen as the proper place for his first appearance. He landed at Cork; and immediately assuming the name of Richard Plantagenet, drew to him partisans among that credulous people (1492). The news soon reached France, and Charles sent Perkin an invitation to repair to him at Paris. He received him with all the marks of regard due to the duke of York; settled on him a handsome pension; assigned him magnificent lodgings; and, in order to provide at once for his dignity and security, gave him a guard for his person. When peace was concluded between France and England at Estaples, Henry applied to have Perkin put into his hands; but Charles, resolute not to betray a young man, of whatever birth, whom he had invited into his kingdom, would only agree to dismiss him. The pretended Richard retired to the duchess of Burgundy, who is thought by many to have been the original instigator of the plot. This princess, after feigning a long and severe scrutiny, burst out into joy and admiration at his wonderful deliverance, embraced him as her nephew, the true image of Edward, the sole heir of the Plantagenets, and the legitimate successor to the English throne. She immediately assigned him an equipage suited to his pretended birth, and on all occasions honoured him with the appellation of the *White*

Rose of England (1493). The English, from their great communication with the Low Countries, were every day more and more prepossessed in favour of the impostor. The whole nation was held in suspense, a regular conspiracy was formed against the king's authority, and a correspondence settled between the malcontents in Flanders and those in England. The king was informed of all these particulars; but agreeably to his character, which was both cautious and resolute, he proceeded deliberately, though steadily, in counter-working the projects of his enemies. His first object was to ascertain the death of the real duke of York, and to confirm the opinion that had always prevailed with regard to that event. Two of the persons employed in the murder of Richard's nephews, Forrest and Dighton, were alive, and they agreed in the same story; but, as the bodies were supposed to have been removed by Richard's orders from the place where they were first interred, and could not now be found, it was not in Henry's power to put the fact, so much as he wished, beyond all doubt and controversy.* He dispersed his spies all over Flanders and England; and he induced sir Robert Clifford, one of the partisans of the impostor, to betray the secrets intrusted to him. Several of Warbeck's partisans in England were arraigned, convicted, and executed for high treason. Among the victims was sir William Stanley, the lord chamberlain, who had saved Henry's life at Bosworth. He had told Clifford in confidence, that, if he were sure the young man who appeared in Flanders was really son to king Edward, he never would bear arms against him.

§ 6. The fate of Stanley made a great impression on the kingdom, and struck all the partisans of Perkin with the deepest dismay. When Perkin found that the king's authority daily gained ground among the people, and that his own pretensions were becoming obsolete, he resolved to attempt something which might revive the hopes and expectations of his partisans. After a vain attempt upon the coast of Kent he crossed over into Ireland (1495). But sir Edward Poynings, who had been appointed deputy of Ireland in 1494,† had put the affairs of that island into so good a posture that Perkin met with little success. He therefore bent his course towards Scotland, and presented himself to James IV., who then

* See note, p. 221. The objection raised from their impunity (which would naturally be a condition of their confession) is far more than outweighed by the rewards they had received from Richard. The fact that the pretended duke of York never attempted to explain what had become of Edward V. is conclusive against his own claims. Mackin-

tosh, *History of England*, vol. II. pp. 58-60.

† The statute of Drogheda, enacted in 1495, and known by the name of Poynings' law, formed the basis for the government of Ireland till the time of the Union. Its most important provision was that no bill could be introduced into the Irish parliament unless it had previously received the approval of the English council.

governed that kingdom. James gave him in marriage the lady Katharine Gordon, daughter of the earl of Huntley, and made an inroad into England (1496), carrying Perkin along with him, in hopes that the appearance of the pretended prince, who issued a proclamation, styling himself Richard IV., might raise an insurrection in the northern counties. Instead of joining the invaders, the English prepared to repel them; and James retreated into his own country. Henry discovered little anxiety to procure either reparation or vengeance for this insult committed on him by the Scots: his chief concern was to draw advantage from it, by the pretence which it afforded him to levy impositions on his own subjects. But the people, who were acquainted with the immense treasures which he had amassed, could ill brook these new exactions. When the attempt was made to levy the subsidy in Cornwall, the inhabitants, numerous and poor, robust and courageous, murmured against a tax occasioned by a sudden inroad of the Scots, from which they esteemed themselves entirely secure, and which had usually been repelled by the northern counties. They took up arms, and about 16,000, instigated by Flammark, an attorney, determined to march to London. They were defeated at Blackheath (June 17, 1497). Their leaders, with lord Audley, were taken and executed; 2000 were slain; the rest were made prisoners, but were dismissed without further punishment.

§ 7. Henry now attempted by negotiations to obtain possession of Warbeck's person. But James refused his advances, and, as he could no longer afford the pretender protection, he fitted out a small flotilla, with which Warbeck and his wife escaped to Ireland (July 30, 1497). He was invited to land in Cornwall (September 7). No sooner did he make his appearance at Bodmin, than the populace flocked to his standard; and Perkin, elated with his success, attempted to get possession of Exeter. On learning the approach of the king's forces, he abandoned the siege and advanced to Taunton. Though his followers now amounted to the number of nearly 7000, and seemed still resolute to maintain his cause, he himself despaired of success, and secretly withdrew to the sanctuary of Beaulieu, in the New Forest (September 21). The rebels submitted to the king's mercy; a few persons of desperate fortunes were executed, many were severely fined, the rest were dismissed with impunity. Perkin himself was persuaded, under promise of life, to deliver himself into the hands of Henry, who conducted him, in a species of mock triumph, to London. Having attempted to escape, he was confined to the Tower, where his habits of restless intrigue and enterprise followed him. In 1498 he insinuated himself into the intimacy of four servants of Sir John Digby, lieutenant

of the Tower; and by their means opened a correspondence with the earl of Warwick, who was confined in the same prison. Perkin engaged him to embrace a project for his escape, and offered to conduct the whole enterprise. The design, whether feigned or not, was employed as a charge against him, and Perkin was arraigned, condemned, and soon after hanged at Tyburn, with two of his former adherents. The earl of Warwick was beheaded on Tower Hill a few days afterwards (November, 1499). This act of tyranny begat great discontent among the people, which Henry vainly endeavoured to alleviate by alleging that his ally, Ferdinand of Arragon, scrupled to give his daughter Katharine in marriage to his son, prince Arthur, while any male descendant of the house of York remained. On the contrary, greater indignation was felt at seeing a young prince sacrificed, not to law and justice, but to the jealous policy of two subtle and crafty tyrants.

§ 8. Two years later (November 14, 1501) the king had the satisfaction of completing a marriage which had been projected and negotiated during the course of seven years; Arthur being now near 16 years of age, Katharine 18. But this marriage proved unprosperous. The young prince a few months after sickened and died (April 2, 1502). Desirous to continue his alliance with Spain, and unwilling to restore Katharine's dowry of 200,000 ducats, Henry contracted the Infanta to his second son Henry, a boy of 11 years of age, whom he created prince of Wales: an event which was afterwards attended with the most important consequences.* The same year another marriage was celebrated, which was also, in the next age, productive of great events—the marriage of Margaret, the king's eldest daughter, with James, king of Scotland. But amidst these prosperous incidents the king met with a domestic calamity. His queen died in childbed (February 11, 1503), and the infant did not long survive her.

The situation of the king's affairs, both at home and abroad, being now in every respect very fortunate, he gave full scope to his natural propensity; and avarice, which had ever been his ruling passion, increasing with age and encouraged by absolute authority, broke through all restraints of shame or justice. He had found two ministers, Empson and Dudley, perfectly qualified to second his rapacious inclinations. These instruments of oppression were both lawyers: the first of mean birth, of brutal manners, of an unrelenting temper; the second better born, better educated, and better bred, but equally unjust, severe, and inflexible. By their knowledge of the law these men, whom the king made officers of the Exchequer, were qualified to pervert the forms of justice; and

* They were not married until 1500.

the most iniquitous extortions were practised under legal pretences. The chief means of oppression were the penal statutes, which, without consideration of rank, quality, or services, were rigidly put in force against all men: spies and informers were rewarded and encouraged; no difference was made whether the statute were beneficial or hurtful, recent or obsolete. The sole end of the king and his ministers was to amass money, and bring every one under the lash of their authority. So overawed was the parliament, that at this very time the commons chose Dudley for their speaker (1504). By these arts, joined to a rigid frugality, the king so filled his coffers, that he is said to have possessed in ready money the sum of 1,800,000 pounds: a treasure almost incredible, if we consider the scarcity of money in those times.

§ 9. The remaining years of Henry's reign present little that is memorable. The archduke Philip, on the death of his mother-in-law, Isabella, proceeded by sea, with his wife Joanna, to take possession of Castile, but was driven by a violent tempest into Weymouth (1506). The king availed himself of this event to detain Philip in a species of captivity, and to extort from him a promise of the hand of his sister Margaret, with a large dowry. Nor was this the only concession. He made Philip promise that his son Charles should espouse Henry's daughter Mary, though that prince was already affianced to a daughter of the king of France. He also negotiated a new treaty of commerce with the Flemings, much to the advantage of the English. But perhaps his most ungenerous act on this occasion was his obliging Philip to surrender Edmund de la Pole, earl of Suffolk, nephew of Edward IV., and younger brother of the earl of Lincoln, who had perished at the battle of Stoke. The earl of Suffolk, having incurred the king's resentment, had taken refuge in the Low Countries, and had intrigued to gain possession of Calais. Philip stipulated indeed that Suffolk's life should be spared; but Henry committed him to the Tower, and, regarding his promise as only personal, recommended his successor to put him to death.* Shortly afterwards Henry's health declined, and he died of a consumption, at his favourite palace of Richmond (April 21, 1509), after a reign of 23 years and eight months, and in the 52nd year of his age. He was buried in the chapel he had built for himself at Westminster.

§ 10. The reign of Henry VII. was, in the main, fortunate for his people at home, and honourable abroad. He put an end to the civil wars with which the nation had long been harassed, he maintained peace and order in the state, he repressed the exorbitant power of the nobility, and, together with the friendship of some

* Henry VIII. put him to death in 1513, without alleging any new offence against him.

foreign princes, he acquired the consideration and regard of all. A new stimulus was given to English commerce by the treaty with Burgundy, called *The Great Intercourse*, and stability to trade by a strict regulation of weights and measures.* Bacon compares him with Louis XI. of France and Ferdinand of Spain, and describes the three as "the *tres magi* of kings of those ages,"—the great masters of kingcraft.

§ 10. The Star-chamber, so called from the room in which it met, is usually said to have been founded in the reign of Henry VII.; but this is not strictly correct.† In 1495 the parliament enacted that no person who should by arms or otherwise assist the king for the time being should be liable to attainder for such obedience. Such a statute could not of course bind future parliaments; but, as Mr. Hallam observes,‡ it remains an unquestionable authority for the constitutional maxim, "that possession of the throne gives a sufficient title to the subject's allegiance, and justifies his resistance of those who may pretend to a better right."

It was by accident only that the king had not a considerable share in those great naval discoveries by which his age was so much distinguished. Columbus, after meeting with many repulses from the courts of Portugal and Spain, sent his brother Bartholomew to London, in order to explain his projects to Henry, and crave his aid for the execution of them. The king invited him over to England; but his brother, being taken by pirates, was detained in his voyage; and Columbus, meanwhile, having obtained the countenance of Isabella, was supplied with a small fleet, and happily executed his enterprise (1492). Not discouraged by this disappointment, Henry fitted out Sebastian Cabot, a Venetian settled in Bristol, and sent him westwards in search of new countries (1498). Cabot discovered the mainland of America, Newfoundland, and other countries, but returned to England without making any conquest or settlement.

* Some towns still possess the standards issued in his reign.

† See Notes and Illustrations at the end of this book.

‡ Const. Hist., ch. 1.



Silver medal of Henry VIII.
HENRICVS VIII DEI GRA REX ANGL FRANC DOM HYS +

CHAPTER XIV.

HENRY VIII. FROM HIS ACCESSION TO THE DEATH OF WOLSEY.
b. 1491; r. 1509-1547.

- § 1. Accession of HENRY VIII. Empson and Dudley punished. § 2. The king's marriage. War with France. Wolsey minister. § 3. Battle of Guinegate. Battle of Flodden. § 4. Peace with France. Louis XII. marries the princess Mary. § 5. Greatness of Wolsey. He induces Henry to cede Tournay to France. Wolsey legate. § 6. Election of the emperor Charles V. Interview between Henry and Francis. Charles visits England. Henry visits France. Field of the Cloth of Gold. § 7. Henry mediates between Charles and Francis. Execution of Buckingham. § 8. Henry styled "Defender of the Faith." Charles again in England. War with France. Scotch affairs. Defeat of Albany. § 9. Supplies illegally levied. League of Henry, the emperor, and the duke of Bourbon. § 10. Battle of Pavia. Treaty between England and France. § 11. Discontent of the English. Francis recovers his freedom. Sack of Rome. League with France. § 12. Henry's scruples about his marriage with Katharine. Anne Boleyn. Proceedings for a divorce. § 13. Wolsey's fall. § 14. Rise of Cranmer. Death of Wolsey.

§ 1. THE death of Henry VII. had been attended with as open and visible a joy among the people as decency would permit, and the accession of his son, Henry VIII., spread universally a declared and unfeigned satisfaction. Henry was now in his 19th year. Born in 1491, he had received a liberal education, and after the death of his brother Arthur, in 1502, was created prince of Wales. The beauty and vigour of his person, accompanied with great dexterity in all manly exercises, were further adorned with a blooming and ruddy countenance, a lively air, and no little vivacity. The vehemence, ardour, and impatience of his disposition, which degenerated into tyranny in after years, were considered only as faults incident to unguarded youth; and, as the contending titles of York

and Lancaster were now at last fully united in his person, his subjects justly expected from a prince obnoxious to no party that impartiality of administration which had long been unknown in England. The chief competitors for favour and authority under the new king were the earl of Surrey,* treasurer, and Fox, bishop of Winchester, secretary and privy seal. Surrey knew how to conform himself to the humour of his new master; and no one was so forward in promoting that liberality, pleasure, and magnificence which began to prevail under the young monarch. One party of pleasure succeeded to another; tilts, tournaments, and carousals were exhibited with all the magnificence of the age; and, as the present tranquillity of the public permitted the court to indulge itself in every amusement, serious business was but little attended to. As the frank and careless humour of the king led him to dissipate the treasures amassed by his father, so it rendered him negligent in protecting the instruments whom that prince had employed in his extortions. The informers were thrown into prison. Empson and Dudley were committed to the Tower; and in order to gratify the people with the punishment of these obnoxious ministers, crimes very improbable, or indeed absolutely impossible, were charged upon them. They were accused of having entered into a conspiracy against the sovereign, and intending, on the death of the late king, to seize the government. Their conviction by a jury was confirmed by a bill of attainder, but they were not executed until next year, on Tower Hill.

§ 2. Soon after his accession, Henry, by the advice of his council, celebrated his marriage with the infanta Katharine (June 7); and the king and queen were crowned at Westminster on the 24th.

The first two or three years of Henry's reign were spent in profound peace; but impatient of acquiring that distinction in Europe, to which his power and opulence entitled him, he could not long remain neutral amidst the noise of arms. The natural enmity of the English against France, as well as their ancient claims upon that kingdom, led Henry to join the alliance, or *Holy League*, which, after the league of Cambray (1509), the pope, Spain, and Venice had formed against Louis XII. War was declared against France (1511); and a parliament being summoned, readily granted supplies for a purpose so much favoured by the English nation. But Henry suffered himself to be deceived by the artifices of his father-in-law, Ferdinand. That selfish and treacherous prince advised him not to invade France by the way of Calais, where he himself would not have it in his power to assist him; but rather to send forces to Fontarabia, whence he could easily make a con-

* The earl of Surrey had been attainted on the accession of Henry VII. (1485), but was restored to the earldom in 1489.

quest of Guienne, a province in which, it was imagined, the English had still some adherents. He promised to assist in this conquest by the junction of a Spanish army; and so forward did he seem to promote the interests of his son-in-law, that he even sent vessels to England in order to transport over the forces which Henry had levied for that purpose. But, false to his promises, Ferdinand employed himself solely in the conquest of Navarre. Failing of the promised support, the marquis of Dorset, the English commander, finding that his further stay served not to promote the main undertaking, and that his men were daily perishing by want and sickness, returned to England (1512). Notwithstanding his disappointments in this campaign, Henry was still encouraged to prosecute his warlike measures against Louis, especially as Leo X., who had succeeded Julius II. on the papal throne, had detached the emperor Maximilian from the French interests (1513). Determined to invade France, Henry was little discouraged by the prospect of a war with the Scots, who had formed an alliance with France. His schemes were promptly seconded by Wolsey.

Thomas Wolsey, dean of Lincoln and almoner to the king, was now fast advancing towards that unrivalled grandeur which he afterwards attained. Reputed to be the son of a butcher at Ipswich, he was educated at Oxford, became a fellow of Magdalen College, and was appointed for his learning master of the college school. Three sons of the marquis of Dorset were placed under his charge, and he soon gained the friendship and countenance of that nobleman, who offered him the living of Lymington, which Wolsey accepted, and left Oxford (1500). Appointed chaplain to Henry VII., he was employed in a secret negotiation which regarded Henry's intended marriage with Margaret of Savoy, Maximilian's daughter, and acquitted himself to the king's satisfaction. Introduced to Henry VIII. by Fox, bishop of Winchester, he promoted all those amusements which he found suitable to the age and inclination of the young monarch. He was advanced to be a member of his council, and became his chief minister. By this rapid advancement the character and genius of Wolsey had full opportunity to display themselves. Insatiable in his acquisitions, but still more magnificent in his expense; of extensive capacity, but unbounded enterprise; ambitious of power, but still more desirous of glory; insinuating, engaging, persuasive, and, by turns, lofty, elevated, commanding; haughty to his equals, but affable to his dependants; he was framed to take the ascendant in his intercourse with others. But this superiority of *nature* was often exerted in such a way as exposed him to envy, and made every one willing to recal the original inferiority of his *fortune*.

§ 3. The war commenced in 1513 with a desperate naval action, in which Sir Edward Howard, the English admiral, was slain, whilst attempting to cut six French galleys out of the port of Conquet with only two vessels. On the 30th of June the king landed at Calais with a considerable army. Marching from Calais on the 21st of July, he appeared before Terouenne, and was joined by the emperor Maximilian (August 12), who had enlisted himself in Henry's service, wore the cross of St. George, and received 100 gold crowns a day as one of his captains. But while he exhibited this extraordinary spectacle, of an emperor serving under a king of England, he was treated with the highest respect by Henry. Receiving intelligence of the approach of the French along the Lis to relieve the town, Henry met and overthrew them with so much precipitation that they immediately took to flight and were pursued by the English, and many officers of distinction were made prisoners. The action is sometimes called the Battle of Guinegate, from the place where it was fought; but more commonly the *Battle of Spurs*, because the French that day made more use of their spurs than their swords (August 16). Terouenne was taken (August 22). The king then laid siege to Tournay, which surrendered (September 21). As the bishop of Tournay was lately dead, the administration of the see was bestowed on Wolsey. Seeing that the season was far advanced, Henry returned to England with the greater part of his army.

The success which during the summer had attended Henry's arms in the north under Surrey was much more decisive. James IV., king of Scotland, had assembled the whole force of his kingdom; and having passed the Tweed, with a brave though a tumultuary army of above 50,000 men, he ravaged those parts of Northumberland which lay nearest that river. Meanwhile the earl of Surrey, having collected a force of 26,000 men, marched to the defence of the country. The two armies met at Flodden, near the Cheviot Hills (September 9). The action was desperate; the defeat of the Scotch complete. The English lost no person of note; but the flower of the Scottish nobility had fallen, and their king himself, after the most diligent inquiry, could nowhere be found. The fond conceit was long entertained among the Scots that he was still alive, and, having secretly gone on a pilgrimage to the Holy Land, would soon return and take possession of the throne. When the queen of Scotland, Margaret, who was created regent during the infancy of her son James V., applied for peace, Henry readily granted it, and took compassion upon the helpless condition of his sister and nephew. For this victory Surrey was created duke of Norfolk, and his son succeeded to his father's title.

§ 4. In the following year (1514) Henry discovered that both the

emperor and the king of Spain had deserted his alliance for that of Louis; and that they had listened to a proposition for the marriage of their common grandson, the archduke Charles, to a daughter of the French king, although that young prince was already affianced to Henry's sister Mary. Under these circumstances, Henry readily listened to the suggestion of his prisoner, the duke of Longueville, for a peace with France, to be confirmed by Mary's marriage with Louis, who was now a widower. The articles were easily adjusted between the two monarchs; but Louis died in less than three months after the marriage (January 1, 1515). He was succeeded by Francis, count of Angoulême, a youth of 21, who had married Louis's eldest daughter. At that time Charles Brandon, duke of Suffolk, was ambassador at the court of France. He was the most comely personage of his time, and the most accomplished in all the exercises which were then thought to befit a courtier and a soldier. He was Henry's chief favourite and companion. Taking advantage of the opportunity thus offered him, he contracted a secret marriage with Mary, not without the connivance of the French king. The act, which incurred Henry's indignation was soon forgiven, through the good offices of Wolsey and the French monarch, and the pair were permitted to return to England.

§ 5. The numerous enemies whom Wolsey's elevation had raised against him, served only to rivet him faster in Henry's confidence. Well acquainted with the king's imperious temper, he concealed from him the ascendancy he had acquired; and while he secretly directed all public councils, he ever pretended profound submission to the will and authority of his master. He had now been promoted to the see of York (1514), with which he was allowed to unite Durham in 1523, and the abbey of St. Alban's in 1521. In 1515 the pope created him a cardinal. No churchman ever carried to a greater height the state and dignity of that character. His household consisted of 500 servants, many of whom were knights and gentlemen; some even of the nobility put their children into his family as a place of education. Whoever was distinguished by any art or science paid court to the cardinal, and none paid court in vain. Literature, which was then in its infancy, found in him a generous patron; and both by his public institutions, and private bounty he gave encouragement to every branch of learning. Not content with this munificence, which gained him the approbation of the wise, he strove to dazzle the eyes of the populace by the splendour of his equipage and furniture, the costly embroidery of his liveries, and the lustre of his apparel. On the resignation of the great seal by Warham, archbishop of Canterbury, it was immediately delivered to Wolsey. (December 22, 1515).

If this new accumulation of dignity increased his enemies, it also served to exalt his personal character, and to prove the extent of his capacity. A strict administration of justice took place during his enjoyment of this high office; and no chancellor ever showed greater care or impartiality in his decisions.

In 1518, Francis being desirous of recovering Tournay, a treaty was entered into for the ceding of that town by the cardinal's advice. To give the measure a more graceful appearance, it was agreed that the dauphin and the princess Mary, the king's daughter, both of them infants, should be betrothed, and that Tournay should be considered as the dowry of the princess. Francis also agreed to pay 600,000 gold crowns in twelve annual payments; and lest the cardinal should think himself neglected in these stipulations, he was promised a yearly pension of 12,000 livres, as an equivalent for the loss of the bishopric of Tournay.

The authority of Wolsey was about this time further increased by his being invested with the legatine power, by virtue of which he had the right of visiting the clergy and the monasteries in England, and holding a legatine court. He claimed also jurisdiction over the bishops' courts, especially in the matter of wills and testaments.

§ 6. While Henry, indulging himself in pleasure and amusement, intrusted the government of his kingdom to his minister, the death of the emperor Maximilian left the highest dignity in Christendom open to competition for Christian princes, and proved a kind of era in the political system of Europe (1519). Francis I. and Charles I., king of Spain, immediately declared themselves candidates for the imperial crown, and employed every expedient of money or intrigue which promised them success. Henry also was encouraged to advance his pretensions; but his minister, Pace, who was despatched to the electors, found that he had begun his solicitations too late, and that the votes of all these princes were already pre-engaged either on one side or the other. Charles ultimately prevailed; and was thus raised to the highest pinnacle of fortune as the Emperor Charles V. He enjoyed the succession of Castile, of Arragon, of Austria, and of the Netherlands; he inherited the conquests of Naples and Grenada; election raised him to the empire; even the bounds of the globe seemed to be enlarged a little before his time, that he might possess the whole treasure, as yet entire and unripened, of the new world. Francis, disgusted with his ill success, now applied himself, by way of counterpoise to the power of Charles, to cultivate the friendship of Henry, who possessed the felicity of being able, both by the native force of his kingdom and its situation, to hold the balance between these two powers. He solicited an interview near Calais, in expectation of

being able, by familiar conversation, to gain upon his friendship and confidence; and as Henry himself loved show and magnificence, and had entertained a curiosity of being personally acquainted with the French king, he cheerfully adjusted all the preliminaries. Meanwhile the emperor, politic though young, being informed of the intended interview between Francis and Henry, was apprehensive of the consequences, and took the opportunity, in his passage from Spain to the Low Countries, to make the English king a still higher compliment by paying him a visit in his own dominions. Hearing of his nephew's arrival, Henry hastened to meet him at Dover. Besides the marks of regard and attachment which Charles gave to Henry, he gained the cardinal to his interests by holding out to him the hope of attaining the papacy. The views of Henry himself, indeed, were directed towards France as his ancient inheritance; and no power was more fitted than the emperor to assist him in such a design.

The day of Charles's departure (May 31, 1520), Henry went over to Calais with the queen and his whole court; and thence proceeded to Guisnes, a small town near the frontiers. Francis, attended in like manner, came to Ardres, a few miles distant; and the two monarchs met for the first time in the fields at a place situated between these two towns, but still within the English pale; for Francis agreed to pay this compliment to Henry in consideration of that prince's passing the sea that he might be present at the interview. Wolsey, to whom both kings had intrusted the regulation of the ceremonial, contrived this circumstance in order to do honour to his master. The nobility both of France and England here displayed their magnificence with such emulation and profuse expense as procured for the place of interview the name of *The Field of the Cloth of Gold*. The two monarchs, who were the most comely personages of the age, as well as the most expert in every military exercise, passed the time till their departure in tournaments and other entertainments, more than in any serious business. Henry then paid a visit to the emperor and Margaret of Savoy, at Grave-lines, and engaged them to go along with him to Calais. Charles here completed the impression which he had begun to make on Henry and his favourite; and, to secure the cardinal still further in his interests, promised him a pension from the ecclesiastical revenues of Toledo and Palencia in Castile; but never paid it.

§ 7. The violent personal emulation and political jealousy which had taken place between the emperor and the French king soon broke out in hostilities (1521); but while these ambitious and warlike princes were acting against each other in various parts of Europe, they still made professions of peace, and carried their com-

plaints to Henry, as to the umpire between them. The king, who pretended to be neutral, engaged them to send their ambassadors to Calais, there to negotiate a peace, under the mediation of Wolsey and the pope's nuncio. The emperor was well apprised of the partiality of these mediators, and his demands in the conference were so unreasonable as plainly proved him conscious of the advantage. Francis rejected the terms; the congress of Calais broke up; and Wolsey soon after took a journey to Bruges, where he met the emperor, and arranged the terms, in his master's name, for an offensive alliance with Charles and the pope against France. It was stipulated that England should next summer invade that kingdom with 40,000 men; and that Charles should marry the princess Mary, the king's only child, who had now some prospect of inheriting the crown. The death of the duke of Buckingham, tried and executed for high treason in May 17, 1521, for letting fall some unguarded expressions, as if he thought himself entitled to succeed, in case the king should die without issue, was popularly attributed to Wolsey, and provoked more than ever the resentment of the nobility.*

§ 8. Europe was at this time in a ferment with the progress of Luther and the Reformation. Henry, who had been educated in a strict attachment to the church of Rome, wrote a book in Latin in defence of the Seven Sacraments against Luther, and sent a copy of it to pope Leo, who received so magnificent a present with great professions of regard, and conferred on the king the title of *Defender of the Faith* (October 11, 1521). This was one of the last acts of Leo X., who died before the close of the year, in the flower of his age. He was succeeded in the papal chair by Adrian VI., a Fleming, who had been tutor to the emperor Charles. The emperor, who had taken no pains to make good his promises to Wolsey, paid a second visit to England in 1522. Flattering the vanity of the king and the cardinal, he renewed to Wolsey all the promises, which he had made him, of seconding his pretensions to the papal throne. War was now declared against France. The English army, which landed at Calais under the command of Surrey, did not accomplish anything of importance; but in Scotland the regent Albany, though at the head of a numerous army, was frightened into a disgraceful truce with lord Dacre; and in the following year he retreated still more disgracefully. Soon after he

* Henry Stafford, duke of Buckingham, was the son of the duke of Buckingham executed by Richard III., and was descended by the female line from the duke of Gloucester, youngest son of Edward III.

(See Genealogical Table, p. 223.) The office of constable, which this nobleman inherited from the Bohuns, earls of Hereford, was forfeited, and was never afterwards revived in England.

went over to France, and never again returned to Scotland. The Scottish nation, agitated by domestic factions, was not during several years in a condition to give any more disturbance to England; and Henry had full leisure to prosecute his designs on the continent.

§ 9. To carry on the war against France, Henry in 1523 summoned parliament, and demanded a subsidy of 800,000*l.* To hasten it, Wolsey went in state to the lower house, to discuss the matter, but was informed that this practice was neither expedient nor agreeable to their ancient liberties. He desired a property tax of twenty per cent. to be raised at once; but the house demurred. After a long debate, it was concluded that five per cent. should be paid on all property below 20*l.*, and ten per cent. on all property above that value, for the first and second year; and the same rates for the third and fourth year.

The sum granted by the commons, besides being distributed over so long a period, was wholly inadequate to the expenses of the war, which required to be pushed with the greatest vigour and alacrity. France was threatened by a formidable confederacy (1523). It was exposed to still greater peril by a domestic conspiracy which had been formed by Charles, duke of Bourbon, constable of France, who, entering into the emperor's service, employed all the force of his enterprising spirit, and his great talents for war, to the prejudice of his native country. A league was formed by Henry, Charles, and Bourbon, for the conquest and partition of France. Provence, Dauphiné, Auvergne, and the Bourbonnais, were to be erected into a kingdom for Bourbon; Burgundy, Languedoc, Champagne, and Picardy, were to be given to the emperor; and the king of England was to have the rest of France (1523). The duke of Suffolk led an army into France; but, though he advanced within sight of Paris, he returned to Calais without effecting anything of importance. Meanwhile, pope Adrian VI. died (September 24, 1523), and was succeeded by Clement VI., of the family of the Medici, supported by the imperial faction. Wolsey was now fully convinced—if he was not convinced before—of the emperor's insincerity; but the interests of England were superior to all other considerations, and, if he nourished resentment at the treatment he had received, he did not suffer his passions to interfere with his policy.

§ 10. The year 1525 was marked by a memorable event. Francis had been expelled from Italy in the preceding year; and the imperialists had invaded the south of France and laid siege to Marseilles. But upon the approach of the French king with a numerous army, they found themselves under a necessity of raising

the siege; and they led their forces, weakened, baffled, and disheartened, into Italy. Notwithstanding the advanced season, Francis pursued them into that country, and sat down before Pavia; but, after he had invested it several months, the imperial generals came to its relief. The French were put to the rout, and Francis, surrounded by his enemies, was compelled to surrender himself prisoner (February 24, 1525). Almost the whole army, full of nobility and brave officers, either perished by the sword, or were made prisoners.

Henry was at first ostensibly inclined to take advantage of the French monarch's misfortune. He pressed the emperor to invade France next summer from the south, whilst he himself entered it on the north: he anticipated that they might meet at Paris, when, after being crowned king of France, he would assist Charles to recover Burgundy, and accompany him to Rome for his coronation. If the emperor fulfilled his contract in marrying the princess Mary, he held out the prospect that he or his posterity might eventually succeed to the crown of France, and even of England itself. But Charles was in no humour to let Henry reap the chief benefit from his success, or to seek, by an invasion of France, advantages which the captivity of Francis afforded an opportunity to extort. Under one pretence or another, he declined to invade France, intending to secure his own interests alone from the necessities of his royal prisoner. Henry resolved to anticipate him. He entered secretly into negotiations with Louise, the queen-mother and regent, for which Wolsey had already paved the way some months before, engaging to procure her son his liberty on reasonable conditions. A treaty was concluded; the regent acknowledged the kingdom Henry's debtor for 2,000,000 crowns, to be discharged in half-yearly payments of 50,000 crowns: after which Henry was to receive, during life, a yearly pension of 100,000 crowns. The interests of Wolsey were secured by a pension of 100,000 crowns, as a compensation for the loss of his Spanish pension, and the arrears due to him for relinquishing the administration of Tournay.

§ 11. To meet the expenses incurred by these various negotiations, Henry had recourse to an *Amicable Loan*, as it was called. As the subsidy levied by parliament had not yet been fully paid, this attempt met with considerable opposition. It was urged that the labouring population, especially those who were engaged in the woollen trades, could be no longer set to work whilst the country was thus drained of its capital. The people broke out into murmurs and complaints; their refractory disposition threatened a general insurrection. But, as they were not headed by any considerable person, it was easy for the duke of Suffolk and the earl of Surrey,

now duke of Norfolk, by employing persuasion and authority, to induce the ringleaders to lay down their arms and surrender themselves prisoners. The king, finding it dangerous to punish criminals engaged in so popular a cause, was determined, notwithstanding his imperious temper, to grant them a general pardon; and he prudently overlooked their guilt.

Early in 1526 the French king recovered his liberty in accordance with a treaty concluded at Madrid; the principal condition of which was the restoring of Francis to liberty, and the delivery of his two eldest sons as hostages to the emperor for the cession of Burgundy. If any difficulty should afterwards occur in the execution of this last article, from the opposition of the States, either of France or the province, Francis stipulated that in six weeks' time he should return to prison, and remain there till the full performance of the treaty. But at the very moment of signing it he entered a secret protest against it, and declared that he would never observe it; and when he returned to France, he openly showed his resolution to evade its performance, in which he was encouraged by the English court. War was therefore renewed between Francis and Charles. In the following year (1527), Bourbon, who commanded the imperialists in Italy, finding it difficult to support his army, determined to lead it to Rome, which was taken by storm: but the duke himself was slain in the assault. Pope Clement was taken captive, and the city was exposed to all the violence and brutality of a licentious soldiery.

The sack of Rome and the captivity of the pope caused general indignation among all the catholics of Europe. A new treaty was concluded between Henry and Francis, with a view of expelling the imperialists from Italy, and restoring the pope to liberty. Henry agreed finally to renounce all claims to the crown of France; claims which might now indeed be deemed chimerical, but which had often served as a pretence for exciting the unwary English to wage war upon the French nation. As a return for this concession, Francis bound himself and his successors to pay 50,000 crowns a year to Henry and his successors; and, that greater solemnity might be given to this treaty, it was agreed that the parliaments and great nobility of both kingdoms should give their assent to it.

§ 12. About this time Henry began to express those doubts he had already entertained respecting the lawfulness of his marriage with Katharine of Arragon, his brother's widow, though he had been united to her 18 years. Several causes tended to render his conscience more scrupulous. The queen was older than the king by no less than six years; and the decay of her beauty contributed,

notwithstanding her blameless character and deportment, to render her person unacceptable. Though she had borne him several children, they had all died in early infancy, except one daughter. The king professed to be the more struck with this misfortune, because the curse of being childless is the threat contained in the Mosaical law against those who espouse their brother's widow. He urged that the succession of the crown was in danger; and that doubts of Mary's legitimacy might hereafter throw the kingdom into confusion. But Henry had already fixed his affections on Anne Boleyn. This young lady was daughter of sir Thomas Boleyn, and, through her mother, grand-daughter of the late and niece of the present duke of Norfolk. Anne herself, in early youth, had been carried over to Paris, and returned to England in 1522. As inclination and policy seemed thus to concur in making the king desirous of a divorce, he resolved to apply to Clement VI., and he sent Knight, his secretary, to Rome for that purpose. The pope, who was then a prisoner in the hands of the emperor, and had no hopes of securing his liberty except by the efforts of the league which Henry had formed with Francis and the Italian powers in order to oppose the ambition of Charles, soon after escaped in disguise to Orvieto; but as he still remained in dread of the imperialists, he had the strongest motives to embrace every opportunity of gratifying the English monarch. When the English secretary, therefore, solicited him in private, he received a very favourable answer. After many negotiations and some delay, he granted a commission in 1528 to cardinals Wolsey and Campeggio, to try the validity of the marriage. Charles had, meanwhile, promised Katharine, his aunt, his utmost protection; and in all his negotiations with the pope he pressed urgently for the recal of the commission issued to the two cardinals.

Campeggio arrived in England, October 7, and the two legates opened their court at London, May 31, 1529, and, after certain preliminaries, cited the king and queen to appear before them. They both presented themselves, and the king answered to his name when called; but the queen, instead of answering to hers, rose from her seat, and, throwing herself at the king's feet, made a very pathetic harangue, which her virtue, her dignity, and her misfortunes rendered the more affecting. She concluded by declaring that she would not submit her cause to be tried by a court whose dependence on her enemies was too visible ever to allow her any hopes of obtaining from them an equitable or impartial decision. With these words, she rose, and making the king a low reverence she departed from the court, and never would again appear in it. The trial was spun out till the 23rd of July, the two

legates using all their persuasions, but in vain, to induce Katharine to consent to a separation and dissolution of the marriage. The king was anxiously expecting a sentence in his favour, when, to his great surprise, Campeggio prorogued the court till the 1st of October. A few days afterwards the king and queen received a citation from the pope to appear either in person or by proxy at Rome. This measure, which the emperor had extorted from the timidity of Clement, put an end to all the hopes of success which the king had so long and so anxiously cherished.

§ 13. Wolsey had long foreseen this measure as the sure forerunner of his ruin. He had employed himself with the utmost assiduity and earnestness to bring the affair to a happy issue: he was not, therefore, to be blamed for the unprosperous event which Clement's partiality had produced. Anne Boleyn also, who was prepossessed against him, imputed to him the failure of her hopes. Even the high opinion which Henry entertained of the cardinal's capacity tended to hasten his downfall; while, encouraged in his animosity against the unfortunate cardinal by Anne Boleyn and her friends, he imputed the bad success of that minister's undertakings, not to ill fortune, or to mistake, but to the malignity or infidelity of his intentions. Wolsey appeared for the last time in the court of Chancery, October 9. The same day an indictment was preferred against him in the King's Bench for breach of *præmunire*, in procuring bulls from Rome and exercising the legatine authority. The great seal was taken from him a few days after, and delivered by the king to sir Thomas More, a man who, besides the ornaments of an elegant literature, possessed the highest virtue, integrity, and capacity. Wolsey was ordered to depart from York-place, a palace which he had built in London, and which, though it really belonged to the see of York, was seized by Henry, and became afterwards the residence of the kings of England, by the title of Whitehall. All his furniture and plate were seized; and he was ordered to retire to Esher, a country seat he possessed near Hampton Court. The world, that had paid him such abject court during his prosperity, now entirely deserted him on this fatal reverse of all his fortunes.

Upon the meeting of parliament (November 3), which had not been summoned for seven years, the House of Lords voted a long charge against Wolsey, consisting of 44 articles, and accompanied it with an application for his punishment and his removal from all authority. The articles were sent down to the House of Commons, where Thomas Cromwell, his servant, and who had been raised by him from a very low station, defended his unfortunate patron with much spirit and generosity. After some months Wolsey

obtained his pardon. He was allowed to retain the see of York, and a small portion of his plate and furniture was restored.

§ 14. The general peace established this summer in Europe by the treaty of Cambray (August 5, 1529) left Henry full leisure to prosecute his divorce. Amidst the anxieties with which he was agitated; he was often tempted to break off all connections with the court of Rome. He found his prerogative firmly established at home; and he observed that his people were in general much disgusted with clerical usurpations, and disposed to reduce the powers and privileges of the ecclesiastical order. But notwithstanding these inducements, Henry had strong motives still to desire a good agreement with the sovereign pontiff. He apprehended the danger of such great innovations: he dreaded the reproach of heresy; he abhorred all connections with the Lutherans, the chief opponents of the papal power: and having once exerted himself with much applause, as he imagined, in defence of the papal authority, he was ashamed to retract his former opinions, and betray from passion such a palpable inconsistency. While he was agitated by these contrary motives, an expedient was proposed, which, as it promised a solution of all difficulties, was embraced by him with the greatest joy and satisfaction.

The story goes, though many of its details are certainly apocryphal, that Dr. Thomas Cranmer, fellow of Jesus College in Cambridge, fell one evening by accident into company with Gardiner, now the king's secretary, and Fox, the king's almoner; and, as the business of the divorce became the subject of conversation, he observed that the readiest way, either to quiet Henry's conscience or extort the pope's consent, would be to consult the universities with regard to this controverted point: if they agreed to approve of the king's marriage with Katharine, his remorse would naturally cease; if they condemned it, the pope would find it difficult to resist the solicitations of so great a monarch, seconded by the opinion of the learned men in Christendom. When the king was informed of the proposal, he was delighted with it, and swore, with more alacrity than delicacy, that Cranmer had got the right sow by the ear. He sent for that divine, engaged him to write in defence of the divorce, and, in prosecution of the scheme proposed, employed his agents to collect the judgments of all the universities in Europe. The king's money was freely employed. Several gave sentence in the king's favour; not only those of France, Paris, Orleans, Bourges, Toulouse, Angers, which might be supposed to lie under the influence of their prince, Henry's ally; but also those of Venice, Ferrara, Padua, and even Bologna. Oxford alone, and Cambridge, alarmed at the progress of Lutheranism, made some

difficulty. Their opinion, however, conformable to that of the other universities of Europe, was at last obtained, though not without the use of threats.

Meanwhile the enemies of Wolsey, and Anne Boleyn in particular, had persuaded Henry to renew the prosecution against his ancient favourite. The cardinal had, by the king's command, removed to his see of York, and had taken up his residence at Cawood, in Yorkshire, where he rendered himself extremely popular in the neighbourhood by his affability and hospitality. Here he was arrested on a charge of high treason by the earl of Northumberland, who had received orders to conduct him to London in order to his trial. The cardinal, partly from the fatigues of his journey, partly from agitation of mind, was seized with a disorder which turned into a dysentery; and he was able with some difficulty to reach Leicester Abbey. When the abbot and the monks advanced to receive him with much respect and reverence, he told them that he was come to lay his bones amongst them; and he immediately took to his bed, whence he never rose more. A little before he expired he said, among other things, to sir William Kingston, constable of the Tower, who had him in custody,—“Had I but served God as diligently as I have served the king, he would not have given me over in my grey hairs. Let me advise you,” he added, “if you be hereafter one of the privy council, as by your wisdom you are meet, take care what matter you put into the king's head: for you shall never put it out again.” Thus died this famous cardinal (November 29, 1530), whose character seems to have contained as singular a variety as the fortune to which he was exposed. Whatever were his faults, he was undoubtedly a minister of great capacity, “enlightened beyond the age in which he lived, diligent in business, a good servant to the king,” whose cruelty was restrained and whose passions and caprices were kept within bounds by Wolsey's influence. But the best proof of the excellence of his administration is to be found in the comparison of the king's conduct when the cardinal directed his council and after his fall.



Gold medal of Henry VIII.

Obverse: HENRICVS . OCTA . ANGLIÆ . FRANCIE . ET . HIB . REX . FIDELI . DEFENSOR . ET . IN . TERR . ECCLE . ANGLI . ET . HIBE . SVB . CHRIST . CAPVT . SVPREMVM.

CHAPTER XV.

HENRY VIII.—CONTINUED. FROM THE DEATH OF WOLSEY TO THE DEATH OF THE KING. A.D. 1530-1547.

§ 1. Proceedings against the clergy and the court of Rome. Henry's marriage with Anne Boleyn. Katharine divorced. § 2. The Reformation. Establishment of the succession and committal of Fisher and More. The king declared supreme head of the church. § 3. State of parties. Tyndale's Bible. Persecutions. The Holy Maid of Kent. § 4. Execution of Fisher and More. Henry excommunicated. Death of queen Katharine. § 5. Suppression of the lesser monasteries. Trial and execution of queen Anne. Henry marries Jane Seymour. Settlement of the succession. § 6. Discontents and insurrections. Pilgrimage of Grace. Birth of prince Edward and death of queen Jane. Suppression of the greater monasteries. § 7. The pope publishes his bull of excommunication. Cardinal Pole. § 8. Law of the Six Articles. Servility of the parliament and tyranny of the king. § 9. Henry marries Anne of Cleves. § 10. Fall and execution of Cromwell. Henry's divorce from Anne of Cleves. § 11. Religious persecutions. Execution of the countess of Salisbury. Marriage, trial, and execution of queen Katharine Howard. § 12. War with Scotland and death of James V. Henry's marriage with Katharine Parr. War with France. Peace concluded. § 13. Scotch affairs. Theological dogmatism of Henry. His queen in danger. § 14. Attainder of the duke of Norfolk and execution of the earl of Surrey. Death and character of the king.

§ 1. In 1531 a new session of parliament was held, together with a convocation; and the king here gave strong proofs of his ex-

tensive authority, as well as of his intention to turn it to the depression of the church. The law under which Wolsey had been prosecuted was now turned against the clergy. It was pretended that every one who had submitted to the legatine court, that is, the whole church, had violated the Statute of Provisors, and been guilty of the offence of *præmunire*, and the attorney-general accordingly brought an indictment against them. The convocation knew that it would be in vain to oppose the king's arbitrary will. They therefore threw themselves on his mercy, and agreed to pay 118,840*l.* for a pardon. A confession was likewise extorted from them, that *the king was the protector and the supreme head of the church and clergy of England*; though some of them had the dexterity to get a clause inserted which invalidated the whole submission, and which ran in these terms: *in so far as is permitted by the law of Christ*. By this strict execution of the Statute of Provisors, a great part of the profit, and still more of the power, of the court of Rome was cut off; and the connections between the pope and the English clergy were, in some measure, dissolved. The next session found both king and parliament in the same dispositions. An act was passed against levying annates or first-fruits (1532).^{*} The better to keep the pope in awe, the king was intrusted with a power of regulating these payments, and of enforcing or relaxing this act at his pleasure: and it was voted that any censures which should be passed by the court of Rome, on account of that law, should be entirely disregarded; and that the mass should be said, and the sacraments administered, as if no such censures had been issued. After the prorogation, sir Thomas More, the chancellor, foreseeing that all the measures of the king and parliament led to a breach with the church of Rome, and to an alteration of religion, with which his principles would not admit him to concur, desired leave to resign the great seal; and he descended from his high station with more joy and alacrity than he had mounted up to it. The king, who entertained a high opinion of his virtue, received his resignation with some difficulty; and he delivered the great seal soon after to sir Thomas Audley (1532).

During these transactions in England the court of Rome was not without solicitude. It entertained just apprehensions of losing entirely its authority in England. Yet the queen's appeal was received at Rome; the king was cited to appear; and several consistories were held to examine the validity of their marriage. Henry declined to plead his cause before this court; and, in order

^{*} These were a year's income of their sees, given by all bishops and archbishops to the pope, upon presentation to their preferments. They were one of the main sources of the papal revenue.

to add greater security to his intended defection from Rome, he procured an interview with Francis at Boulogne and Calais, where he renewed his personal friendship as well as public alliance with that monarch, and concerted measures for their mutual defence. And now, fully determined in his own mind, as well as resolute to abide all consequences, he privately celebrated his marriage with Anne Boleyn (January 25, 1533), whom he had previously created marchioness of Pembroke. In the next parliament an act was made against all appeals to Rome in cases of matrimony, divorces, wills, and other suits cognizable in ecclesiastical courts. Cranmer, who had been created archbishop of Canterbury on the death of Warham, opened his court at Dunstable for examining the validity of Katharine's marriage. Katharine, who resided at Ampt-hill, six miles distant, refused to appear either in person or by proxy. Cranmer pronounced sentence, and annulled the king's marriage with Katharine as unlawful and invalid from the beginning (May 28). By a subsequent sentence he ratified the marriage with Anne Boleyn, who soon afterwards was publicly crowned, with all the pomp and dignity suited to that ceremony. To complete the king's satisfaction on the conclusion of this intricate and vexatious affair, she was safely delivered of a daughter (September 7, 1533), who received the name of Elizabeth, and afterwards swayed the sceptre with such renown and felicity. The pope, on the other hand, formally pronounced the judgment of Cranmer to be illegal, and declared Henry to be excommunicated if he adhered to it.

§ 2. The quarrel between Henry and the pope was now irreconcilable, and the year 1534 may be considered as the era of the separation of the English church from Rome. By several acts of parliament passed in this year the papal authority in England was annulled; and persons paying any regard to it incurred the penalties of *præmunire*. Monasteries were subjected to the visitation and government of the king alone; bishops were to be appointed by a *congé d'élire* from the crown, and, in the event of the dean and chapter refusing to elect, they were subject to a *præmunire*. No recourse was to be had to Rome for palls, bulls, or provisions. The law which had been formerly made against paying annates or first-fruits, but which had been left in the king's power to suspend or enforce, was finally established: and a submission was exacted from the clergy, by which they acknowledged that convocations ought to be assembled by the king's authority only. The ecclesiastical courts, however, were allowed to subsist. Another act regulated the succession to the crown: the marriage of the king with Katharine was declared invalid: the primate's sentence annulling it was ratified: the marriage with queen Anne was established and

confirmed: and the crown was appointed to descend to the issue of this marriage. All persons were liable, at the king's pleasure, to be called upon to swear to this act; and whoever refused to do so was held to be guilty of misprision of treason* (1534).

The oath regarding the succession was generally taken throughout the kingdom. Fisher, bishop of Rochester, and sir Thomas More were the only persons of note that entertained scruples with regard to its legality; and both were committed prisoners to the Tower. At the close of the year the parliament passed the Act of Supremacy, declaring the king "the only supreme head in earth of the church of England;" a title already conferred on him by convocation three years previously. In this act the parliament acknowledged his inherent power "to visit, repress, redress, reform, order, correct, restrain, and amend all errors, heresies, abuses, contempts, and enormities, which fell under any spiritual authority or jurisdiction," stating at the same time that they did not intend to depart from the Catholic faith. This act was followed by another declaring all persons to be guilty of treason who denied the king's supremacy.

§ 3. Though Henry had disowned the authority of the pope, he still valued himself on maintaining the catholic doctrine, and on guarding, by fire and sword, the imagined purity of its tenets. His ministers and courtiers were of as motley a character as his conduct, and seemed to waver, during his whole reign, between the ancient and the new religion. The queen, engaged by interest as well as inclination, favoured the cause of the reformers: Cromwell, who was created secretary, embraced the same views; and Cranmer, archbishop of Canterbury, had secretly adopted some of the protestant tenets. On the other hand, the duke of Norfolk adhered to the ancient faith; and by his high rank, as well as by his talents, both for peace and war, he had great authority in the king's council. Gardiner, created bishop of Winchester (1531), had enlisted himself in the same party. All these ministers, while they stood in the most irreconcilable opposition of principles to one another, pretended to an entire agreement with the sentiments of their master. Cromwell and Cranmer still carried the appearance of conformity to the ancient speculative tenets; but they artfully made use of Henry's resentment to widen the breach with the see of Rome. The duke of Norfolk, and Gardiner, feigned assent to the king's supremacy, and to

* "Misprision (a term derived from the old French *merpris*, a neglect or contempt) is, in the acceptation of our law, generally understood to be all such high offences as are under the degree of capital,

but nearly bordering thereon. . . . The punishment of misprision of treason is loss of the profits of land during life, forfeiture of goods, and imprisonment during life."—Kerr's Blackstone, iv. 121, 122.

his renunciation of the sovereign pontiff; but they encouraged his passion for the catholic faith, and instigated him to punish those daring heretics who had presumed to reject his theological principles. The ambiguity of the king's conduct, though it kept the courtiers in awe, served in the main to encourage the protestant doctrine among his subjects. The books composed by Tyndale and other reformers, who had fled to Antwerp, having been secretly brought over to England, began to make converts everywhere; but it was a translation of the New Testament, published by Tyndale at Cologne in 1526, that was esteemed the most dangerous to the established faith. Its importation into England was forbidden, and orders were given for destroying all the copies that could be found. Such precautions, it is needless to state, were wholly ineffectual.

Though Henry neglected not to punish the protestant doctrine, which he deemed heresy, his most formidable enemies, he knew, were the zealous adherents to the ancient religion, chiefly the monks and friars, who, having their immediate dependence on the Roman pontiff, apprehended their own ruin to be the certain consequence of abolishing his authority in England. In 1533 a dangerous conspiracy was detected. Elizabeth Barton, of Aldington, in Kent, commonly called the *Holy Maid of Kent*, had been long subject to hysterical fits, which threw her body into unusual convulsions, and, having produced an equal disorder in her mind, made her utter strange sayings, which silly people in the neighbourhood imagined to be supernatural. Richard Masters, rector of the parish, having associated with him Dr. Bocking, a canon of Canterbury, resolved to take advantage of this delusion. They were accused of teaching their penitent to declaim against the new doctrines, which she denominated heresy; against innovations in ecclesiastical government; and especially against the king's divorce from Katharine. A few monks and ecclesiastics entered into the scheme; and even Fisher, bishop of Rochester, though a man of sense and learning, was carried away by the delusion. The Maid of Kent had continued her course for some years; but after the king's marriage with Anne Boleyn she predicted his death, and pronounced him to be in the condition of Saul after his rejection. Henry at last began to think the matter worthy of his attention; and Elizabeth herself, Masters, Bocking, and some others, were executed at Tyburn (1534).

§ 4. Fisher had lain in prison above a twelvemonth, when Paul III., who had now succeeded to the papal throne, willing to recompense the sufferings of so faithful an adherent, created him a cardinal. This promotion roused the indignation of the king. Fisher was indicted for high treason, because he refused to acknow-

ledge the king's supremacy, was tried, condemned, and beheaded (June 22, 1535). More was condemned for the same offence, and was executed on July 6. He had long expected this fate, and needed no preparation to fortify him against the terrors of death. Not only his constancy, but even his cheerfulness, nay, his usual facetiousness, never forsook him; and he made a sacrifice of his life to his integrity, with the same indifference that he maintained in any ordinary occurrence. When he was mounting the scaffold, he said to one, "Friend, help me up: when I come down again, I can shift for myself." The executioner asked him forgiveness: he granted the request, but told him, "You will never get credit by beheading me, my neck is so short." Then, laying his head on the block, he bade the executioner stay till he put aside his beard: "For," said he, "it never committed treason." Nothing was wanting to the glory of his end, except a better cause.

The execution of Fisher, a cardinal, was regarded by the pope as so capital an injury, that he immediately drew up his celebrated bull of interdict and deposition. The bull was suspended for a time through the interference of the French king, and was not issued till three years afterwards. Meantime an incident happened in England which promised a more amicable conclusion of these disputes, and seemed even to open the way for a reconciliation between Henry and Charles. Queen Katharine was seized with a lingering illness, which at last brought her to her grave; she died at Kimbolton, in the county of Huntingdon, in the 50th year of her age (January 7, 1536). A little before she expired she wrote a very tender letter to the king: "The hour of my death now approaching, I cannot choose but, out of the love I bear you, to advise you of your soul's health, which you ought to prefer before all considerations of the world or flesh whatsoever; for which you have cast me into many calamities, and yourself into many troubles. But I forgive you all, and pray God to do so likewise." She recommended to him his daughter, the sole pledge of their loves, and craved his protection for her maids and servants. She concluded with these words: "I make this vow, that mine eyes desire you above all things." The king, it is said, was touched by this last tender proof of Katharine's affection. After this event the emperor sent proposals to Henry for a return to their ancient amity. Charles was now engaged in a desperate war with France; but an invasion which he made in person into Provence, and another on the side of the Netherlands, were repulsed: and Henry, finding that his own tranquillity was fully insured by these violent wars and animosities on the continent, was the more indifferent to the advances of the emperor.

§ 5. Immediately after the execution of More, the king proceeded to execute a design he had formed to suppress the monasteries, and to put himself in possession of their ample revenues, a practice of which Wolsey had first set the example by suppressing some of the smaller religious houses, in order to found his colleges at Oxford and Ipswich. Cromwell, secretary of state, had been appointed vicar-general, or vicegerent (1535); a new office, by which the king's supremacy was delegated to his minister. Cromwell employed commissioners, who carried on, everywhere, a rigorous inquiry with regard to the conduct and deportment of the friars and nuns in the smaller religious houses. A report, charging them with all kinds of immorality, was laid before the House of Commons in 1536. The larger monasteries, which had not been guilty of such gross offences, were allowed to remain; but the parliament passed an act suppressing all the lesser monasteries, which possessed a revenue below 200*l.* a year. By this act 376 monasteries were suppressed, and their revenues, amounting to 32,000*l.* a year, were granted to the king; besides their goods, chattels, and plate, computed at 100,000*l.* more. To manage the property thus acquired, the court of Augmentation was established.

In this year also Wales was incorporated with England: the separate jurisdiction of the several great lords, or marchers, as they were called, which obstructed the course of justice, and encouraged robbery and pillaging, was abolished; and the authority of the king's court was extended everywhere. This parliament, which had sat from 1529—the first parliament of the Reformation—was now dissolved (April 4, 1536).

The same year was marked by the tragic fate of the new queen. She had been delivered of a dead son, to Henry's disappointment. It is supposed that his anger was further inflamed against her, by the insinuations of the viscountess of Rochfort, who was married to the queen's brother, but who lived on bad terms with her sister-in-law. Henry had already transferred his affections to another object. Jane, daughter of sir John Seymour, and maid of honour to the queen, a young lady of singular beauty and merit, had obtained an entire ascendancy over him; and he was determined to sacrifice everything to the gratification of this new appetite. The queen was sent to the Tower (May 2); four of her alleged paramours, Norris, Brereton, Weston, and Smeton, gentlemen about the court, were tried and executed. Smeton was prevailed on, by the vain hopes of life, to confess a criminal correspondence with the queen. Her own brother, the viscount Rochfort, was accused of a guilty connection with her. The queen and her brother were tried by a jury of peers, over which their uncle, the duke of Norfolk, presided as high

steward. Both were condemned. Not satisfied with this cruel vengeance, Henry was resolved to annul his marriage with Anne Boleyn, and declare her issue illegitimate. On the ground that before her marriage with the king she had been contracted to lord Percy, then earl of Northumberland, Cranmer pronounced the marriage null and invalid, although Percy solemnly denied that such a contract had ever existed. The queen now prepared for death, having spent the interval in alternate moods of light-heartedness and profound depression. To the lieutenant of the Tower, and all who approached her, she professed her innocence, and even her readiness to die. "The executioner," she said, "is, I hear, very expert; and my neck is but a small one." She was executed May 19. Her innocence has been called in question. Certain it is that her fate excited little commiseration at the time; nor did it impair the king's popularity, or give birth to any of those unceremonious expressions so frequently uttered against his divorce. But her most effectual apology is the marriage of Henry with Jane Seymour on the day after Anne's execution.* These events rendered it necessary for the king to summon a parliament, by which his divorce from Anne Boleyn was ratified. The children of both his former marriages were declared illegitimate; the crown was settled on the king's issue by Jane Seymour, or any subsequent wife; and, in case he should die without children, he was empowered, by his will, or letters patent, to dispose of the crown—an enormous authority, especially when intrusted to a prince so violent and capricious.

§ 6. The late innovations, particularly the dissolution of the smaller monasteries, and the imminent danger to which the rest were exposed, had bred discontent among the people, and disposed them to revolt. The first rising was in Lincolnshire, and was put down without much difficulty (1536). A subsequent insurrection in the northern counties was more formidable, and was joined by 30,000 men. One Aske, a gentleman of Doncaster, had taken the command of them, and he possessed the art of governing the populace. They called their enterprise the *Pilgrimage of Grace*. Some priests marched before in the habits of their order, carrying crosses in their hands; in their banners was woven a crucifix, with the representation of a chalice, and of the five wounds of Christ. All took an oath that they entered into the Pilgrimage of Grace from no other motive than their love to God, their desire of driving "base-born councillors" from about the king, of restoring the church, and suppressing heresy. They seized Hull and York, as well as Pomfret castle, into which the archbishop of York and

* Jane had retired to Wiltshire; and of the Tower gun announcing the execution of Anne to join his intended bride.

lord Darcy had thrown themselves; and the prelate and nobleman, who secretly wished success to the insurrection, seemed to yield to the force imposed on them, and joined the rebels. The duke of Norfolk was despatched against them; but, finding them too strong in the open field, he entered into negotiations, and at length induced them to disperse, on promise of a general pardon. Early in the next year the rebellion broke out afresh, but was promptly suppressed. Norfolk, by command from his master, spread the royal banner, and, wherever he thought proper, executed martial law in the punishment of offenders. He was ordered to show little mercy. "You shall in any wise," writes the king, "cause such dreadful execution to be done upon a good number of the inhabitants of every town, village, and hamlet that have offended in this rebellion, as well by hanging of them up in trees, as by the quartering of them and the setting of their heads and quarters in every town, as they may be a fearful spectacle to all hereafter that would practise any like matter." Many abbots and canons were "tied up." Aske and his associates were condemned and executed. Lord Darcy, though he pleaded compulsion, and appealed for his justification to a long life spent in the service of the crown, was beheaded on Tower Hill (1537). Soon after this prosperous success an event happened which crowned Henry's joy—the birth of a son, who was baptised by the name of Edward (October 12). Yet his happiness was not without alloy; for Jane Seymour died a few days after (October 24).

Henry's success, in putting down the great rebellion in the north strengthened him in his determination of suppressing the larger monasteries. The abbots and monks knew the danger to which they were exposed, and having learned, by the example of the lesser monasteries, that nothing could withstand the king's will, were most of them induced, in expectation of better treatment, to make a voluntary resignation of their houses. Where promises failed of effect, menaces, and even extreme violence, were employed; and on the whole the design was conducted with such success that in less than two years the king had got possession of all the monastic revenues. The better to reconcile the people to this great innovation, stories were propagated of the detestable lives of the inmates of many convents. The relics also, and other superstitions, which had so long been the object of the people's veneration, were exposed to ridicule; and the religious spirit, now less bent on exterior observances and sensible objects, was encouraged in this new direction. Of all the instruments of ancient superstition, none were more zealously destroyed than the shrine of Thomas à Becket, commonly called St. Thomas of Canterbury. Henry not only

pillaged his rich shrine, but ordered his name to be struck out of the calendar. The office for his festival was expunged from all breviaries, his bones were burned, and the ashes dispersed to the wind. On the whole, the king suppressed, at different times, 645 monasteries, of which 29 had abbots that enjoyed a seat in parliament; 90 colleges were demolished in several counties, 2374 chantries and free chapels, 110 hospitals. The whole revenue of these establishments amounted to 161,100*l*. Henry settled small pensions on the abbots and priors; he erected six new bishoprics—Westminster, Oxford, Peterborough, Bristol, Chester, and Gloucester—of which five subsist at this day; and he made a gift of the revenues and lands of some of the convents to his courtiers and favourites, or sold them at inadequate prices. Beside the lands possessed by the monasteries, the regular clergy enjoyed a considerable part of the best benefices in England and of the tithes annexed to them; and these were also at this time transferred to the crown, and by that means passed into the hands of laymen.

§ 7. It is easy to imagine the indignation with which the intelligence of all these acts of violence was received at Rome. The pope was at last incited to publish the bull which had been passed against the king; and publicly delivered over his soul to the devil, and his dominions to the first invader (December 17, 1538). Henry's kinsman, cardinal Reginald Pole,* published a treatise of *the Unity of the Church*, which he had sent privately to Henry two years before. In it he denounced the king's supremacy, his divorce, and his second marriage. In 1537 he headed a catholic crusade, and even exhorted the emperor to revenge on Henry the injury done to the imperial family and to the catholic cause. Henry seized all the members of Pole's family in England, together with other persons of high rank. They were accused of treason; and several were executed, among whom was lord Montacute, the cardinal's brother and the marquis of Exeter, the grandson of Edward IV.† (1538). Others were attainted without trial, which was the fate of the countess of Salisbury, the aged mother of the cardinal.

§ 8. Although Henry had gradually changed some of the tenets of that theological system in which he had been educated, he was no less positive and dogmatical in those which he retained. He attached particular importance to the doctrine of the real pre-

* Reginald Pole was the fourth son of the countess of Salisbury, daughter of the duke of Clarence executed by Edward IV. Her only brother, the earl of Warwick, was put to death by Henry VII. (See p. 287.) She was restored in 1513, and became countess of Salisbury in her own

right, a title which descended to her from her grandfather, the earl of Warwick and Salisbury, the celebrated king-maker. After her brother's death she married sir Richard Pole, a relation of Henry VII.

† He was the son of the earl of Devon, and of Katharine, a daughter of Edward IV.

sence; and he informed the parliament, summoned in 1539, that he was anxious to extirpate from his kingdom all diversity of opinion on matters of religion. Subservient as usual to the wishes of the king, the parliament passed an act for this purpose, usually called *The Statute of the Six Articles*, or the Bloody Bill, as the protestants justly termed it. In this law the doctrine of transubstantiation was insisted on, communion in one kind, the perpetual obligation of vows of chastity, the utility of private masses, the celibacy of the clergy, and the necessity of auricular confession. Whoever denied these articles of faith was liable to be burned. Having thus resigned their religious liberties, parliament proceeded to surrender the most important of their civil. They gave to the king's proclamation the force of a statute, provided it did not touch the lives, liberties, goods, and offices of the subject, or infringe the established laws.

As soon as the act of the Six Articles had passed, many persons were thrown into prison. Latimer and Shaxton, the protestant bishops, resigned their bishoprics, and were committed as "sacramentarian heretics." The uncertainty of the king's humour gave each party an opportunity of triumphing in its turn. Within two years after Henry had passed this law, which seemed to inflict so deep a wound on the reformers, the king ordered a copy of the Great Bible, commonly called Cranmer's Bible, to be set up in all parish churches, under a penalty of forty shillings—a concession regarded by that party as an important victory. It is from this version that the Psalms in the Common Prayer-book of the church of England have been taken.

§ 9. Immediately after the death of Jane Seymour, the most beloved of all his wives, Henry began to think of a new marriage. Cromwell, who was anxious to connect Henry with the protestant princes on the continent, proposed to him Anne of Cleves, whose father, the duke of that name, had great interest among the Lutherans, and whose sister Sibylla was married to the elector of Saxony, the head of the protestant league. A flattering picture of the princess by Hans Holbein determined Henry to apply to her father; and after some negotiation the marriage was concluded, and Anne was sent over to England. The king, impatient to be satisfied with regard to the person of his bride, came privately to Rochester and obtained a sight of her. He found her utterly destitute both of beauty and grace, very unlike the pictures and representations which he had received, and he swore he never could possibly bear her any affection. The matter was worse when he found that she could speak no language but German, of which he was entirely ignorant; and that the charms of her conversation were not likely to com-

pensate for the homeliness of her person. It was the subject of debate among the king's counsellors whether the marriage could not yet be dissolved, and the princess be sent back to her own country; but as a cordial union had taken place between the emperor and the king of France, and as their religious zeal might prompt them to fall with combined arms upon England, an alliance with the German princes seemed now more than ever requisite for Henry's interest and safety. He knew that, if he sent back the princess of Cleves, such an affront would be highly resented by her friends and family. He was therefore resolved, notwithstanding his aversion, to complete the marriage; and he told Cromwell that, since matters had gone so far, he must put his neck into the yoke (January 6, 1540). He continued, however, to be civil to Anne; he even seemed to repose his usual confidence in Cromwell, who received soon after the title of earl of Essex, and was installed knight of the garter; but, though he exerted this command over himself, discontent lay lurking in his breast, and was ready to burst out on the first opportunity.

§ 10. The fall of Cromwell was hastened by other causes. The nobility detested a man who, being of such low extraction, had not only mounted above them by his station of vicar-general, but had engrossed many considerable offices of the crown. He had enriched himself by a long career of venality and corruption. No minister ever set his favours to sale with less regard to decency. As he entirely monopolized the king's countenance, and as vicar-general had the distribution of spiritual promotions, especially of the religious houses, he had amassed enormous riches. In 1539 he had contrived to secure for himself some thirty monastic manors and many other considerable estates. The people regarded him with dislike as the supposed author of the violence done to the monasteries, establishments which were still revered and beloved by the commonalty. The catholic party hated him as the concealed enemy of their religion; the protestants, observing his external concurrence in the persecutions exercised against them, were inclined to bear him as little favour, and reproached him with the timidity, if not treachery, of his conduct. He was accused of treason at the council-board by the duke of Norfolk, and was instantly committed to the Tower. He endeavoured to soften the king by the most humble supplications, but all to no purpose. He was executed on a bill of attainder charging him with heresy, oppression, and extortion, July 28, 1540.

The measures for divorcing Henry from Anne of Cleves were carried on at the same time with the bill of attainder against Cromwell. The convocation soon afterwards solemnly annulled the marriage between the king and queen, chiefly on the futile ground of a pre-contract between Anne and the marquis of Lorraine, when both were

children; the parliament ratified the decision of the clergy; and the sentence was soon after notified to the princess. Anne was blessed with a happy insensibility of temper, and willingly hearkened to terms of accommodation. When the king offered to adopt her as his sister, to give her place next the queen and his own daughter, and to make a settlement of 3000*l.* a year upon her, she accepted the conditions, and gave her consent to the divorce (July 11).*

§ 11. Henry's marriage with Katharine Howard, the niece of the duke of Norfolk, followed soon after (July 28, 1540), and was regarded by the catholics as a favourable incident to their party. The king's councils were now directed by Norfolk and Gardiner; and the law of the Six Articles was executed with rigour. But while Henry exerted his violence against the protestants, he spared not the catholics who denied his supremacy; and a foreigner at that time in England had reason to say that those who were against the pope were burned, and those who were for him were hanged. The king even displayed in an ostentatious manner this tyrannical impartiality, which reduced both parties to subjection. Catholics and protestants were carried two and two on the same hurdles to execution—Abel, Featherstone, and Powell for denying the supremacy; Barnes, Gerard, and Jerome for denying the Six Articles. In the following year an inconsiderable rebellion broke out in Yorkshire, but was soon suppressed. The rebels were supposed to have been instigated by the intrigues of cardinal Pole; and the king instantly determined to make the countess of Salisbury, who had been attainted two years previously, suffer for her son's offences. This venerable matron, the descendant of a long race of monarchs, was executed on the green within the Tower (May 27, 1541).

The king thought himself happy in his new marriage: the agreeable person and disposition of Katharine had entirely captivated his affections; and he made no secret of his devoted attachment to her; but he discovered shortly afterwards that she had led a dissolute life before her marriage, and he strongly suspected that she had since been guilty of incontinence. Two of her paramours, Culpeper and Dirham, were tried and executed (December 10, 1541); and a bill of attainder for treason was forthwith passed against the queen and the viscountess of Rochford, who had been privy to her misconduct. They were both beheaded in the Tower (February 13, 1542). As lady Rochford was known to be the chief instrument in bringing Anne Boleyn to her end, she died unpitied. Little doubt can exist of Katharine's guilt.

§ 12. Towards the close of 1542 a war broke out between England and Scotland. James V., king of Scots, was under the influence

* Anne of Cleves continued to live in England, and died at Chelsea in 1557.

of the catholic party, especially of cardinal Beaton, the sworn enemy of the English monarch. As he had encouraged his subjects to make depredations upon the English border, Henry proclaimed war against his nephew, and appointed to the command the duke of Norfolk, whom he called the scourge of the Scots. It was too late in the season to make more than a foray; and the duke of Norfolk, after laying waste the Scottish border, returned to Berwick. James sent an army of 10,000 men into Cumberland to revenge this insult; but on a sudden attack by a small body of English, not exceeding 500 men, near the Solway (November 25, 1542), a panic seized the Scots, and they immediately took to flight. Few were killed in this rout, but many were taken prisoners, and some of the principal nobility. The king of Scots, hearing of this disaster, was astonished; and, being naturally of a melancholy disposition, he abandoned himself to despair. His body was wasted by sympathy with his anxious mind: he had no issue living; and hearing that his queen was safely delivered, he asked whether she had brought him a male or a female child. Being told the latter, he turned himself in his bed: "The crown came with a lass," said he, "and it will go with a lass." A few days after he expired (December 14, 1542) in the flower of his age.

No sooner was Henry informed of his death, than he projected the scheme of uniting Scotland to his own dominions by marrying his son Edward to James's infant daughter, the heiress of that kingdom, afterwards celebrated as Mary queen of Scots. A treaty to this effect was nearly concluded with the regent, the earl of Arran, but was shortly afterwards rejected, through the influence of cardinal Beaton, the head of the catholic party, and Scotland entered into a close alliance with France. This confirmed Henry in the resolution he had already taken of breaking with France, and of uniting his arms with those of the emperor. A league was formed by which the two monarchs agreed to enter France with an army, each of 25,000 men (February 11, 1543). This league seemed favourable to the Roman catholic party; but, on the other hand, Henry soon afterwards married his sixth wife, Katharine Parr, widow of lord Latimer, a woman of virtue, and somewhat inclined to the new doctrine (July 12). The confederacy between Henry and Charles led to no important results. The share taken by the English in the campaign of 1543 was quite inconsiderable. In the following year the two princes agreed to invade France with large armaments, and to join their forces at Paris. Accordingly Henry landed at Calais with 30,000 men, who were joined by 14,000 Flemings, whilst the emperor invaded the north-eastern frontiers of France with an army of 60,000 men; but nothing of importance was effected. Henry,

instead of marching to Paris, wasted his time in besieging Boulogne and Montreuil; whilst Charles, who had employed himself in capturing some towns on the Meuse and the Marne, subsequently advanced towards Paris. The season was thus wasted; both princes reproached each other with a breach of engagement. The emperor concluded a separate peace with Francis at Crêpy (September 19, 1544), in which the name of his ally was not even mentioned; and Henry was obliged to retire into England, with the small success of having captured Boulogne (September 14). The war was prolonged two years between England and France. In 1545 the French made great preparations for the invasion of England. A French fleet appeared off St. Helen's, in the Isle of Wight, but returned to their own coasts without effecting anything of importance. In 1546 Henry sent over a body of troops to Calais, and some skirmishes of small moment ensued. But both parties were now weary of a war from which neither could entertain much hope of advantage; and on the 7th of June a peace was concluded. The chief condition was that Henry should retain Boulogne during eight years, or till the debt due by Francis should be paid; thus all that he obtained was a bad and chargeable security for a debt that did not amount to a third part of the expenses of the war.

§ 13. Francis took care to comprehend Scotland in the treaty. In that country the indolent and incapable Arran had gone over to Beaton's party, and had even reconciled himself to the Romish communion. The cardinal had thus acquired a complete ascendancy. The opposition was now led by the earl of Lenox, who was regarded by the protestants as the head of their party, and who, after an ineffectual attempt to employ force, was obliged to lay down his arms and await the arrival of English succours. In 1544 Henry despatched a fleet and army to Scotland. Edinburgh was taken and burned, and the south-eastern parts of the country devastated. The earl of Arran collected some forces, but found that the English had departed. In February, 1545, he caught sir Ralph Evers returning from a raid on Melrose, and defeated him at Ancrum Muir. The war was conducted feebly, and with various success, and Henry was by no means indisposed to conclude a peace.

The king, now freed from all foreign wars, had leisure to give his attention to domestic affairs, particularly to the establishment of uniformity of opinion in religion. Though he allowed an English translation of the Bible, he had hitherto been very careful to retain the service in Latin; but in 1545 he set forth a Primer and a Litany in the vulgar tongue, with a collection of English prayers for morning and evening use. By these innovations he excited anew the hopes of the reformers; but the pride and peevishness of the king, irritated

by his declining state of health, impelled him to punish with fresh severity all who presumed to entertain a different opinion from himself, particularly in the capital point of the real presence. Anne Askew, for denying it, was condemned to be burned alive; and others, for the same crime, were sentenced to the same punishment (July 16, 1546). The queen herself, being secretly inclined to the principles of the reformers, and having unwarily betrayed too much of her mind in her conversations with Henry, fell into great danger. At the instigation of bishop Gardiner, seconded by the chancellor Wriothesley, articles of impeachment were actually drawn up against her; but Katharine, having by some means learned this proceeding, averted the peril by her address. Henry having renewed his theological arguments, the queen gently declined the conversation, and remarked that such profound speculations were ill suited to the imbecility of her sex; that the wife's duty was in all cases to adopt implicitly the sentiments of her husband; and as to herself, it was doubly her duty, being blessed with a husband who was qualified, by his judgment and learning, not only to choose principles for his own family, but for the most wise and knowing of every nation. "Not so! by St. Mary," replied the king; "you are now become a doctor, Kate; and better fitted to give than receive instruction." She meekly replied that she was sensible how little she was entitled to these praises; and declared that she had ventured sometimes to feign a contrariety of sentiments merely in order to give him the pleasure of refuting her. "And is it so, sweetheart?" replied the king; "then are we perfect friends again." He embraced her with great affection, and sent her away with assurances of his protection and kindness. When the chancellor came the next day to convey her to the Tower, the king dismissed him with the appellations of *knave, fool, and beast*.*

§ 14. Henry's tyrannical disposition, soured by ill health, vented itself soon afterwards on the duke of Norfolk and his son, the earl of Surrey, chiefly through the prejudices which he entertained against the latter, on the pretext that they were meditating to seize the crown (1546). Surrey was a young man of the most promising hopes, and had distinguished himself by every accomplishment which became a scholar, a courtier, and a soldier. His spirit and ambition were equal to his talents and his quality; but he did not always regulate his conduct by the caution and reserve which his situation required. The king, displeased with his conduct as governor of Boulogne, had sent over the earl of Hertford† to command in his

* It should be observed, however, that this tale rests on no better authority than Foxe.

† Edward Seymour, earl of Hertford,

was the brother of Jane Seymour, Henry's third wife, better known afterwards as the protector Somerset.

place ; and Surrey was so imprudent as to drop some menacing expressions against the ministers on account of the affront thus put upon him. He and his father, the duke of Norfolk, were accused of designs upon the crown, mainly on the ground that they had illegally assumed the arms of Edward the Confessor. Orders were given to arrest them, and they were on the same day confined to the Tower (December 7, 1546). Surrey being a commoner, his trial was the more expeditious ; he was condemned for high treason, and the sentence was soon after executed (January 19, 1547). The innocence of the duke of Norfolk was still, if possible, more apparent than that of his son, and his services to the crown had been greater ; yet the house of peers, without examining the prisoner, passed a bill of attainder against him, without trial or evidence, and sent it down to the commons. The king was now fast approaching towards his end ; and fearing lest Norfolk should escape him, he sent a message to the commons, by which he desired them to hasten the bill ; and, having affixed the royal assent by commission (January 27), issued orders for the execution of Norfolk on the morning of January 28, 1547. But news being carried to the Tower that the king himself had expired that morning, the lieutenant deferred obeying the warrant ; and it was not thought advisable by the council to begin a new reign by the death of the greatest nobleman in the kingdom, who had been condemned by a sentence so unjust and tyrannical.

Shortly before his death the king desired that Cranmer might be sent for ; but before the prelate arrived he was speechless, though he still seemed to retain his senses. Cranmer desired him to give some sign of his dying in the faith of Christ : he squeezed the prelate's hand, and immediately expired, after a reign of 37 years and 9 months, and in the 56th year of his age (January 29, 1547). In 1544 the king had caused the parliament to pass a law declaring the prince of Wales, or any of his male issue, first and immediate heirs of the crown, and restoring the two princesses, Mary and Elizabeth, to their right of succession. As the act made no arrangement in case of the failure of issue by Henry's children, the king, by his will, provided that the next heirs to the crown should be the descendants of his sister Mary, the late duchess of Suffolk, omitting entirely the Scottish line.

It is difficult to give a just summary of this prince's qualities : he was so different from himself in different parts of his reign, that, as is well remarked by lord Herbert, his history is his best character and description. He possessed great vigour of mind, which qualified him for exercising dominion over men ; courage, intrepidity, vigilance, inflexibility ; and though these qualities were not always under the

guidance of a regular and solid judgment, they were accompanied with good parts and an excellent capacity. Every one dreaded a contest with a man who was known never to yield or to forgive, and who, in every controversy, was determined either to ruin himself or his antagonist. A catalogue of his vices would comprehend many of the worst qualities incident to human nature: violence, cruelty, profusion, rapacity, injustice, obstinacy, arrogance, bigotry, presumption, caprice; but neither was he subject to all these vices in the most extreme degree, nor was he at intervals altogether destitute of virtue: he was sincere, open, gallant, liberal, and capable at least of temporary friendship and attachment. It may seem a little extraordinary that, notwithstanding his cruelty, his extortion, his violence, his arbitrary administration, Henry not only acquired the regard of his subjects, but never was the object of their hatred: and seems even, in some degree, to have possessed to the last their love and affection. His exterior qualities were advantageous, and fit to captivate the multitude, while his magnificence and personal bravery rendered him illustrious in vulgar eyes.

As Henry possessed some talent for letters, he was an encourager of them in others. He founded Trinity College in Cambridge, and gave it ample endowments. Wolsey founded Christ Church in Oxford, and intended to call it Cardinal's College; but upon his fall, which happened before he had entirely finished his scheme, the king seized all the revenues, part of which he afterwards restored, and only changed the name of the college. The cardinal founded in Oxford the first chair for teaching Greek. The countenance given to letters by this king and his ministers contributed to render them fashionable in England. Erasmus speaks with great satisfaction of the general regard paid by the nobility and gentry to men of learning.



Shilling of Edward VI.

Obv.: EDWARD . VI . D . G . AG . L . FRA . Z . HIS . REX . Bust to right.
 Rev.: TIMOR : DOMINI : FONS : VITE [sic] M : D . XLIX . Arms of England. In field R. R.

CHAPTER XVI.

EDWARD VI., *b.* 1537; *r.* A.D. 1547–1553.

§ 1. State of the regency. Hertford protector. § 2. Reformation established. Gardiner's opposition. § 3. War with Scotland. Battle of Pinkie. § 4. Proceedings in parliament. Progress of the Reformation. Affairs of Scotland. § 5. Cabals of lord Seymour. His execution. § 6. Ecclesiastical affairs. Protestant persecutions. Joan Bocher. § 7. Discontents of the people. Insurrections in Devonshire and Norfolk. War with Scotland and France. § 8. Factions in the council. Somerset deprived of the protectorship. § 9. Peace with France and Scotland. Ecclesiastical affairs. § 10. Ambition of Northumberland. Trial and execution of Somerset. § 11. Northumberland changes the succession. Death of the king.

§ 1. THE late king had fixed the majority of the prince at the completion of his 18th year; and, as Edward was then only in his 10th year, his father appointed 16 executors, to whom, during the minority, the government of the king and kingdom was intrusted. Among them were Cranmer, archbishop of Canterbury, Wriothesley, lord chancellor, and the earl of Hertford, chamberlain. With these executors, to whom was intrusted the whole regal authority, were appointed 12 counsellors, who possessed no immediate power, and could only assist with their advice when any affair was laid before them. But the first act of the executors and counsellors was to depart from the destination of the late king, by appointing a protector. The choice fell of course on the earl of Hertford, who, as he was the king's maternal uncle, was strongly interested in his safety; and, possessing no claims to inherit the crown, he could never have any separate interest which might lead him to endanger Edward's person or his authority. All those who were possessed of any office resigned their former commissions, and accepted new ones in the name of the young

vagabonds to be branded, and on repetition of the offence to be adjudged to slavery. In the following year (1548) further reformation were effected. Orders were issued by the council that candles should no longer be carried on Candlemas Day, ashes on Ash Wednesday, palms on Palm Sunday; and that all images should be removed from the churches. As private masses were abolished by law, a new communion service was set forth in English.

§ 5. The protector's attention was now wholly engrossed by the cabals of his brother, lord Seymour, the admiral of England. Seymour had so insinuated himself into the good graces of Katharine, the queen-dowager, that, forgetting her usual prudence, she married him three months after the demise of the late king. At her death in childbirth he made his addresses to the princess Elizabeth, then in the 16th year of her age (1548). He openly decried his brother's administration, and by promises and persuasion brought over to his party many of the principal nobility. Somerset, finding his own power in serious peril, committed his brother to the Tower; the parliament passed a bill of attainder against him, and he was executed on Tower Hill (March 20, 1549).

§ 6. All the considerable business transacted this session, besides the attainder of lord Seymour, regarded ecclesiastical affairs. The Act for Uniformity of Public Worship was promulgated, and the first Book of Common Prayer set forth in English. A law was also enacted permitting priests to marry. Thus, the principal tenets and practices of the old religion were abolished, and the Reformation was almost entirely completed in England.

But the doctrine of toleration was no better understood on one side than the other. A commission, by act of council, was granted to the primate, and some others, to examine and search after all anabaptists, heretics, or contemners of the Book of Common Prayer. Some tradesmen in London, brought before the commissioners, were prevailed on to abjure their opinions, and were dismissed. But there was a woman accused of heretical pravity, called Joan Bocher, or Joan of Kent, who was so pertinacious, that the commissioners could make no impression upon her, and it was resolved to commit her to the flames* (May 2, 1550). Some time after, a Dutchman, called Van Paris, accused of Arianism, was condemned to the same punishment (April 24, 1551).

§ 7. These reforms excited considerable discontent, which was aggravated by other causes. The new proprietors of the confiscated

* The common story, that the young king long refused to sign the warrant for the execution of Joan Bocher, and was only prevailed upon to do so by Cranmer's

importunity, is shown by Mr. Bruce, in the Preface to Roger Hutchinson's Works (Parker Society, 1842), to be apocryphal.

abbey lands demanded exorbitant rents, and often spent the money in London. The cottagers were reduced to misery by the enclosure of the commons on which they formerly fed their cattle. The general increase of gold and silver in Europe after the discovery of the West Indies had raised the price of commodities; and the debasement of the coin by Henry VIII., and afterwards by the protector, had occasioned a universal distrust and stagnation of commerce. A rising began at once in several parts of England, as if a universal conspiracy had been formed by the commonalty. In most parts the rioters were put down, but the disorders in Devonshire and Norfolk threatened more dangerous consequences (1549). In Devonshire the rioters were brought into the form of a regular army, which amounted to the number of 10,000. Their demands were, that the mass should be restored, half of the abbey lands resumed, the law of the Six Articles executed, holy water and holy bread respected, and all other particular grievances redressed. Lord Russell,* who had been despatched against them, drove them from all their posts, and took many prisoners. The leaders were sent to London, tried, and executed; and many of the inferior sort were put to death by martial law.

The insurrection in Norfolk rose to a still greater height, and was attended with greater acts of violence. One Ket, a tanner, had assumed the government of the insurgents, and exercised his authority with the utmost arrogance. The earl of Warwick, at the head of 6000 men, levied for the wars against Scotland, at last made a general attack upon the rebels, and put them to flight. Two thousand fell in the action and pursuit: Ket was hanged at Norwich castle, and the insurrection was entirely suppressed. To guard against such disturbances in future, lords lieutenant were appointed in all the counties. These insurrections were attended with bad consequences to the foreign interests of the nation. The forces of the earl of Warwick, which might have made a great impression on Scotland, were diverted from that enterprise; and the French general had leisure to reduce that country to some settlement and composure. The king of France also made an attempt to recover Boulogne, but without success. As soon as the French war broke out, the protector endeavoured to fortify himself with the alliance of the emperor, who, however, eluded the applications of the English ambassadors. Despairing of his assistance, Somerset was inclined to conclude a peace with France

* Lord Russell had been created a peer in 1533, and received large grants of church lands. He was made earl of Bedford in 1550, and was the ancestor of the

present duke of Bedford. The descendant of the earl of Bedford was first created duke in 1694, in the reign of William III.

and Scotland; but he met with strong opposition from his enemies in the council, who, seeing him unable to support the war, were determined, for that very reason, to oppose all proposals for a pacification.

§ 8. The factions ran high in the court of England, and matters were drawing to an issue fatal to the authority of the protector. After obtaining the patent investing him with regal authority, he no longer paid any attention to the opinion of the other executors and councillors; and, while he showed a resolution to govern everything, his capacity appeared not in any respect proportioned to his ambition. He had disgusted the nobility by courting the people; yet the interest which he had formed with the latter was in no degree answerable to his expectations. The catholic party, who retained influence with the lower ranks, were his declared enemies: the attainder and execution of his brother bore an odious aspect: and the palace which he was building in the Strand served, by its magnificence, to expose him to the censure of the public, especially as he had pulled down several churches for materials to complete it. All these acts of imprudence were remarked by Somerset's enemies, who resolved to take advantage of them. Lord St. John, president of the council, the earls of Warwick, Southampton, and Arundel, with five members more, assuming to themselves the whole power of the council, began to act independently of the protector, whom they represented as the author of every public grievance and misfortune. Somerset, finding that no man of rank, except Cranmer and Paget, adhered to him, that the people did not rise at his summons, that the city and Tower had declared against him, that even his best friends had deserted him, lost all hopes of success, and began to apply to his enemies for pardon and forgiveness. He was, however, sent to the Tower, with some of his friends and partisans, among whom was Cecil, afterwards so much distinguished (October 11, 1549). Somerset was prevailed on to confess, on his knees before the council, all the articles charged against him; and the parliament passed a vote by which they deprived him of all his offices, and fined him 2000*l.* a year in land (December 23). St. John was created treasurer in his place, and Warwick earl marshal. The prosecution against him was carried no further. His fine was remitted by the king; he recovered his liberty; and Warwick, thinking that he was now sufficiently humbled, re-admitted him into the council, and even agreed to an alliance between their families, by the marriage of his own son, lord Lisle, with the lady Jane Seymour, daughter of Somerset (1550). The catholics were extremely elated with this revolution; and, as they had ascribed all the late innovations to

Somerset's authority, they hoped that his fall would prepare the way for the return of the ancient religion. But Warwick, who now bore chief sway in the council, took care very early to express his intentions of supporting the Reformation. Gardiner, bishop of Winchester, who had been again sent to prison in 1548, was deprived (1550). The sees of London and Westminster were given to Nicholas Ridley, a determined protestant. Poynt, formerly chaplain to Cranmer, succeeded to Winchester (March 23, 1551), and Hooper to Gloucester.

§ 9. When Warwick and the council of regency began to exercise their power, they found themselves involved in the same difficulties that had embarrassed the protector. The wars with France and Scotland could not be supported by an exhausted exchequer; seemed dangerous to a divided nation; and were now acknowledged not to have any object which even the greatest and most uninterrupted success could attain. Although the project of peace entertained by Somerset had served them as a pretence for clamour against his administration, they found themselves obliged to negotiate a treaty with the king of France. Henry II. offered a sum for the immediate restitution of Boulogne, and 400,000 crowns were at last agreed on, one-half to be paid immediately, the other in August following. Six hostages were given for the performance of this article, and Scotland was comprehended in the treaty.

The theological zeal of the council, though seemingly fervent, went not so far as to make them neglect their own temporal concerns, which seem to have ever been uppermost in their thoughts. Several catholic bishops were deprived, and some were obliged to seek protection by sacrificing the most considerable revenues of their see to rapacious courtiers. Durham was entirely suppressed. Though every one besides yielded to the authority of the council, the lady Mary could never be brought to compliance; and she still continued to adhere to the mass, and to reject the new liturgy. It was with difficulty that the young king, who had deeply imbibed the principles of the Reformation, could be prevailed upon to connive at his sister's obstinacy; but her relationship to the emperor proved her best protection. In 1551 the Book of Common Prayer suffered in England a new revisal, and some rites and ceremonies, which had given offence, were omitted. The doctrines of religion were also reduced to 42 articles. These were intended to obviate further divisions and variations.

§ 10. Not contented with the eminence he had attained, Warwick carried further his pretensions, and gained partisans who were disposed to second him in every enterprise. The last earl of Northumberland died without issue; and as sir Thomas Percy, his

brother, had been attainted, the title was at present extinct, and the estate was vested in the crown. Warwick now procured to himself a grant of the honours and offices of that house, and was dignified with the title of duke of Northumberland (1551). But these new possessions and titles he regarded as steps only to further acquisitions. Finding that Somerset still enjoyed a considerable share of popularity, he determined to ruin the man whom he regarded as the chief obstacle to his ambition. Somerset was therefore accused of high treason and felony, in plotting against the lives of certain lords of the council: he was acquitted on the former charge, but condemned on the latter. He was brought to the scaffold on Tower Hill (January 22, 1552), amidst great crowds of spectators, who bore him such sincere kindness that they entertained, to the last moment, the fond hopes of his pardon. His virtues were better calculated for private than for public life; and by his want of penetration and firmness he was ill fitted to extricate himself from those cabals and violences to which that age was so much addicted.* Several of Somerset's friends were also brought to trial, condemned, and executed: great injustice seems to have been used in their prosecution.

§ 11. The declining state of the young king's health opened out to Northumberland a vaster prospect of ambition. He endeavoured to persuade Edward to deprive his two sisters of the succession, on the ground of illegitimacy. He represented that the certain consequence of his sister Mary's succession, or that of the queen of Scots, was the re-establishment of the usurpation and idolatry of the church of Rome; that, though the lady Elizabeth was liable to no such objection, her exclusion must follow that of her elder sister; that, when these princesses were set aside by such solid reasons, the succession devolved on the marchioness of Dorset, elder daughter of Mary, the French queen, and the duke of Suffolk; that the next heir of the marchioness was the lady Jane Grey, a lady every way worthy of a crown; and that, even if her title by blood were doubtful, which there was no just reason to pretend, the king was possessed of the same power that his father enjoyed, and might leave her the crown by letters patent. Northumberland, finding that his arguments were likely to operate on the king, began to prepare the other parts of his scheme. On the extinction of the dukedom of Suffolk, the marquis of Dorset had been raised to this title; and the new duke of Suffolk and the duchess were now persuaded by Northumberland to give their daughter, the lady Jane, in marriage to his fourth son, the lord Guilford Dudley.

* He was the ancestor of the present duke. The title, forfeited by his attainer, was restored to his great-grandson on the accession of Charles II. (1660).

The languishing state of Edward's health, who was now in a confirmed consumption, made Northumberland the more intent on the execution of his project. He removed all except his own emissaries from about the king; and prevailed on the young prince to give his consent to the settlement projected. The judges hesitated to draw up the necessary deed; but were at length brought to do so by Edward himself, and the menaces of Northumberland, and the promise that a pardon should immediately after be granted them for any offence which they might have incurred by their compliance.

After this settlement Edward declined visibly every day. To make matters worse, his physicians were dismissed by Northumberland's advice and by an order of council; and he was put into the hands of an ignorant woman, who undertook in a little time to restore him to his former state of health. After the use of her medicines the bad symptoms increased; and he expired at Greenwich (July 6, 1553), in the 16th year of his age, and the 7th of his reign. Historians dwell with pleasure on the qualities of this young prince, whom the flattering promises of hope had made an object of tender affection to the public.



Medal of Philip and Mary.

Obv.: PHILIP. D. G. HISP. REX. Z. Bust of Philip to right. Rev.: MARIA I REG. ANGL. FRANC. ET HIB. Z. Bust of Mary to left.

CHAPTER XVII.

MARY, b. 1516; r. A.D. 1553-1558.

§ 1. Lady Jane Grey proclaimed. Mary acknowledged queen. § 2. Northumberland executed. Roman catholic religion restored. § 3. The Spanish match. Wyatt's insurrection. § 4. Imprisonment of the princess Elizabeth. Execution of Lady Jane Grey. § 5. Mary's marriage with Philip of Spain. England reconciled with the see of Rome. § 6. Persecutions. Execution of Cranmer. 7. War with France. Loss of Calais. § 8. Death and character of the queen.

§ 1. NORTHUMBERLAND, sensible of the opposition which he must expect, had carefully concealed the destination of the succession made by the king; and, in order to bring the princess Mary into his power, had desired her to attend on her dying brother. Mary was at Hoddesdon, within half a day's journey of the court, when she received private intelligence, probably from the earl of Arundel, both of her brother's death and of the conspiracy formed against her. She immediately retired into Norfolk, and despatched a message to the council, requiring them immediately to give orders for proclaiming her in London. Northumberland found that further dissimulation was fruitless. He went to Sion house, accompanied by the duke of Suffolk, the earl of Pembroke, and others of the nobility; and he approached the lady Jane, who resided there, with all the respect usually paid to the sovereign. Jane was, in a great measure, ignorant of these transactions; and it was with equal grief and surprise that she received intelligence of them. She was a lady of an amiable person, an engaging disposition, and accomplished parts. She had attained a familiar knowledge of the Latin and Greek languages, besides modern tongues; had passed

most of her time in an application to learning; and expressed a great indifference for other occupations and amusements usual with her sex and station. Roger Ascham, tutor to the lady Elizabeth, having one day paid her a visit, found her employed in reading Plato, while the rest of the family were hunting in the park. The intelligence of her elevation to the throne was nowise agreeable to her. She was greatly overcome, but at last submitted to their will, and even accepted the crown with alacrity. Orders were given to proclaim Jane throughout the kingdom; but these orders were executed only in London and the neighbourhood. No applause ensued: the people heard the proclamation with silence and concern, and some even expressed their scorn and contempt. The people of Norfolk, meanwhile, paid their court to Mary, and the nobility and gentry daily flocked to her with reinforcements. Northumberland, hitherto blinded by ambition, saw at last the danger gather round him, and knew not which way to turn. At length he determined to march against her; but he found his army too weak to encounter the queen's. He wrote to the council, desiring them to send him reinforcements; but the councillors agreed upon a speedy return to the duty which they owed to their lawful sovereign. The mayor and aldermen of London were immediately sent for, who discovered great alacrity in obeying the orders they received to proclaim Mary. The people expressed their approbation by shouts of applause. Suffolk, who commanded in the Tower, finding resistance fruitless, opened the gates, and declared for Mary; and even Northumberland, being deserted by all his followers, was obliged to do the same. The people everywhere, on the queen's approach to London, gave sensible expressions of their loyalty and attachment. And the lady Elizabeth met her at the head of a thousand horse, which that princess had levied in order to support their joint title against the usurper.

§ 2. The duke of Northumberland was seized and taken to the Tower: at the same time were committed the duke of Suffolk, lady Jane Grey, lord Guilford Dudley, and several of the nobility. As the councillors pleaded constraint as an excuse for their treason, Mary extended her pardon to most of them. But the guilt of Northumberland was too great, as well as his ambition and courage too dangerous, to permit him to entertain any reasonable hopes of life. When brought to his trial he attempted no defence, but pleaded guilty (August 18). At his execution he made a profession of the catholic religion, and told the people that they never would enjoy tranquillity till they returned to the faith of their ancestors; either because these were his real sentiments, which he had formerly disguised from interest and ambition, or that he hoped by

this declaration to render the queen more favourable to his family. Sir Thomas Palmer and sir John Gates suffered with him (August 22, 1553); and this was all the blood spilled on account of so dangerous and criminal an enterprise against the rights of the sovereign.

Mary soon showed that she was determined to restore the Roman catholic religion. Gardiner, Bonner, Tunstal, and others, who had been deprived in the preceding reign, were reinstated in their sees. On pretence of discouraging controversy, she silenced, by an act of prerogative, all the preachers throughout England, except such as should obtain a particular licence. Holgate, archbishop of York, Coverdale, bishop of Exeter, Ridley of London, and Hooper of Gloucester, were thrown into prison; whither Latimer also was sent soon after. The zealous bishops and priests were encouraged in their forwardness to revive the mass, though contrary to the present laws. Cranmer, the primate, had reason to expect little favour during the present reign; but it was by his own indiscreet zeal that he brought on himself the first violence and persecution. A report being spread that in order to pay court to the queen he had promised to officiate in the Latin service, to wipe off this aspersion, he published a manifesto in his own defence, in which he attributed the mass to the invention of the devil, and branded its abuses as blasphemies. On the publication of this inflammatory paper, Cranmer was thrown into prison, and was tried for the part which he had acted in concurring with the lady Jane, and opposing the queen's accession (November 13). Sentence of high treason was pronounced against him, and by the same court against Jane and her husband, but the execution of it did not follow; and the primate was reserved for a more cruel punishment. In opening parliament (October 5), the court showed its contempt of the laws by celebrating, before the two houses, a mass of the Holy Ghost, in the Latin tongue, with all the ancient ceremonies. The first bill passed by the parliament was of a popular nature, and abolished every species of treason not contained in the statute of Edward III., and every species of felony that did not subsist before the first year of Henry VIII.; for many of the cruel laws of that monarch had been re-enacted by the last parliament of Edward VI. It next declared the queen to be legitimate, ratified the marriage of Henry with Katharine of Arragon, and annulled the divorce pronounced by Cranmer. The statutes of king Edward regarding religion were repealed by one act, and the old form of service restored. The attainder of the duke of Norfolk, who had been previously liberated from the Tower, and admitted to Mary's confidence and favour, was reversed. The queen also sent assurances to the pope, then Julius

III., of her earnest desire to reconcile herself and her kingdoms to the holy see.

§ 3. No sooner did the emperor Charles V. hear of the death of Edward, and the accession of his kinswoman Mary to the crown of England, than he sent over an agent to propose his son Philip as her husband. Philip was a widower, and, though he was only 27 years of age, 12 years younger than the queen; this objection, it was thought, would be overlooked, and there was no reason to despair of her still having issue. Norfolk, Arundel, and Paget gave their advice for the match; but Gardiner, who had now become chancellor, opposed it. The Commons, alarmed to hear that Mary was resolved to contract a foreign alliance, sent their speaker to remonstrate in strong terms against so dangerous a measure; and, to prevent further applications of the same kind, the queen thought proper to dissolve the parliament. A convocation had been summoned at the same time with the parliament; and the majority here also appeared to be of the court religion. After the parliament and convocation were dismissed, the new laws with regard to religion were still more openly put in execution: the mass was everywhere re-established; marriage was declared to be incompatible with any spiritual office; and a large proportion of the clergy were deprived of their livings. This violent and sudden change of religion inspired the protestants with great discontent; whilst the Spanish match diffused universal apprehensions for the liberty and independence of the nation. To obviate all clamour, the articles of marriage were drawn as favourably as possible for the interest and security and even grandeur of England: and, in particular, it was agreed that, though Philip should have the title of king, the administration should be entirely in the queen; and that no foreigner should be capable of enjoying any office in the kingdom. But these articles gave little satisfaction to the nation, and some were determined to resist the marriage by arms. Sir Thomas Wyatt purposed to raise Kent; sir Peter Carew, Devonshire; and they engaged the duke of Suffolk, by the hopes of recovering the crown for the lady Jane, to attempt raising the midland counties (1554). The attempts of the last two were speedily disconcerted, but Wyatt was at first more successful. Having dispersed a declaration throughout Kent, against the queen's evil counsellors, and against the Spanish match, without any mention of religion, he raised his standard at Rochester. He then forced his way into London; but his followers, finding that no person of note joined him, insensibly fell off, and he was at last seized near Temple Bar by sir Maurice Berkeley (February 7, 1554). About 30 persons suffered for this rebellion: 400 more were conducted before the queen with ropes about their necks, and, falling

on their knees, received a pardon and were dismissed. Wyatt was condemned and executed.

§ 4. This rebellion proved fatal to the lady Jane Grey, as well as to her husband: the duke of Suffolk's guilt was imputed to her, and both she and her husband were beheaded (February 12, 1554). On the scaffold she made a speech to the bystanders, in which the mildness of her disposition led her to take the blame wholly on herself, without uttering a single complaint against the severity with which she had been treated. She then caused herself to be disrobed by her women, and with a serene countenance submitted herself to the executioner. The duke of Suffolk was tried, condemned, and executed soon after. The princess Elizabeth, suspected for a time of being implicated in the late plot, was sent to the Tower; but in the following May was released and placed under the care and surveillance of sir Henry Bedingfield, at Woodstock. It is even said that the more violent party of the council proposed capital punishment, but were opposed by Gardiner, who interceded in her favour. The story, however, requires confirmation.

§ 5. Philip of Spain arrived at Southampton on July 20, 1554, and a few days after he was married to Mary at Winchester (July 25). Having made a pompous entry into London, where Philip displayed his wealth with great ostentation, they proceeded to their residence at Windsor. The prince's behaviour was ill calculated to remove the prejudices which the English nation had entertained against him. He was distant and reserved in his address; took no notice of the salutes even of the most considerable noblemen; and so intrenched himself in form and ceremony, that he was in a manner inaccessible. The zeal of the catholics, the influence of Spanish gold, the powers of prerogative, the discouragement of the gentry, particularly of the protestants, procured a House of Commons which was in a great measure to the queen's satisfaction. Cardinal Pole, whose attainder had been reversed, came over to England as legate (November 20); and, after being introduced to the king and queen, he invited the parliament to reconcile themselves and the kingdom to the apostolic see, from which they had been so long and so unhappily divided. This message was taken in good part: both houses voted an address declaring their sorrow for their past proceedings against the pope, and professing their willingness to repeal them, provided that their purchases of abbey and chantry lands were confirmed. In this stipulation they were supported by the clergy. Thirty-three members, however, of the Commons seceded rather than be implicated in these proceedings. The legate, in the name of his holiness, then gave the parliament and kingdom absolution, freed them

from all censures, and received them again into the bosom of the church.

The parliament revived the old sanguinary laws against heretics: they also enacted several statutes against seditious words and rumours; and they made it treason to imagine or attempt the death of Philip during his marriage with the queen. But their hatred against the Spaniards, as well as their suspicion of Philip's pretensions, still prevailed; and though the queen wished to have her husband declared presumptive heir to the crown, and the administration to be put into his hands, she failed in all her endeavours, and could not so much as procure the parliament's consent to his coronation. Philip, sensible of the prejudices entertained against him, endeavoured to acquire popularity by procuring the release of several prisoners of distinction; but nothing was more agreeable to the nation than the protection he afforded to the lady Elizabeth. This measure was not the effect of any generosity in Philip, a sentiment of which he was wholly destitute, but of a refined policy, which made him foresee that, if that princess were put to death, the next lawful heir was the queen of Scots, whose succession would for ever annex England to the crown of France.

§ 6. By the revival of the laws against heresy, England was soon filled with scenes of horror which have ever since rendered the Roman catholic religion the object of detestation. Rogers, prebendary of St. Paul's, Hooper, bishop of Gloucester, Taylor, parson of Hadleigh, and others were condemned to the flames (1555). Gardiner, who had vainly expected that a few examples would strike a terror into the reformers, finding the work multiply upon him, devolved the invidious office on others, chiefly on Bonner, bishop of London, who was however rebuked, more than once, for his flagging zeal, by the council. It is needless to be particular in enumerating the cruelties practised in England during the course of three years that these persecutions lasted: the savage barbarity on the one hand, and the patient constancy on the other, are so similar in all these martyrdoms, that the narrative, little agreeable in itself, could never be relieved by any variety. It is computed that in this reign 277 persons were brought to the stake; besides those who were punished by imprisonments, fines, and confiscations. Among those who suffered by fire were 5 bishops, 21 clergymen, 8 lay gentlemen, 84 tradesmen, 100 husbandmen, servants, and labourers, 26 women, and 4 children. Ridley, bishop of London, and Latimer, formerly bishop of Worcester, two prelates celebrated for learning and virtue, perished together in the same flames at Oxford, and supported each other's constancy by their mutual exhortations. Latimer, when tied to the stake, called to his companion, "Be of good comfort,

Master Ridley; we shall this day kindle such a candle in England, as, I trust in God, shall never be extinguished." Instances of barbarity, so unusual in the nation, excited horror; the constancy of the martyrs was the object of admiration; and as men have a principle of equity engraven in their minds, which even false religion is not able totally to obliterate, they were shocked to see persons of probity, of honour, of pious dispositions, exposed to punishments more severe than were inflicted on the greatest ruffians for crimes subversive of civil society. Each martyrdom, therefore, was equivalent to a hundred sermons against popery; and men either avoided such horrid spectacles, or returned from them full of a violent, though secret, indignation against the persecutors.

These persecutions had now become extremely odious to the nation; and the execution of Cranmer rendered the government still more unpopular. The primate had long been detained in prison. The year before he had been condemned for heresy with Ridley and Latimer. But whilst they were burnt immediately after sentence, Cranmer's case was remitted to Rome, where a definite sentence of degradation was passed against him in the December following (1555). When the sentence arrived in England, overcome by the fond love of life, terrified by the prospect of those tortures which awaited him, he allowed, in an unguarded hour, the sentiments of nature to prevail over his resolution, and he agreed to subscribe the doctrines of the papal supremacy and of transubstantiation. The court, however, was determined that this recantation should avail him nothing; and they sent orders that he should be required to acknowledge his errors in public, and be immediately carried to execution. Cranmer, whether that he had received a secret intimation of their design, or had repented of his weakness, surprised his audience in St. Mary's church by a contrary declaration. He bitterly reproached himself for the weakness of which he had been guilty; and when brought to the stake, thrust the hand which had signed his recantation into the flames, exclaiming aloud, "This hand has offended." He suffered at Oxford (March 21, 1556), and was succeeded by cardinal Pole.

These severities, so far from achieving the purposes they were intended, produced the opposite effect. The government was attacked with unsparing bitterness at home and abroad. The queen's death was prayed for in secret conventicles. The exiles abroad circulated an address denouncing persecution for conscience sake. Priests were exposed to personal violence. Even those, who were indifferent or opposed to protestantism before, now could not fail of sympathizing with a faith of which the reality was shown in the sufferings and constancy of its professors. But, instead of taking

warning, the government thought to overcome opposition by redoubling its measures of repression. In 1557 a commission was issued, of unusual powers, to Bonner and others, for a rigorous inquiry after "devilish and clamorous persons," who issued seditious reports, or brought in heretical or seditious books. Those who maligned the church services were to be treated as vagabonds. To render their proceedings as odious as possible, no limits were assigned to the punishments the commissioners were empowered to inflict.

§ 7. The temper of Mary was soured by ill health, by disappointment in not having offspring, and by the absence of her husband, who, finding his authority extremely limited in England, had gone over to the emperor in Flanders. But her affection for Philip was not cooled by his indifference; and she showed the greatest anxiety to consult his wishes and promote his views. Philip, who had become master of the wealth of the new world, and of the richest and most extensive dominions in Europe, by the abdication of the emperor Charles V. (1556), was anxious to engage England in the war which was kindled between Spain and France. His views were warmly seconded by Mary, but opposed by her council. Her importunities at length succeeded; she levied an army of 7000 men, and sent them over to the Low Countries, under the command of the earl of Pembroke (1557). The king of Spain had assembled an army which, after the junction of the English, amounted to 60,000 men, conducted by Philibert, duke of Savoy, one of the greatest captains of the age. Little interest would attend the narration of a campaign in which the English played only a subordinate part, and which resulted in their loss and disgrace. By Philibert's victory at St. Quentin the whole kingdom of France was thrown into consternation; and had the Spaniards marched to the capital, it could not have failed to fall into their hands. But Philip's caution was unequal to so bold a step, and the opportunity was neglected. In the following winter the duke of Guise succeeded in surprising and taking Calais, deemed in that age an impregnable fortress (January 7, 1558). Calais was surrounded with marshes which, during the winter, were impassable, except over a dyke guarded by two castles, St. Agatha and Newnham bridge. The English were of late accustomed, on account of the lowness of their finances, to dismiss a great part of the garrison at the end of autumn, and to recal them in the spring, at which time alone their attendance was judged to be necessary. It was this circumstance that insured the success of the French; and thus the duke of Guise in eight days, during the depth of winter, made himself master of this strong for-

treas, that had cost Edward III. a siege of eleven months, at the head of a numerous army. The English had held it above 200 years; and, as it gave them an easy entrance into France, it was regarded as the most important possession belonging to the crown. Guisnes fell two weeks later (January 21), and thus the English lost their last hold on French soil. The people murmured loudly against the improvidence of the queen and her council; who, after engaging in a fruitless war for the sake of foreign interests, had thus exposed the nation to so severe a disgrace. Philip had indeed offered his aid to recover it, and his proposal was strongly seconded by Mary in person, but the council pleaded inability to bear the expense.

§ 8. The queen had long been in a declining state of health; and, having mistaken her dropsy for a pregnancy, she had made use of an improper regimen, and her malady daily augmented. Apprehensions of the danger to which the catholic religion stood exposed, dejection for the loss of Calais, concern for the ill state of her affairs, and, above all, anxiety for the absence of her husband, preyed upon her mind, and threw her into a lingering fever, of which she died, after a short and unfortunate reign of five years (November 17, 1558). It is not necessary to employ many words in drawing the character of this princess. She was obstinate and bigoted: but, among many defects, it must be admitted that she was sincere in her religion, high-spirited, courageous, and resolute in danger. Not naturally cruel, she was soured by a sense of wrongs done to herself by her father and by the remembrance of her mother's sufferings. Extremely beautiful as a child, she had lost all traces of beauty when she arrived at womanhood. Like all the Tudors, she was highly accomplished; an excellent linguist; a finished musician, and skilled, like her mother, in all sorts of embroidery.

Cardinal Pole died the same day as the queen.

A passage to Archangel had been discovered by the English during the last reign, and a beneficial trade with Muscovy established. A solemn embassy was sent by the tsar to Mary, which seems to have been the first intercourse which that empire had with any of the western potentates of Europe.*

* "She was a little, slim, delicate, sickly woman, with her hair already turning grey. . . . On personal acquaintance she made the impression of goodness and mildness. But yet there was something

in her eyes that could even rouse fear." —*Ranke's Hist. of Eng.* i. 208, E.T. He adds that Mary had a loud voice, and all her sympathies leaned to the land of her mother.



Queen Elizabeth.

Ornament formed of bust of Queen Elizabeth, cut from a medal and enclosed in a border of goldsmith's work representing Lancaster, York, and Tudor roses.

CHAPTER XVIII.

ELIZABETH. FROM HER ACCESSION TO THE DEATH OF MARY QUEEN OF SCOTS.—b. 1533; r. A.D. 1558–1603.

- § 1. Accession of the queen. Re-establishment of protestantism. § 2. Peace with France. The Reformation in Scotland: supported by Elizabeth. § 3. French affairs. Arrival of Mary in Scotland. Her administration. § 4. Wise government of Elizabeth. Proposals of marriage. § 5. Civil wars of France. Elizabeth assists the Huguenots. § 6. The Thirty-nine Articles. Scotch affairs. The queen of Scots marries Darnley. Hostility of Elizabeth. § 7. Murder of Rizzio. Murder of Darnley. Bothwell marries the queen of Scots. Battle of Carberry Hill. § 8. Mary confined in Lochleven castle. Murray regent. James VI proclaimed. Mary's escape and flight to England. § 9. Proceedings of the English court. § 10. Duke of Norfolk's conspiracy. Elizabeth excommunicated by the pope. § 11. Rise of the Puritans. Their proceedings in parliament. § 12. Foreign affairs. France and the Netherlands. § 13. New conspiracy and execution of the duke of Norfolk. § 14. Massacre of St. Bartholomew. Civil war in France. Affairs of the Netherlands. § 15. Elizabeth's prudent government. Naval enterprise of Drake. § 16. Negotiations of marriage with the duke of Anjou. § 17. Conspiracies in England. The High Commission court. Parry's conspiracy. § 18. Affairs of the Low Countries. Hostilities with Spain. Battle of Zutphen and death of Sidney. § 19. Babington's conspiracy. § 20. Trial and condemnation of the queen of Scots. § 21. Her execution. § 22. Elizabeth's sorrow. Her apologies to James.

§ 1. ELIZABETH was at Hatfield when she heard of her sister's death; and after a few days she went to London (November 24), through crowds of people, who strove with each other in giving her the strongest testimony of their affection. With a prudence and magnanimity truly laudable, she buried all offences in oblivion, and received with affability even those who had taken part against her.

Philip, who still hoped, by means of Elizabeth, to obtain dominion over England, immediately made her proposals of marriage, and offered to procure from Rome a dispensation for that purpose; but Elizabeth saw that the nation had entertained an extreme aversion to the Spanish alliance during her sister's reign. She was sensible that her affinity with Philip was exactly similar to that of her father with Katharine of Arragon; and that her marrying that monarch was in effect declaring herself illegitimate, and incapable of succeeding to the throne. She therefore gave him an obliging though evasive answer; and he still retained such hopes of success that he sent a messenger to Rome with orders to solicit the dispensation.

Elizabeth, not to alarm the partisans of the catholic religion, retained many of her sister's counsellors; but in order to balance their authority, she added others who were known to be inclined to the protestant communion, among whom were sir Nicholas Bacon, created lord keeper, and sir William Cecil, secretary of state. With these counsellors, particularly Cecil, she frequently deliberated on the expediency of restoring the protestant religion. She resolved to proceed by gradual and secure steps, but at the same time to discover such symptoms of her intentions as might give encouragement to the protestants, so much depressed by the late violent persecutions. She allowed the exiles to return, and gave liberty to the prisoners who were confined on account of religion. But she published a proclamation forbidding all preaching, and confining all teaching to the epistle and gospel for the day and the Ten Commandments, without any exposition.

As the primacy was vacant, and Heath objected to officiate at the coronation, Oglethorpe, bishop of Carlisle, was prevailed on to perform the ceremony (January 15, 1559). In the parliament, which met soon after, the validity of the queen's title was declared. A bill was passed for suppressing the monasteries lately erected, and for restoring the tithes and first-fruits to the queen; and another for restoring to the crown the supremacy in ecclesiastical affairs.* In order to exercise this authority, the queen, by a clause of the act, was empowered to name such commissioners, either laymen or clergy-

* Instead of Supreme Head, Elizabeth assumed the title of Supreme Governor.

men, as she should think proper; and on this clause was founded the court of High Commission.* Whoever refused to take the oath of supremacy was incapacitated from holding office, and whoever maintained the authority of any foreign potentate, by word or deed, forfeited, for the first offence, all his goods and chattels; for the second, was subjected to the penalty of a *præmunire*; but the third offence was declared treason. Lastly, an act was passed for establishing the second Prayer-book of Edward VI. (1552), with some alterations, and prohibiting any minister, whether beneficed or not, from using any other form, under pain for the first offence of forfeiting goods and chattels, for the second of a year's imprisonment, and for the third of imprisonment during life. Thus in one session, without any violence, tumult, or clamour, was the whole system of religion altered. The laws enacted with regard to religion met with little opposition from any quarter. The liturgy was again introduced in the vulgar tongue, and the oath of supremacy was tendered to the clergy. The bishops had taken such an active part in the restoration of popery under Mary, that, with the exception of the bishop of Llandaff, they felt themselves bound to refuse the oath, and were accordingly degraded: but of the inferior clergy through all England, amounting to nearly 10,000, only about 100 dignitaries and 80 parochial priests sacrificed their livings to their religious principles. The archbishopric of Canterbury, which was vacant by the death of cardinal Pole, was conferred upon Parker.

The two statutes above mentioned, usually called the Acts of Supremacy and Uniformity, were the great instruments for oppressing the catholics during this and many subsequent reigns. On the 10th of February the House of Commons made the queen an importunate but respectful address that she should fix her choice of a husband. After thanking them for this expression of their love for her, she told them that if ever she married it should be to the contentment of the realm; but she preferred to live "out of the state of marriage." "This," she added, "shall be for me sufficient, that a marble stone shall declare that a queen, having reigned such a time, lived and died a virgin."

§ 2. The negotiations for a peace with France, in progress at the time of Mary's death, were concluded at Cateau Cambresis (April 12, 1559). By this treaty, Calais remained in the hands of the French monarch, who promised to restore it at the end of eight years—a stipulation, however, which was never intended or expected to be executed. A peace with Scotland was a necessary consequence of that with France. But notwithstanding this

* The first body of commissioners was appointed in 1550, but the court was not formally established until 1563.

peace there soon appeared a ground of quarrel of the most serious nature, and which was afterwards attended with the most important consequences. The next heir to the English throne was Mary queen of Scots, now married to the dauphin; and the king of France, at the persuasion of the duke of Guise and his brothers, ordered his son and daughter-in-law to assume openly the arms as well as title of king and queen of England, and to quarter these arms on all their equipages, furniture, and liveries. When the English ambassador complained of this injury, he could obtain nothing but an evasive answer; and Elizabeth plainly saw that the king of France intended, on the first opportunity, to dispute her legitimacy and her title to the crown. Alarmed at the danger, she determined, as far as possible, to incapacitate Henry from the execution of his project. The sudden death of that monarch, who was killed in a tournament at Paris (1559), while celebrating the espousals of his daughter, Elizabeth, with Philip of Spain, altered not her views. Being informed that his successor Francis II., the husband of Mary, still continued to assume, without reserve, the title of king of England, she began to consider him and his queen as her mortal enemies; and the present situation of affairs in Scotland afforded her a favourable opportunity both of revenging the injury and providing for her own safety.

Since the murder of cardinal Beaton the Reformation had been proceeding with rapid steps in Scotland. Some of the leading reformers, observing the danger to which they were exposed, and desirous to propagate their principles, entered privately, in 1557, into a bond or association, and called themselves the *Lords of the Congregation*. The zeal and fury of this league was further stimulated by the arrival of John Knox from Geneva, where he had passed some years in exile, and had imbibed, from his commerce with Calvin, the sternness of his sect (May 2, 1559). Many acts of violence were committed upon the clergy, as well as upon the monasteries and churches, which produced a civil war. At length the leaders of the Congregation, encouraged by the intelligence received of the sudden death of Henry II, passed an act, on their own authority, depriving the queen-dowager of the regency, and ordering all the French troops to evacuate the kingdom. To put their edict into execution they collected forces, and solicited succours from Elizabeth. The council of Elizabeth did not long deliberate in agreeing to this request; and though the Scotch presbyterians, and especially their leader Knox, were hateful to the queen, Cecil at length persuaded her to support, by arms and money, the Congregation in Scotland. She concluded a treaty of mutual defence with them, and she promised never to desist till

the French had entirely evacuated Scotland. The appearance of Elizabeth's fleet in the Firth of Forth, in January, 1560, disconcerted the French army, who shut themselves up in Leith; whilst the English army, reinforced by 5000 Scots, sat down before it. The French were obliged to capitulate; and plenipotentiaries from France signed a treaty at Edinburgh with Cecil and Dr. Wotton, whom Elizabeth had sent thither for that purpose. It was there stipulated that the French should instantly evacuate Scotland, and that the king and queen of France and Scotland should thenceforth abstain from bearing the arms of England, or assuming the title of that kingdom (July 6, 1560). The subsequent measures of the Scottish reformers tended still more to cement their union with England. Being now entirely masters of the kingdom, they made no further ceremony or scruple in fully effecting their purpose. Laws were passed abolishing the mass and the papal jurisdiction in Scotland. The presbyterian form of discipline was settled, leaving only at first some shadow of authority to certain ecclesiastics who were called superintendents.

§ 3. Elizabeth soon found that the house of Guise, notwithstanding their former disappointments, had not laid aside the design of contesting her title and subverting her authority. But the progress of the Reformation in France, as well as the sudden death of Francis II., interrupted the prosperity of the duke of Guise (December 5, 1560). Catherine de Medici, the queen-mother, was appointed regent to her son, Charles IX., now in his minority; and the king of Navarre, who was favourable to the protestants, was named lieutenant-general of the kingdom. Catherine, who imputed to Mary all the mortifications which she had met with during Francis's lifetime, took care to retaliate; and the queen of Scots, finding her abode in France disagreeable, resolved to return to Scotland, and landed at Leith, August 19, 1561. This change of abode and situation was very little agreeable to that princess. It is said that after she had embarked at Calais she kept her eyes fixed on the coast of France, and never turned them from that beloved object till darkness fell and intercepted it from her view. She then ordered a couch to be spread for her in the open air; and charged the pilot, that, if in the morning the land were still in sight, he should wake her, and afford her one parting view of that country on which all her affections were centred. The weather proved calm, so that the ship made little way in the night-time; and Mary had once more an opportunity of seeing the French coast. She sat up on her couch, and, still looking towards the land, often repeated these words: "Farewell, France, farewell! I fear I shall never see thee more!" The first aspect, however, of things in Scotland was more favourable, if

not to her pleasure and happiness, at least to her repose and her security, than she had reason to apprehend. No sooner did the French galleys appear off Leith than people of all ranks, who had long expected their arrival, flocked to the shore impatient to behold their youthful sovereign. She had now reached her 19th year; and the bloom of her youth and the beauty of her person were further recommended by her address, her manners, and her genius. The first measures of Mary confirmed the prepossessions entertained in her favour: she bestowed her confidence entirely on the leaders of the reformed party, who had greatest influence over the people, and who she found were alone able to support her government. But there was once circumstance which blasted all these promising appearances. She was still a papist; and though she published, soon after her arrival, a proclamation enjoining every one to submit to the established religion, the preachers and their adherents could neither be reconciled to a person polluted with so great an abomination, nor lay aside jealousies of her future conduct. On the Sunday of her arrival, while mass was said in her private chapel, the mob threatened to force the door. The clergy and the preachers in particular took a pride in vilifying her, even to her face. The ring-leader in these insults was John Knox, who possessed an uncontrolled authority in the church, and even in the civil affairs of the nation, and who triumphed in the contumelious usage of his sovereign. Mary, whose age, condition, and education invited her to liberty and cheerfulness, was curbed in all her amusements by the absurd severity of these reformers; and she found every moment reason to regret leaving that country from whose manners she had in her early youth received the first impressions.

§ 4. Meanwhile Elizabeth employed herself in regulating the affairs of her own kingdom. She made some progress in paying the great debts which lay upon the crown: she regulated the coin, which had been much debased by her predecessors: she introduced into the kingdom the art of making gunpowder and brass cannon; fortified her frontiers on the side of Scotland; held frequent reviews of the militia; promoted trade and navigation; and so much increased the shipping of her kingdom, both by building vessels of force herself, and suggesting like undertakings to the merchants, that she was justly styled the Restorer of Naval Glory and the Queen of the Northern Seas. It is easy to imagine that so great a princess, who enjoyed such singular felicity and renown, would receive proposals of marriage from several foreign princes—as the archduke Charles, second son of the emperor; Casimir, son of the elector palatine; Eric, king of Sweden; Adolphus, duke of Holstein; and the earl of Arran, heir-presumptive to the crown of Scotland.

Even some of her own subjects, though they did not openly declare their pretensions, entertained hopes of success. Among the latter, the person most likely to succeed was a younger son of the late duke of Northumberland, lord Robert Dudley, who, by the graces of his person, joined to address and flattery, had become in a manner her declared favourite, and had great influence in all her councils. But the queen gave all these suitors a gentle refusal, which still encouraged their pursuit; and she thought that she should the better attach them to her interests if they were still allowed to entertain hopes of succeeding in their pretensions.

§ 5. The progress of the Reformation in France threatened not only to involve that country in a civil war, but also to embroil other nations in the quarrel. The change produced in the political parties of that country by the death of Francis II. has been already mentioned. The queen-regent had formed the project of governing both parties by playing one against the other; for, though religion was the pretence, ambition and the love of power were the real motives of the leaders. But faction, further stimulated by religious zeal and hatred, soon grew too violent to be controlled. The constable, Montmorency, joined himself to the duke of Guise: the king of Navarre embraced the same party: and Catherine, finding herself depressed by this combination, had recourse to Condé and the Huguenots,* as the French protestants were called, who gladly embraced the opportunity of strengthening themselves by her countenance and protection. Condé, Coligny, and the other protestant leaders, assembled their friends, and flew to arms: Guise and Montmorency got possession of the king's person, and constrained the queen-regent to embrace their party: armies were levied and put in motion in different parts of France: and each province, each city, each family, was agitated with intestine rage and animosity. The prince of Condé applied to Elizabeth for assistance, and offered to put Havre into the hands of the English (1562). This offer was accepted by Elizabeth. An English army took possession of the town, and rendered important service to the Huguenots. But the captivity of Condé and Montmorency, who were soon afterwards taken prisoners in battle, and the assassination of the duke of Guise, made both parties anxious for peace; and the Huguenots accordingly concluded a treaty with the queen-mother without consulting Elizabeth (March 19). The English queen, however, refused to surrender Havre, and she sent orders to the earl of Warwick, the commander of the town, to prepare himself against an attack from the now united power of the French monarchy. The plague, however, crept in among the Eng-

* This word is a corruption of the German *Eidgenossen*, i.e. "bound together by oath."

lish soldiers; and, being increased by their fatigue and bad diet, it made such ravages that Warwick found himself obliged to capitulate, and to content himself with the liberty of withdrawing his garrison (July 28). To increase the misfortune, the infected army brought the plague with them into England, where it swept off great multitudes, particularly in the city of London. About 20,000 persons there died of it in one year. Elizabeth was glad to accommodate matters; and, as the queen-regent desired to obtain leisure, in order to prepare measures for the extermination of the Huguenots, a treaty of peace was concluded between the two countries (April 1, 1564).

§ 6. In the convocation which assembled in 1563 the last hand was put to the Reformation in England, by the establishment of the Thirty-nine Articles in the form in which they now exist. But it was not until 1571 that the clergy were required to subscribe them, by act of parliament. The peace still continued with Scotland; and even a cordial friendship seemed to have been cemented between Elizabeth and Mary. These princesses made profession of the most entire affection, wrote amicable letters to each other, and adopted, in all appearance, the sentiments as well as style of sisters. But Mary's close connection with the house of Guise, and her refusal to ratify the treaty of Edinburgh, occasioned just and insurmountable jealousy to Elizabeth. She recommended Mary to espouse some English nobleman; and named lord Robert Dudley, now created earl of Leicester, as the person on whom she desired Mary's choice should fall. The earl of Leicester, the great and powerful favourite of Elizabeth, possessed all those qualities which are naturally alluring to the fair sex: a handsome person, a polite address, and insinuating behaviour. But he was insolent and ambitious, without honour or generosity; and atoned not for these bad qualities by such abilities or courage as could fit him for that high trust and confidence with which the queen honoured him. Her partiality had naturally emboldened him to aspire to her hand; and, in order to make way for these nuptials, he was thought to have murdered his wife, the heiress of sir John Robsart.* The proposal of espousing Mary was by no means agreeable to him; and he always ascribed it to the contrivance of Cecil, his enemy. After two years had been spent in evasions and artifices, Mary began to think it full time some marriage were concluded; and lord Darnley, son of the earl of Lenox, was the person she selected for her consort. He was Mary's cousin-german, by the lady Margaret

* Dudley's marriage with Amy Robsart took place in 1550, and, so far from being secret, it is mentioned in Edward VI.'s diary. Dudley kept his wife in retirement at Cumnor Place, near Oxford, where

she was found dead at the foot of a staircase in 1560, three years before he was made earl of Leicester, and fifteen years before he entertained Elizabeth at Kenilworth.

Douglas, niece to Henry VIII., and was, after Mary, next heir to the crown of England.* He had been born and educated in England, where the earl of Lenox had constantly resided, since he had been banished by the prevailing power of the house of Hamilton. Alarmed at a union between the two, each of whom was thought by some to have a better claim to the throne than herself, Elizabeth used all her efforts to prevent this marriage. She ordered Darnley and Lenox immediately, upon their allegiance, to return to England. The countess of Lenox was rigorously confined in the Tower. But these measures proved fruitless. The marriage was celebrated on July 29, 1565. It gave great offence to the Scotch reformers, because the family of Lenox was believed to adhere to the catholic faith; and, though Darnley went often to the protestant church, he could not, by this ostensible compliance, gain the confidence and regard of the ecclesiastics. The earl of Murray, the half-brother of Mary, being an illegitimate son of James V., and other Scottish lords, being secretly encouraged by Elizabeth, had recourse to arms. But the nation was in no disposition for rebellion. As the king and queen advanced to Edinburgh at the head of their army, the rebels found themselves under a necessity of abandoning their country, and of taking shelter in England. When Elizabeth found the event so contrary to her expectations, she thought proper to disavow all connection with the Scottish malcontents; and it was only by a sudden and violent incident, which, in the issue, brought on the ruin of Mary herself, that they were enabled to return to Scotland.

§ 7. The marriage of the queen of Scots with Darnley was so natural and so inviting in all its circumstances, that it had been precipitately agreed to by that princess and her council. While Mary was allured by his youth and beauty, she had overlooked the qualities of his mind, which nowise corresponded to the excellence of his person. She had loaded him with benefits and honours; but, having leisure afterwards to remark his weakness and vices, she began to see the danger of her profuse liberality, and was resolved thenceforth to proceed with more reserve in the trust which she should confer upon him, and withheld from him the crown matrimonial. His resentment against this conduct served but the more to increase her disgust; and the young prince, enraged at her imagined slights, pointed his vengeance against one whom he deemed to be the cause of this change in her measures and behaviour. There was in the court one David Rizzio, a Piedmontese, who had come into Scotland in the train of the Piedmontese ambassador, and had entered Mary's service as a musician. Being skilled in languages, he had become her secretary, and this office gave him

* See the Genealogical Table of the House of Tudor at the end of the volume.

frequent opportunities of approaching her person and insinuating himself into her good graces.

Rizzio thus drew upon himself the jealousy of Darnley; and, as his interests were connected with the Roman catholics, he was the declared enemy of the banished lords. By promoting the violent persecutions against them, he had exposed himself to the animosity of their numerous friends and retainers. Morton, the chancellor, insinuating himself into Darnley's confidence, employed every art to inflame his discontent and jealousy; and he persuaded Darnley that the only means of freeing himself from the indignities under which he laboured was to bring the base stranger to the fate he had so well merited. George Douglas, natural brother to the countess of Lenox, with the lords Ruthven and Lindsey, concurred in this advice. A messenger was despatched to the banished lords, who were hovering near the borders; and they were invited by the king to return to their native country. The design, so atrocious in itself, was rendered still more so by the circumstances which attended its execution. Mary, who was in the sixth month of her pregnancy, was supping in private (March 9, 1566) with Rizzio and others of her servants. The king entered the room by a private passage, and sat down on the sofa occupied by Mary. Ruthven followed in complete armour. The queen, terrified by their appearance, demanded the reason of this rude intrusion. Darnley told her that they intended no violence against her person, but meant only to bring that villain, pointing to Rizzio, to his deserved punishment. Rizzio, aware of the danger, clung to Mary's robes, calling aloud to her for protection; while she interposed in his behalf, with cries, menaces, and entreaties. Then Douglas and the other assassins, regardless of her efforts, rushed upon their prey. Seizing Henry's dagger, Douglas stuck it in the body of Rizzio, who, screaming with fear and agony, had been torn from Mary by the other conspirators, and pushed into the ante-chamber, where he was despatched with fifty-six wounds. The unhappy princess, informed of his fate, immediately dried her tears, and said she would weep no more, but would now think of revenge. The insult to her person, the stain attempted to be fixed on her honour, the danger to which her life was exposed on account of her pregnancy, were injuries so atrocious and so complicated, that they scarcely left room for pardon, even from the greatest lenity and mercy.

Mary shortly afterwards brought forth a son, afterwards James I. of England, in the castle of Edinburgh (June 19). This event caused the English parliament again to press Elizabeth for her marriage and settlement of the succession, at which she expressed her high displeasure, and eluded the application. It also gave addi-

tional zeal to the English party which favoured Mary's claims. The friends of the queen of Scots multiplied every day; and most of the considerable men in England, except Cecil, seemed convinced of the necessity of declaring her the successor. But all these flattering prospects were blasted by subsequent events, when Mary's egregious indiscretions threw her from the height of her prosperity, and involved her in infamy and in ruin.

James Hepburn, earl of Bothwell, a man of considerable family and power in Scotland, but of prodigate manners, had of late acquired the favour and confidence of Mary. All her measures were directed by his advice and authority. Reports were spread of more particular intimacies between them; and these reports gained ground from the continuance, or rather increase, of her hatred towards her husband. Darnley was reduced to such a state of desperation by the neglects which he underwent from his queen and the courtiers, that he had once resolved to fly secretly into France or Spain, and had even provided a vessel for that purpose. Suddenly, however, Mary seemed to be reconciled to him, on occasion of his dangerous illness (January, 1567). She lived in the palace of Holyrood House, but for the sake of purer air an apartment was assigned him in a solitary house at some distance, called the Kirk of Field. Mary here gave him many marks of kindness and attachment; she conversed cordially with him, and she lay some nights in a room below his; but on the 9th of February she told him that she would pass that night in the palace, because the marriage of one of her servants was to be celebrated there in her presence. About two o'clock in the morning the whole town was much alarmed at hearing a great noise, and was still more astonished when it was discovered that the noise came from the king's house, which was blown up by gunpowder. Darnley's dead body was found at some distance in a neighbouring field. No marks, either of fire, contusion, or violence, appeared upon it.

No doubt could be entertained that Darnley had been murdered; and general conjecture soon pointed towards the earl of Bothwell as the author of the crime. But as his favour with Mary was visible, and his power great, no one ventured to declare openly his sentiments. Mary's subsequent conduct justified these suspicions. The earl of Lenox demanded speedy justice on his son's assassins. Mary took his demand very literally, assigned only 15 days for the examination of the matter, and cited Lenox to appear and prove his charge. But that nobleman was afraid to trust himself in Edinburgh; and, as neither accuser nor witness appeared at the trial, Bothwell was acquitted (April 12). In the parliament which met two days after, he was the person chosen to carry the royal

acceptre; and no notice was taken of the king's murder. On its dissolution, several of the nobility signed a paper promising their support to Bothwell, in general terms (April 19). Shortly afterwards, Mary having gone to Stirling to pay a visit to her son, Bothwell assembled a body of 800 horse, on pretence of pursuing some robbers on the borders, and, having waylaid her on her return, he seized her person near Edinburgh and carried her to Dunbar, with an avowed design of forcing her to yield to his purpose (April 24). Sir James Melvill, one of her retinue, was carried along with her, and says that he saw no signs of reluctance or constraint: he was even informed, as he tells us, by Bothwell's officers, that the whole transaction was managed in concert with her. Bothwell, who was married to Lady Jane Gordon, sister of the earl of Huntley, had been divorced from his wife, a short time before, on the plea of consanguinity. The suit was prosecuted at the same instant in two different or rather opposite courts—one popish, the other protestant; was pleaded, examined, and decided in four days. A prisoner in Bothwell's hands and surrounded by his audacious associates, some say by compulsion, others of her own free will, Mary consented to marry her captor. The marriage was solemnized (May 15) by the chief minister of Orkney, a protestant, who was afterwards deposed for this scandalous compliance.

The protestant ministers, who had great authority, had long borne an animosity to Mary, and the opinion of her guilt was, by her conduct, more widely diffused, and made the deeper impression on the people. Some attempts of Bothwell, with her consent, as it was suspected, to get the young prince into his power, excited serious attention. The principal nobility met at Stirling, and formed an association for protecting the prince and punishing the king's murderers. Having levied an army, they met the forces of the queen and Bothwell at Carberry Hill, about six miles from Edinburgh (June 15). Mary soon became sensible that her own troops disapproved of her cause, and she saw no resource but that of putting herself, upon some general promises, into the hands of the confederates. She was conducted to Edinburgh, amidst the insults of the populace, who reproached her with her crimes, and even held before her eyes a banner, on which were painted the murder of her husband, and the distress of her infant son. Meanwhile Bothwell fled unattended to Dunbar; and eventually made his escape to Denmark, where he died (1578).

§ 8. The queen of Scots was sent under a guard to the castle of Lochleven, situated in the lake of that name. Touched with compassion towards the unfortunate queen, Elizabeth sent sir Nicholas Throgmorton ambassador to Scotland, in order to remon-

strate both with Mary and the associated lords. He was instructed to express to her Elizabeth's high dissatisfaction at her conduct, but at the same time to declare that the late events had touched Elizabeth's heart with sympathy, and that she was determined not to see her oppressed by her rebellious subjects. At the same time he was to demand that the punishment of Darnley's assassins should be intrusted to Elizabeth, and that Mary's infant son should be sent into England to be educated. But the associated lords were determined to proceed with severity, and they thought proper, after several affected delays, to refuse the English ambassador all access to Mary. Some were even of opinion that the captive queen should be publicly tried and imprisoned for life, or capitally punished. Having selected the earl of Murray for regent, who possessed the confidence of the more zealous reformers, three instruments were sent to Mary, by one of which she was to resign the crown in favour of her son, by another to appoint Murray regent, by the third to make a council which should administer the government until his arrival in Scotland. The queen of Scots, seeing no prospect of relief, was prevailed on, after a plentiful effusion of tears, to sign these three instruments (July 24); and, in consequence of this forced resignation, the young prince was proclaimed king by the name of James VI. He was soon after crowned at Stirling (July 29, 1567), and the earl of Morton took, in his name, the coronation oath; in which a promise to extirpate heresy was not forgotten. The earl of Murray arrived soon after from France, and took possession of his high office. He paid a visit to the captive queen, in which he treated her with great harshness; and the parliament which he assembled, after voting that she was undoubtedly an accomplice in her husband's murder, condemned her to imprisonment, ratified her resignation of the crown, and acknowledged her son for king, and Murray for regent. But many of the principal nobility, from various motives, and all who retained any propensity to the Roman catholic religion, formed a party in favour of the queen. Meanwhile Mary had induced a young gentleman, George Douglas, brother to the laird of Lochleven, to assist her in escaping. She contrived to slip through the gates and cross to the opposite shore (May 2, 1568). Escorted by Douglas, she hastened to Hamilton, where her adherents had already assembled; and in a few days an army of 6000 men was ranged under her standard. The regent also assembled his forces; and, notwithstanding that his army was inferior in number to that of the queen of Scots, he took the field against her. A battle was fought at Langside, near Glasgow (May 13), which was entirely decisive in favour of the regent, and was followed by a total dispersion of the queen's party. That unhappy princess fled south-

wards from the field of battle with great precipitation, and at last embraced the resolution of taking shelter in England. She embarked on board a fishing-boat in Galloway, and landed the same day at Workington, in Cumberland, about thirty miles from Carlisle (May 16); whence she immediately despatched a messenger to London, notifying her arrival, desiring leave to visit Elizabeth, and craving protection, in consequence of her former professions of friendship.

§ 9. Elizabeth now found herself in a situation when it was become necessary to take some decisive resolution with regard to her treatment of the queen of Scots; and upon the advice of Cecil it was determined that Mary should be detained in custody, and brought to trial for her husband's murder. A message was accordingly sent to her at Carlisle, expressing the queen's sympathy with her in her late misfortunes, but stating that her request of being allowed to visit Elizabeth could not be complied with, till she had cleared herself of her husband's murder, of which she was so strongly accused. So unexpected a check threw Mary into tears; and the necessity of her situation extorted from her a declaration that she would willingly justify herself to her sister from all imputations, and would submit her cause to the arbitration of so good a friend. This concession, which Mary could scarcely avoid without an acknowledgment of guilt, was the point expected and desired by Elizabeth: she immediately despatched a message to the regent of Scotland, requiring him to desist from the further prosecution of Mary's party, and to send some persons to London to justify his conduct with regard to her. Murray might justly be startled at so violent and imperious a message; but as his domestic enemies were numerous and powerful, and England was the sole ally which he could expect among foreign nations, he found it prudent to reply that he would willingly submit the determination of the cause to Elizabeth.

As the queen of Scots had subsequently, as well as before, discovered great aversion to the trial proposed, and as Carlisle, by its situation on the borders, afforded her great opportunities of contriving her escape, she was removed to Bolton, a seat of lord Scrope's in Yorkshire. The commissioners appointed by the English court for the examination of this great cause were the duke of Norfolk,* the earl of Sussex, and sir Ralph Sadler, who were met at York by several of Murray's partisans. It would be impossible within our limits to enter into the details of this important trial. After it had proceeded some time it was transferred to Hampton Court; and sir Nicholas Bacon, lord-keeper, the earls of Arundel and Leicester,

* Son of the earl of Surrey executed by Henry VIII.

lord Clinton, admiral, and sir W. Cecil, secretary, were added to the English commissioners. The regent Murray, alarmed at first by reports of Elizabeth's partiality for the queen of Scots, had kept back the most grievous part of the accusation against her; but, being encouraged by the assurances of Elizabeth, he at length accused her in plain terms of being an accomplice with Bothwell in the assassination of the king. The earl of Lenox too appeared before the commissioners, and, imploring vengeance, repeated Murray's charge. To this public and distinct accusation Mary's commissioners refused to reply; and they grounded their silence on very extraordinary reasons. They had orders, they said, from their mistress, if anything were advanced that might touch her honour, not to make any defence, as she was a sovereign princess, and could not be subject to any tribunal; and they required that she should previously be admitted to Elizabeth's presence, to whom, and to whom alone, she was determined to justify her innocence. Not satisfied with this reply, the English commissioners demanded from Murray more satisfactory proofs of Mary's guilt; and reproved him, in the queen's name, for the atrocious imputations which he had the temerity to throw upon his sovereign. Thus urged, Murray made no difficulty in producing the proofs; among the rest he sent copies of certain love-letters without signature or address, assumed to be written by Mary to Bothwell. These papers, known as the Casket Letters, were said to have been intercepted by Morton, and taken from a servant of Bothwell on his way to Dunbar (June 20, 1567). They contained incontestable proofs of Mary's criminal correspondence with Bothwell, of her consent to the king's murder, and of her concurrence in the violence which Bothwell pretended to commit upon her. Their authenticity was denied by Mary, and has been greatly disputed. It is certain that the professed originals were never produced before the English commissioners—an omission (if such originals existed) which throws over the whole proceeding a great air of suspicion. As no satisfactory conclusion was arrived at, the conference removed to London.

The conference lingered on, but with no better result. Elizabeth refused to admit the queen of Scots to her presence until she had received positive proof of her innocence. She condemned Mary's commissioners, who had been instructed to make no reply, urging that they could never be deemed her friends who advised her to this method of proceeding. The queen of Scots, as a sovereign, refused to justify herself before the subjects of another sovereign; for that would be equivalent to the admission of a foreign jurisdiction over her, which all her predecessors had refused, and Elizabeth in her own case would have vehemently repudiated. She still insisted on

a personal interview with Elizabeth, and as she refused all other concessions, orders were given for her removal from Bolton, a place surrounded with catholics, to Tutbury, in the county of Stafford, where she was put under the custody of the earl of Shrewsbury (1569). Elizabeth promised to bury everything in oblivion, provided Mary would agree, either voluntarily to resign her crown, or to associate her son with her in the government; the administration to remain, during his minority, in the hands of the earl of Murray. But that high-spirited princess refused all treaty upon such terms, and declared that her last words should be those of a queen of Scotland.

§ 10. Soon after the trial of the queen of Scots, the ambition and imprudence of the duke of Norfolk engaged him in a scheme for marrying her, which is said to have been suggested to him by the regent. Mary expressed no aversion to the proposal; but, as the opposition of Elizabeth was anticipated, Norfolk, previously to applying for her consent, gained the approbation of the most considerable of the nobility to his scheme. Even the earl of Leicester pretended to enter zealously into Norfolk's interests, and joined with other nobles in submitting a letter to Mary, recommending Norfolk for her husband, and stipulating conditions for the advantage of both kingdoms. Mary returned a favourable answer to this application, and Norfolk employed himself with new ardour in the execution of his project. And, though Elizabeth's consent was always supposed as a previous condition to the finishing of this alliance, it was apparently Norfolk's intention, when he proceeded to such lengths without consulting her, to render his party so strong that it should no longer be in her power to refuse. She was acquainted with the conspiracy through Leicester, and warned the duke to beware on what pillow he reposed his head; but he never had the prudence or the courage to open to her his full intentions.

Norfolk was a protestant; but among the nobility and gentry who seemed to enter into his views there were many who were zealously attached to the catholic religion, and who would gladly, by a combination with foreign powers, or even at the expense of a civil war, have placed Mary on the throne of England. The earls of Northumberland and Westmorland, who possessed great power in the north, were leaders of this party, and, with other noblemen, formed a plan for liberating Mary (1569). Norfolk in appearance discouraged these conspiracies; and, in order to repress the surmises spread against him, spoke contemptuously to Elizabeth of the Scottish alliance. But the suspicions of the government being awakened, he was committed to the Tower, and several other noblemen were taken into custody (October 11). The queen of Scots herself was removed to Coventry; all access to her was, during some time, more

strictly prohibited, and viscount Hereford was joined to the earls of Shrewsbury and Huntingdon in the office of guarding her.

The earls of Northumberland and Westmorland now attempted a rising, which was put down without striking a blow; and the leaders fled into Scotland (December, 1569). Great severity was exercised against such as had taken part in this rash enterprise. Norfolk, on his promise to the queen "to deal no further in the matter of the queen of Scots," was released from the Tower, and allowed to live, though under some show of confinement, in his own house, under the surveillance of sir Henry Neville (August 3, 1570).

Elizabeth soon found that she had reason to expect little tranquillity so long as the Scottish queen remained a prisoner in her hands; and she entered into a negotiation with Murray respecting her liberation. It is probable that she would have been pleased, on any honourable or safe terms, to rid herself of a prisoner who gave her so much disquietude. But all these projects vanished by the sudden death of the regent, who was assassinated, in revenge of a private injury, by a gentleman of the name of Hamilton (January 23, 1570). By the death of the regent, Scotland relapsed into anarchy. Mary's party assembled themselves together, and made themselves masters of Edinburgh; but Elizabeth despatched an army into Scotland to check their progress. Her subsequent policy was full of duplicity. She played off one party against the other, and seemed sometimes to favour Mary, sometimes those who had set up the young king; allowing them to choose his grandfather, Lenox, as regent. The queen of Scots could not but perceive Elizabeth's insincerity; and, finding all her hopes eluded, was more strongly incited to make, at all hazards, every possible attempt for her liberty. An incident also happened about this time which tended to widen the breach between Mary and Elizabeth, and to increase the vigilance and jealousy of the latter. Pope Pius V., who had succeeded Paul, issued a bull of excommunication against Elizabeth, deprived her of her title to the crown, and absolved her subjects from their oaths of allegiance (April 27, 1570). John Felton affixed this bull to the gates of the bishop of London's palace (May 25). He was seized, and condemned (August 4), and received the crown of martyrdom, for which he seems to have entertained so violent an ambition.

§ 11. It was at this period that the sect of the puritans, who were afterwards to play so great a part in the affairs of England, first began to make themselves considerable. It is computed that during the Marian persecutions 800 protestants sought an asylum in Germany and Switzerland. Among them were many who, like Hooper,

had been desirous of carrying reforms in the church of England, especially in the matter of ceremonies and vestments, further than Cranmer had done; and disputes upon these points broke out in 1554 among the Marian exiles settled at Frankfort. The exiles carried their quarrels back with them into England after the accession of Elizabeth; and these controversies excited such ferment among the people, that in some places they refused to frequent the churches where the habits and ceremonies were used. They would not salute the conforming clergy. They proceeded so far as to revile them in the streets, to spit in their faces, and to use them with all manner of contumely. But there was another set of opinions adopted by these innovators, which rendered them in a peculiar manner the object of Elizabeth's aversion. The same bold and daring spirit which accompanied them in their addresses to the Divinity, appeared in their political speculations; and the principles of civil liberty, which, during some reigns, had been little avowed in the nation, and were totally incompatible with the royal prerogative, had been strongly adopted by this new sect. They denied the supremacy of the queen in matters of religion. Elizabeth neglected no opportunity of depressing these innovators; and, while they were secretly countenanced by some of her most favoured ministers, Cecil, Leicester, Knolles, Bedford, Walsingham, she was never, to the end of her life, reconciled to their principles and practices.

§ 12. The affairs of religion were in that age not only the cause of internal seditions and rebellions in various states, but also played a great part in the foreign policy of kingdoms. The cause of the queen of Scots was identified with that of the Roman catholic party in Europe, and was secretly favoured by the courts of France and Spain and Elizabeth therefore could not regard with indifference the events that were passing in those countries. In France the wars of religion had already broken out, and the respective heads of the Roman catholic and Huguenot parties had fallen in the open field; the constable Montmorency on the plains of St. Denis, the duke of Condé at the battle of Jarnac. But their places were supplied by leaders of equal zeal and ability. The young duke of Guise was destined to eclipse the fame of his father; while, on the other side, the indomitable admiral Coligny had placed the young Condé and the prince of Navarre, then only 16, at the head of the Huguenots. To the latter party Elizabeth had secretly lent assistance; but in 1570 the court of France concluded a short-lived and hollow peace with them. Charles IX. of France affected to enter into close connection with Elizabeth. Proposals were offered for her marriage with the king's brother, the duke of Anjou; the terms of

the contract were submitted, difficulties were started and removed, and the two courts seemed to approach every day nearer to each other in their demands and concessions. The queen had several motives for her conduct. Besides the advantage of discouraging Mary's partisans by the prospect of an alliance between France and England, her situation with Philip demanded the utmost vigilance and circumspection. It was to Philip that Mary and her partisans were now driven to look for assistance, and the violence of his proceedings in the Low Countries made Elizabeth desirous of fortifying herself even with the appearance of a new confederacy.

Philip had left the duchess of Parma governess in this portion of his dominions; and the plain good sense and good temper of that princess, had she been intrusted with the sole power, would have preserved the submission of those opulent provinces, which were lost from that refinement of suspicious and barbarous politics on which the king of Spain so highly valued himself. The cruelties exercised in the name of religion, and the establishment of the Inquisition, had excited a disposition to revolt; and Philip determined to lay hold of the popular disorders as a pretence for entirely abolishing the privileges of the Low Countries, and for ruling them thenceforth with military and arbitrary authority. In the execution of this violent design he employed the duke of Alva, a proper instrument in the hands of such a tyrant (1567). All the privileges of the provinces, the gift of so many princes, and the inheritance of so many ages, were openly and expressly abolished by edict; arbitrary and sanguinary tribunals were erected; the counts Egmont and Horn, in spite of their great merits and past services, were brought to the scaffold; multitudes of all ranks were thrown into confinement, and thence delivered over to the executioner; and, notwithstanding the peaceable submission of all men, nothing was heard of but confiscation, imprisonment, exile, torture, and death. Elizabeth gave protection to all the Flemish exiles who took shelter in her dominions; and, as many of these were the most industrious inhabitants of the Netherlands, and had rendered that country celebrated for its arts, she reaped the advantage of introducing into England useful manufactures formerly unknown in her kingdom. She also seized some Genoese vessels which were carrying a large sum of money to Alva, and which had been obliged to take refuge in Plymouth and Southampton. These measures led to retaliations; but nothing could repair the loss which so well-timed a blow inflicted on the Spanish government in the Low Countries.

§ 13. Alva resolved to revenge the insult by exciting a rebellion in England, and by procuring the marriage of the duke of Norfolk

with the queen of Scots. Norfolk, finding that he had lost the confidence and favour of Elizabeth, was tempted to violate his word, and to open anew his correspondence with Mary. A promise of marriage was renewed between them. Through the scheming of one Ridolphi, an Italian money-changer, the duke was drawn into an enterprise still more criminal. Ridolphi undertook, in his behalf, that if the Spaniards landed in England, the duke should join them with all his friends, and oblige the queen to submit to whatever terms he and his friends should please to dictate. The conspiracy, however, was discovered by means of a merchant, who, being intrusted with a bag of gold and a letter for transmission to Scotland, became suspicious, and carried the letter to Cecil (now lord Burleigh). Of three of the duke's agents who were arrested, one was put to the torture; the others confessed the whole truth at once. The duke was brought to trial, and was condemned of treason by 27 of his peers (January 16, 1572). The queen long hesitated to sign his death-warrant, but at last, at the urgent entreaty of the commons, he was executed (June 2, 1572). The earl of Northumberland, being delivered up to the queen by the regent of Scotland, was also, a few months after, brought to the scaffold for his rebellion (August 22).

The queen of Scots was either the occasion or the cause of all these disturbances; but as she was a sovereign princess, Elizabeth durst not, as yet, take any resolution of proceeding to extremities against her. In parliament the advisableness of severe measures against Mary and the duke of Norfolk—for he was not then executed—was canvassed with no little earnestness. On the 28th of May, Elizabeth was attended by the committees of both houses, urging that it was not only consistent with justice, but with the queen's honour and safety, "to proceed criminally against the pretended Scottish queen." But Elizabeth, satisfied with this indication of the zeal of her subjects, thought good for the time to defer, but not absolutely to reject, the course thus proposed to her.

§ 14. Shortly afterwards there was perpetrated at Paris (August 24, 1572) that inhuman slaughter of the protestants which, from the day of its execution, has been called the Massacre of St. Bartholomew. The admiral Coligny, together with about 500 noblemen and gentlemen, and nearly 10,000 persons of inferior rank, were butchered on this occasion. Charles, in order to cover this barbarity, pretended that a conspiracy of the Huguenots to seize his person had been suddenly detected, and that he had been necessitated, for his own defence, to proceed to this severity against them. He sent orders to Fénélon, his ambassador in England, to ask an audience, and to give Elizabeth this account of the late

transaction. The queen heard his apology without discovering any visible symptoms of indignation. She blamed the conduct of Charles, but, being sensible of the dangerous situation in which she now stood, she did not think it prudent to reject all intercourse with him. She therefore allowed the rumour to be renewed of her marriage with the duke of Alençon, Charles's third brother:



Medal of Pope Gregory XIII. commemorating the Massacre of St. Bartholomew. Obv.: GREGORIVS . XIII . PONT . MAX . AN . I: bust to left. Rev.: VNGVOTOTRYM . STRAGES . 1572: an angel slaying the Huguenots.

that with the duke of Anjou, never seriously intended on either side, had already been broken off. But her best security lay in the strength of the Huguenots themselves. The sect which Charles had hoped at one blow to exterminate had soon an army of 18,000 men on foot, and possessed in different parts of France above 100 cities, castles, or fortresses. By the death of Charles (May 30, 1574) without issue, at the age of 25, the crown devolved on his brother, the duke of Anjou, now Henry III.; but his counsels were directed by the duke of Guise and his family. Henry was desirous of increasing his power by acting as umpire between the two parties. Guise, however, having formed the famous League, which, without paying any regard to the royal authority, aimed at the entire suppression of the Huguenots, the king was forced to declare himself the head of it. Elizabeth secretly supported the Huguenots; but it was some years before any important transactions took place between her and France.

The affairs of the Netherlands were in as disturbed a state as those of France. In 1572 the provinces of Holland and Zealand revolted from the Spaniards and the tyranny of Alva. William, prince of Orange, who had been declared a rebel, and whose ample possessions in the Low Countries had been confiscated, emerged from his retreat in Germany to put himself at the head of the insurgents. By uniting the revolted cities in a league, he laid the foundation of that illustrious commonwealth, the offspring of industry and liberty,

whose arms and policy long made so signal a figure in every transaction of Europe. The Hollanders, anxious to secure the assistance of Elizabeth, offered her the possession and sovereignty of their provinces, if she would exert her power in their defence. But as an open war with the Spanish monarchy was the apparent consequence of her accepting this offer, she refused, in positive terms, the sovereignty thus proffered her. At present she confined her efforts in their favour to an attempt at a mediation with Philip (1575). But a few years afterwards (1585), Elizabeth, seeing from the union of all the provinces a fair prospect of their making a long and vigorous defence against Spain, no longer scrupled to embrace the protection of their liberties. She concluded a treaty with them, in which she stipulated to assist them with 5000 foot and 1000 horse, and to lend them 100,000*l.*, on receiving the bonds of the most considerable towns of the Netherlands, for repayment within the year.

§ 15. During these years, while Europe was almost everywhere in great commotion, England enjoyed profound tranquillity—owing chiefly to the prudence and vigour of the queen's administration, and to the wise precautions which she employed in all her measures. By means of her rigid economy she paid all the debts due from the crown, with full interest, though some of these debts had been contracted during the reign of her father. Loans exacted by her at the commencement of her reign were repaid—a practice in that age somewhat unusual. During this peaceable and uniform government England furnishes few materials for history; and, except the small part which Elizabeth took in foreign transactions, there scarcely passed any occurrence which requires a particular detail.

Though Philip had not yet come to an open rupture with the queen, he grew every day more exasperated against her, both by the injuries which he committed and those he suffered. With the connivance, if not the aid, of the Spaniards, a body of troops landed in Ireland, for the purpose of fomenting a rebellion (1580). When the English ambassador complained of this invasion, he was answered by like complaints of the piracies committed by Francis Drake, a bold seaman, who had assaulted the Spaniards in the New World, where they deemed themselves most secure. Drake, with the queen's consent and approbation, had set sail from Plymouth in December, 1577, with four ships and a pinnace, on board of which were 164 able sailors. He passed into the South Sea by the Straits of Magellan, and, attacking the Spaniards, who expected no enemy in those quarters, he took many rich prizes, and prepared to return with the booty which he had acquired. Apprehensive of being intercepted by the enemy if he took the same way homewards by

which he had reached the Pacific Ocean, he attempted to find a passage by the north of California; and failing in that enterprise, he set sail for the East Indies, and returned safely by the Cape of Good Hope (1580). He was the first Englishman who sailed round the globe, and the first commander-in-chief: for Magellan, while accomplishing the same feat, died on the passage. His name became celebrated for so bold and fortunate an attempt; but many, apprehending the resentment of the Spaniards, endeavoured to persuade the queen that it would be more prudent to disavow the enterprise, to punish Drake, and to restore the treasure—a proceeding more strictly just than popular, for England at that time was at peace with Spain. Elizabeth, who admired valour, determined to countenance the gallant sailor: she conferred on him the honour of knighthood, and accepted of a banquet from him at Deptford, on board the ship which had achieved so memorable a voyage.

§ 16. The duke of Alençon, now created duke of Anjou, had never entirely dropped his pretensions to Elizabeth; and that princess, though her suitor was nearly 25 years younger than herself, and had no knowledge of her person but by pictures or descriptions, affected to be pleased with his attentions. Encouraged by the accounts sent him of the queen's prepossessions in his favour, the duke paid her secretly a visit at Greenwich; and after some conference with her, the purport of which is not known, he departed (1579). Though his figure was not advantageous, he had lost no ground by becoming personally known to her. Soon after she commanded her ministers to draw up the terms of a contract of marriage, which was to be celebrated six weeks after the ratification of the articles. But, though Elizabeth had proceeded thus far, she betrayed a constant vacillation of purpose. She was well aware how much, in her sister's case, a foreign marriage had been distasteful to the nation. A union with a Roman catholic was looked upon with the greatest alarm by her protestant subjects; and seemed to lend currency to the disaffected puritans, who charged the queen with being a catholic in her heart already. She had resolved never to marry; and this resolution was strengthened in her by experience of the unhappy consequences attending such connections in her own family. But she could not afford to offend the duke or alienate France at this conjuncture. Spain was formidable; Scotland was uncertain; Ireland was prepared for rebellion. Seminary priests and Jesuits were everywhere disseminating treason and disaffection throughout her dominions. Her vacillation was not the result of her love—a passion she probably never experienced—but of her policy; and one great object of that policy was to prevent a closer union with France and

Spain. Meanwhile the duke continued to press his suit. In the midst of the pomp which attended the anniversary of her accession (November 17, 1581), she was seen, after long and intimate discourse with him, to take a ring from her finger and place it on his. The spectators concluded that in this ceremony she had given him a promise of marriage, and was even desirous of signifying her intentions to all the world. In 1582 the States of the Netherlands chose the duke for their governor; and, having been successful in raising the siege of Cambray, he put his army into winter quarters, and came over to England, in order to prosecute his suit. Elizabeth still hesitated; she was observed to pass several nights without sleep or repose. This struggle in her breast is attributed by some to the difficulties of her position; by others, less probably, to a tenderer passion. At last her settled habits of prudence and ambition prevailed. She sent for the duke, and had a long conference with him in private. He left her in disgust, threw away the ring which she had given him, cursing the mutability of women and of the English in particular* (1582).

§ 17. As several conspiracies, real and imaginary, in which the Jesuits were active, had excited the suspicion of the government, and were imputed to the intrigues of the queen of Scots, an association was set on foot by the earl of Leicester and others to defend Elizabeth, to revenge her death or any injury committed against her, and to exclude from the throne all claimants, by whose suggestion, or in whose behalf, any violence should be offered to her majesty. The proposal was received with acclamation. Sensible that this association was levelled against herself, Mary, to remove all suspicion, desired to subscribe it; but her offer was declined. Elizabeth, that she might the more discourage malcontents by showing them the concurrence of the nation in her favour, summoned a new parliament, and she met with that dutiful attachment which she expected (November 23, 1584). The association was confirmed by parliament, and a clause was added, by which the queen was empowered to name 24 commissioners to make inquiry after all such "as should invade the kingdom, raise rebellion, attempt to hurt or destroy the queen's person, by whomsoever employed, that might lay claim to the crown of England. And that the person for whom or by whom they should attempt the same should be utterly incapable of any title to the crown, and be prosecuted to death by all faithful subjects." A severe law was also passed, that all Jesuits and popish priests should depart the kingdom within 40 days. The exercise of the catholic religion, which had formerly been prohibited under lighter penalties, and

* But he wisely picked it up again.

which was in many instances connived at, was totally suppressed. In 1568 a popish seminary for refugee priests had been established at Douay by doctor Allen, under the auspices of Philip. Priests continually passed from this and other colleges into England, to keep alive the expiring faith, and sometimes to excite sedition. Thus Parsons and Campion, two Jesuits, had made themselves busy in England in 1581, by carrying out the sentence of excommunication launched by Pius V. against the queen and all who adhered to her.

But the most material subject agitated in this session was the ecclesiastical court of High Commission, and the oath *ex officio*, as it was called, exacted by that court. This is a subject of such importance as to merit some explanation. The first primate after the queen's accession was Parker, who, in consequence of the disaffection to the church of England exhibited by the exiles from Frankfort, had grown more rigid in exacting conformity. He died in 1575, and was succeeded by Grindal, who, as he himself was inclined to the new sect, was with great difficulty brought to execute the laws against them, or to punish the clergy for nonconformity. He declined obeying the queen's orders for the suppression of *prophesyings*, or the assemblies of the zealots in private houses; and for this offence she had, by an order of the Star-chamber, sequestered him from his archiepiscopal function, and confined him to his own house. Upon his death, in 1583, she determined not to fall again into the same error; and she named Whitgift, a zealous churchman, who had already signalized his pen in controversy with the puritans. At his advice the queen issued a new commission more arbitrary than any of the former, and conveying more unlimited authority. She appointed 44 commissioners, 12 of whom were bishops; three commissioners made a quorum; and the jurisdiction of the court extended over the whole kingdom, and over all orders of men, but was particularly directed against the clergy. The commissioners were empowered to visit and reform all errors, heresies, schisms; they were directed to make inquiry, not only by the legal methods of juries and witnesses, but by all other means and ways they could devise. Where they found reason for suspicion, they might administer an oath called *ex officio*, by which the accused was bound to answer all questions, and might thereby be obliged to betray himself or his most intimate friend. Censure and deprivation were their usual punishments. Sometimes they resorted to fine and imprisonment. Their proceedings were regarded with great jealousy by the courts at Westminster, and often led to serious collisions. In a speech from the throne at the end of the session, the queen reproved the commons for touching upon this

grievance in their petition. But she, so far from yielding to the displeasure of the parliament, granted, before the end of her reign, a new commission, in which she enlarged, rather than restrained, the powers of the commissioners.

The act against Jesuits and seminary priests was violently opposed by doctor William Parry, member for Queenborough, who was consequently placed under arrest by the commons, but at the interposition of the queen was set at liberty. He had acted as a spy and informer on the continent for the English government, and had entrapped English priests and others into treasonable discussions against the queen, with the purpose of betraying them. Having obtained permission to travel, he retired to Milan, where, according to his own confession, he was persuaded by a Jesuit that he could not perform a more meritorious action than to take away the life of his sovereign and benefactress; and his design, having been communicated to the pope through cardinal Como, received the approbation of the holy father.* On his return to England Parry communicated his intention to Neville, his associate and a catholic, by whom it was betrayed to the ministers, and he was condemned and executed as a traitor (1585). (Supplement, Note II.)

§ 18. These bloody projects now appeared everywhere. In the year 1584 Baltazar Gerard, a Burgundian, undertook and executed a similar design against William the Silent, prince of Orange; and that great man perished at Delft, by the hands of an assassin. The States of the Netherlands now renewed their offer to Elizabeth, of acknowledging her for their sovereign, on condition of obtaining her protection and assistance. Elizabeth declined this proposal; but being determined not to permit, without opposition, the total subjection of the revolted provinces, she accepted the protectorate, and agreed to send over an army to their assistance (1585). The earl of Leicester was sent over to Holland, at the head of the English auxiliary forces. Elizabeth, finding that an open breach with Philip was unavoidable, resolved not to leave him unmolested in America. A fleet of 20 sail was equipped to attack the Spaniards in the West Indies, of which sir Francis Drake was appointed admiral. They made several conquests; and, sailing along the coast of Virginia, they found the small remains of a colony which had been planted there two years before by sir Walter Raleigh. This was the first attempt of the English to form such settlements; and though they have since surpassed all European nations, both in the situation of their colonies, and in the noble principles of liberty and industry on which they are founded, they had here

* Such was the interpretation put upon the cardinal's letter. But Parry denied its correctness; and there is nothing in the letter explicitly approving such a design.

been so unsuccessful, that the miserable planters abandoned their settlements, and prevailed on Drake to carry them with him to England. He returned with so much riches as encouraged volunteers, and with such accounts of the Spanish weakness in those countries as served to inflame the spirits of the nation to future enterprises.

Leicester's operations were much less successful than those of Drake. He possessed neither the courage nor capacity required for the trust reposed in him. Instead of remaining in his post, as commander merely of the English forces, to which the queen had appointed him, the estates of the Netherlands conferred upon him supreme command and absolute authority, under the title of his Excellency, to Elizabeth's great displeasure. He gained indeed advantages at first, but failed in an attempt which he made upon Zutphen. In a skirmish under the walls of this town, his nephew, sir Philip Sidney, was mortally wounded, and soon after died (October 7, 1586). This person is described by the writers of that age as the most perfect model of an accomplished gentleman that could be formed even by the wanton imagination of poetry or fiction. Virtuous conduct, polite conversation, heroic valour, and love of learning, all concurred to render him the ornament and delight of the English court; and, as the credit which he possessed with the queen and the earl of Leicester was wholly employed in the encouragement of genius and literature, his praises have been transmitted with advantage to posterity. After this last action, while he was lying on the field mangled with wounds, a bottle of water was brought him to relieve his thirst; but, observing a soldier near him in a like miserable condition, he said, "This man's necessity is still greater than mine:" and resigned the water to him.

§ 19. Some priests of the English seminary at Rheims had wrought themselves up to a high pitch of zeal and animosity against the queen. The assassination of heretical sovereigns, and of Elizabeth in particular, was represented as the most meritorious of all enterprises; and they were taught that whosoever perished in such an attempt enjoyed, without dispute, the glorious and never-fading crown of martyrdom. By such doctrines, John Savage, a man of desperate courage, who had served some years in the Low Countries, was induced to attempt the life of Elizabeth; and this assassin, having made a vow to prosecute his design, was sent over to England, and recommended to the confidence of the more zealous catholics. About the same time John Ballard, a priest of that seminary, when on a mission in England and Scotland, had observed a spirit of mutiny and rebellion to be very prevalent among the

Roman catholic devotees in these countries, and had founded on that disposition the project of dethroning Elizabeth, and of restoring, by force of arms, the exercise of the ancient religion. Mendoza, the Spanish ambassador at Paris, encouraged Ballard to hope for succours. He accordingly returned to England in the disguise of a soldier, and assumed the name of captain Fortescue; and he bent his endeavours to effect at once the project of an assassination, an insurrection, and an invasion (1586). With this view he addressed himself to Anthony Babington, a young gentleman of good family and fortune, who had discovered an excellent capacity, and was accomplished in literature beyond most of his years or station. Babington had before been engaged with one Morgan in a secret correspondence with the queen of Scots; but after she was placed under the custody of sir Amyas Poulet, and reduced to a more rigorous confinement, he had desisted from every attempt of that nature. When Ballard began to open his intentions to Babington, he found his zeal suspended, not extinguished: his former ardour revived on the mention of any enterprise which seemed to promise success in the cause of Mary and of the catholic religion. Ballard proceeded to discover to him the design undertaken by Savage, and was well pleased to observe that, instead of being shocked with the project, Babington only thought it not secure enough when entrusted to one single hand, and proposed to join five others with Savage in this desperate enterprise. In prosecution of these views, Babington employed himself in increasing the number of his associates, as he aimed at the deliverance of the queen of Scots at the very same instant when Elizabeth should be assassinated; and he secretly drew into the conspiracy many catholic gentlemen discontented with the present government (September, 1586).

These desperate projects had not escaped the vigilance of Elizabeth's council, particularly of Walsingham, secretary of state, who by means of his spies had got a hint of the designs entertained by the fugitives. He was not sorry to hear of a plot, which might involve the destruction of Mary, and get rid of a sovereign whose succession to the crown would prove fatal to himself and his associates. To control the measures of the conspirators he employed one Gifford, a seminary priest, who professed his approval of their intentions in order to betray them. Gifford communicated with a brewer who supplied Poulet's family with ale, and bribed him to convey letters to the captive queen. The letters were placed in a box concealed in a beer-barrel, and answers were returned by the same conveyance. Ballard and Babington, deceived by Gifford's professions of fidelity, laid aside all further scruple, and conveyed to Mary by his hands the particulars of the whole conspiracy. According to their indict-

ment, which must not, however, be implicitly trusted, Mary replied that she approved highly of the design; that the gentlemen might expect all the rewards which it should ever be in her power to confer; and that the death of Elizabeth was a necessary circumstance, before any attempts were made, either for her own deliverance or an insurrection. These and other letters were carried by Gifford to Phillipps, secretary to Walsingham, and copies taken of them. At length Ballard was seized; and Babington, observing that he was watched, made his escape, and gave the alarm to the other conspirators. They all took to flight, covered themselves with several disguises, and lay concealed in St. John's wood and other places, but were soon discovered and thrown into prison. In their examinations they contradicted each other, and the leaders were obliged to make a full confession of the truth. Fourteen were condemned and executed, of whom seven pleaded guilty on their trial; the rest were convicted by evidence (September 20, 21).

§ 20. The lesser conspirators being despatched, measures were taken, after much deliberation, for the trial and conviction of the queen of Scots. She was conducted to Fotheringay castle, in the county of Northampton, which it was determined to make the last stage of her trial and sufferings. Her two secretaries, Nau, a Frenchman, and Curle, a Scot, were immediately arrested: her papers were sent up to the council, among which were found many letters from persons beyond sea, and several also from English noblemen, containing expressions of respect and attachment. It was resolved to try Mary, not by the common statute of treasons, but by the act which had passed two years before with a view to this very event; and the queen, in the terms of that act, appointed a commission, consisting of 47 noblemen and privy councillors, and empowered them to examine and pass sentence on Mary, whom she denominated the late queen of Scots and heir to James V. of Scotland. Mary at first refused to answer, pleading her royal dignity; but the commissioners would not admit her objection. At length, by a well-timed speech of sir Christopher Hatton, the vice-chamberlain, she was persuaded to answer before the court, though, on her first appearance before the commissioners, she renewed her protestation against the authority of her judges. She admitted negotiating with foreign powers to obtain her liberty, but earnestly disclaimed any intention on the life of Elizabeth. This article, indeed, was the most heavy, and the only one that could fully justify the queen in proceeding to extremities against her. In order to prove the accusation, the crown lawyers produced the following evidence: copies taken in secretary Walsingham's office of the intercepted letters between her and Babington, in which her appro-

bation of the murder was clearly expressed; * the evidence of her two secretaries, Nau and Curle; the confession of Babington that he had written the letters and received the answers; and the confession of Bailard and Savago that Babington had showed them these letters of Mary written in the cipher which had been settled between them. In reply she charged Walsingham with forging the letters (which he denied), and desired to be confronted with Nau, one of her secretaries, whom she accused of treachery. But her request was refused (October 15). Ten days after, the commissioners re-assembled in the Star-chamber, and pronounced her guilty of death. It was declared "that Babington's conspiracy was with Mary's privity"—that she had compassed divers matters, tending to the hurt, death, and destruction of the queen. That she was privy to Babington's conspiracy is admitted by all; but whether Babington contemplated more than the liberation of Mary, or if he did, whether Mary herself was cognizant of those intentions or any such treasonable design as was imputed to her, has been greatly disputed. The inferior agents in all these conspiracies were so utterly false, worthless, and unscrupulous, that no reliance can be put on their most solemn asseverations.

Parliament met four days after Mary's condemnation (October 29). Elizabeth was not present; she probably anticipated their intentions. The great business was opened by sir Christopher Hatton, who, after insisting with great emphasis on "the execrable treacheries and conspiracies" of the queen of Scots, concluded his speech with demanding her execution: *No pereat Israel pereat Absalon*. It is needless to state that the debate was unanimous, every orator enlarging on the horrors of popery, its wicked and detestable treacheries, of which Mary "was a principal branch." Both houses joined in petition to the queen that sentence should be executed, insisting that there was no other possible means of providing for the queen's safety; and that the neglect of it would "procure the heavy displeasure and punishment of Almighty God, as appeared by sundry examples in Holy Scripture." But Elizabeth was more wise and considerate than her parliaments. She foresaw the invidious colours in which this example of extraordinary jurisdiction would be represented by the numerous partisans of Mary, and the reproach to which she herself might be exposed with all foreign princes, perhaps with all posterity. She gave an embarrassed and ambiguous answer; and begged of them to think once again, whether it were not possible to find some other ex-

* It has been urged that these copies were manipulated by Walsingham's agents—a crime of which they were fully

capable, without Walsingham's privacy. None of the letters were in Mary's own hand.

pedient for securing the public tranquillity, besides the death of the queen of Scots. Parliament declared it could find no other. The queen then published the sentence by proclamation. This act was attended with the unanimous and hearty rejoicings of the people, "ringing of bells," and "making of bonfires" (December 6). When the sentence was notified to her, Mary was nowise dismayed at the intelligence; and, as she was told that her death was demanded by the protestants for the establishment of their faith, she insisted that she was a martyr for her religion. In her last letter to Elizabeth, which was full of dignity, without departing from that spirit of meekness and of charity which appeared suitable to this concluding scene of her unfortunate life, she preferred no petition for averting the fatal sentence; on the contrary, she expressed her gratitude to Heaven for thus bringing to a speedy period her sad and lamentable pilgrimage. She merely desired to be buried in France, and made some requests in favour of her servants. The king of France sent an ambassador to intercede for her. The object of his mission was regarded by the people with the greatest possible aversion. It was even proposed in the commons that he should not be allowed access to her majesty's person. The interposition of the young king of Scots, though not able to change Elizabeth's determination, seemed, on every account, to merit more regard. As soon as James heard of the trial and condemnation of his mother, he sent sir William Keith, a gentleman of his bed-chamber, to London, and wrote a letter to the queen, in which he remonstrated, in very severe terms, against the indignity of the procedure. Soon after, James sent the Master of Gray and sir Robert Melvil to enforce the remonstrances of Keith, and to employ with the queen every expedient of argument and menaces. Elizabeth, however, still retained her resolution of executing the sentence against Mary; and it is believed that the Master of Gray, gained by the enemies of that princess, secretly gave his advice not to spare her, and undertook, in all events, to pacify his master.

§ 21. Christmas had passed, the New Year had come, yet Mary still remained at Fotheringay expecting her execution. All sorts of rumours were dispersed respecting invasions from France, Spain, and Scotland, and of attempts and projects against the queen's life. Popular preachers in the London pulpits excited the apprehensions and passions of their audience by violent harangues against the unfortunate queen and the religion of which she was supposed to be the chief maintainer in England. But Elizabeth continued undecided. She could not be ignorant that the whole nation passionately desired Mary's death, and regarded it as the triumph of protestantism. She was observed to sit silent, pensive, and alone;

to mutter to herself half sentences importing the difficulty and distress to which she was reduced. At length she signed the warrant for Mary's execution (February 1), and entrusted it to secretary Davison. But next day she enjoined him to delay; and when Davison told her that the warrant had already passed the great seal, she seemed to be somewhat moved, and blamed him for his precipitation. But the council persuaded him to send off the warrant, and promised to justify his conduct, and to take on themselves the whole blame of this measure. The warrant was accordingly despatched to the earls of Shrewsbury and Kent, and some others, ordering them to see the sentence executed upon the queen of Scots.

The two earls came to Fotheringay castle (February 7), and, being introduced to Mary, informed her of their commission, and desired her to prepare for death next morning at eight o'clock. She seemed nowise terrified, though somewhat surprised, with the intelligence. She said, with a cheerful and even a smiling countenance, that she did not think the queen, her sister, would have consented to her death, or have executed the sentence against a person not subject to the laws and jurisdiction of England. "But as such is her will," said she, "death, which puts an end to all my miseries, shall be to me most welcome; nor can I esteem that soul worthy the felicities of heaven which cannot support the body under the horrors of the last passage to those blissful mansions." When the earls had left her, she ordered supper to be hastened, that she might have the more leisure after it to finish the few affairs which remained to her in this world, and to prepare for her passage to another. She supped sparingly, as her manner usually was, and her wonted cheerfulness did not even desert her on this occasion. She comforted her servants under the affliction which overwhelmed them, as it was too violent for them to conceal it from her. Towards morning she arose and dressed herself in a rich habit of silk and velvet,* the only one which she had reserved to herself. Before she passed into the hall, where the scaffold was erected covered with black, she took an affecting leave of her old servant, sir Andrew Melvil. With an undismayed countenance she looked round on the executioners and all the preparations of death. The warrant for her execution was then read to her; she heard it attentively, but showed in her behaviour an indifference and unconcern as if the business had nowise regarded her. Before the executioners performed their office, the dean of Peterborough stepped forth; and, though the

* It was usual for noble criminals to appear at their execution in their best dress—of which the vest, or cotillon, as in Mary's case, was red or crimson, for very obvious reasons.

queen frequently told him that he needed not concern himself about her, that she was settled in the ancient catholic and Roman religion, and that she meant to lay down her life in defence of that faith, he still thought it his duty to persist in his lectures and exhortations. She now began, with the aid of her two women, to disrobe herself; and the executioner also lent his hand to assist them. She smiled, and said that she was not accustomed to undress herself before so large a company, nor to be served by such grooms. Her servants, seeing her in this condition ready to lay her head upon the block, burst into tears and lamentations. She turned about to them, put her finger upon her lips as a sign of imposing silence upon them, and, having kissed them and signed her male attendants with the sign of the cross, she desired them to pray for her. Jane Kennedy, one of her maids, whom she had appointed for that purpose, covered her eyes with a linen handkerchief. Then, laying herself down at the block without any sign of fear or trepidation, as she repeated the words, "*In Thee, O Lord, do I put my trust; let me never be confounded,*" her head was severed from her body at two strokes by the executioner. He instantly held it up to the spectators, streaming with blood and agitated with the convulsions of death. Fletcher, dean of Peterborough, alone exclaimed, "So let queen Elizabeth's enemies perish!" The earl of Kent alone replied, "Amen!" The attention of all the other spectators was fixed on the melancholy scene before them, and zeal and flattery alike gave place to present pity and admiration of the expiring princess (February 8, 1587).

Thus perished, in the 45th year of her age and 19th of her captivity in England, Mary queen of Scots, a woman of great accomplishments both of body and mind, natural as well as acquired, but unfortunate in her life, and during one period very unhappy in her conduct. It is difficult to form a just idea of her character—to determine how much of what was condemnatory is to be ascribed to human frailty, how much to imperious circumstances. "We princes," remarked queen Elizabeth, "are set as it were upon stages, in the sight and view of all the world; the least spot is soon spied in our garments, the smallest blemish presently observed in us at a great distance." As men fix their exclusive attention or not on such blemishes they are apt to determine their judgment. The estimate of Mary's character by the contemporary historian Camden is, on the whole, both considerate and candid. "She was a lady," he says, "fixed and constant in her religion of singular piety towards God, invincible magnanimity of mind, wisdom above her sex, and admirable beauty. By Murray, her base brother, and others of her ungrateful and ambitious subjects, she was much tossed and

disquieted, deposed from her throne, and driven into England. By some Englishmen who were careful for preserving their religion and providing for the queen's safety, she was, as indifferent (impartial) censurers have thought, circumvented; and by others that were desirous to restore the Romish religion, thrust forward to dangerous undertakings, and overborne by the testimonies of her secretaries, who seemed to have been bribed and corrupted with money."

§ 22. When the queen was informed of Mary's execution, she expressed the utmost surprise and indignation. She shed tears and put on mourning. She protested that Davison had betrayed her. When her sorrow was abated, she wrote a letter of apology to the king of Scots, committed Davison to prison, and ordered him to be tried in the Star-chamber. He was condemned to imprisonment during the queen's pleasure, and to pay a fine of 10,000*l*. Here he remained four years, and was never restored to favour. James discovered the highest resentment, and refused to admit Elizabeth's envoy into his presence. He recalled his ambassadors from England, and seemed to breathe nothing but war and vengeance. The states of Scotland, being assembled, took part in his anger; and professed that they were ready to spend their lives and fortunes in revenge of his mother's death, and in defence of his title to the crown of England. But the judicious representations made to him by Walsingham, joined to the peaceable, unambitious temper of the young prince, prevailed over his resentment; and he fell gradually into a good correspondence with the court of England.



Dutch medal on the overthrow of the Armada. Obv.: FLAVIT. הָיָה וְעָתָּה יִתְּשֶׁה. SVKT. 1588: the Armada advancing in order.

CHAPTER XIX.

ELIZABETH—CONTINUED. FROM THE EXECUTION OF THE QUEEN OF SCOTS TO THE DEATH OF ELIZABETH. A.D. 1587–1603.

- § 1. Preparations of Philip for an invasion of England. The Invincible Armada. § 2. Defeat of the Spanish Armada. § 3. Expedition against Portugal. § 4. French affairs. Elizabeth assists Henry IV. Naval enterprises against Spain. § 5. Elizabeth's proceedings with her parliament. § 6. Affairs of France. Raleigh's expedition to Guiana. § 7. Expeditions to Cadiz and Ferrol. The earl of Essex. Death of Burleigh, and of Philip II. § 8. Affairs of Ireland. Tyrone's rebellion. Essex lord-lieutenant of Ireland. Disgrace of Essex. § 9. His insurrection. His trial and execution. § 10. Death and character of Elizabeth. § 11. General reflections on the period of the Tudors. Power of the crown under that dynasty. § 12. The constitution intact in theory. Benevolences. Monopolies. § 13. Relations of the crown and commons. 14. Administration of justice. § 15. Consequences of the Reformation. Court of High Commission. § 16. General state of the nation.

§ 1. WHILE Elizabeth insured tranquillity from the attempts of her nearest neighbour, she was not negligent of more distant dangers. She knew that Philip, eager for revenge and zealous to exterminate heresy, had formed, with the sanction and co-operation of the pope and of the Guises in France, the ambitious project of subduing England, and was secretly preparing a great navy for that purpose. Accordingly she sent sir Francis Drake with a fleet, soon after Mary's death (April, 1587), to pillage the Spanish coast and destroy



Reverse of medal on preceding page . ALLIDOR . REX . LEDOR . the Church on a rock in the midst of a stormy sea.

the shipping. He had already, in 1585, taken St. Domingo and Carthagena, and ravaged the West Indies, inflicting serious damage. Drake burned more than 100 ships off Cadiz, and destroyed a vast quantity of stores which had been collected for the invasion of England. Meanwhile Philip continued his preparations with the greatest energy; every part of his vast empire resounded with the noise of armaments; and all his ministers, generals, and admirals were employed in forwarding the design. Vessels of uncommon size and force were built; immense armies were assembled; nor were any doubts entertained but such vast preparations, conducted by officers of consummate skill, must finally be successful. Already the Spaniards, ostentatious of their power, and elated with vain hopes, had denominated their navy the *Invincible Armada*. Elizabeth meantime made preparations for resistance; nor was she dismayed with that power by which all Europe apprehended she must of necessity be overwhelmed. Her force indeed seemed very unequal to resist so potent an enemy. All the sailors in England amounted at that time to about 15,000 men. The size of the English shipping was in general so small, that, except a few of the queen's ships of war, there were not four vessels belonging to the merchants which exceeded 400 tons. The queen's navy consisted of only 34 sail, many of which were of small size; none of them exceeded the bulk of our modern frigates, and most of them deserved rather the name of pinnaces than of ships. The only advantage of the English fleet consisted in the dexterity and courage of the seamen, and their knowledge of the seas. All the commercial towns of England

were required to furnish ships for reinforcing this small navy, which amounted at most to 140 sail. To show their zeal in the common cause, the citizens of London, instead of 15 vessels which they were commanded to equip, voluntarily fitted out double that number. The gentry and nobility hired, armed, and manned 43 ships at their own charge; and all the loans of money which the queen demanded were frankly granted. Lord Howard of Effingham, a man of courage and capacity, was admiral-in-chief; Drake, Hawkins, and Frobisher, the most renowned seamen in Europe, served under him. On land three large armies were assembled; but the men were raised in haste, and such levies were much inferior to the Spaniards in discipline and reputation. The queen did everything in her power to animate her soldiers and excite the martial spirit of the nation. On one occasion she appeared on horseback in the camp that was formed at Tilbury; and, riding through the lines, discovered a cheerful and animated countenance. "I am come amongst you," she said, "not for my recreation and sport, but resolved, in the heat of the battle, to live or die amongst you; to lay down my crown and my blood, even in the dust, for my God and my people. I know that I have but the body of a weak and feeble woman, but I have the heart of a king, and of a king of England."

§ 2. The sailing of the Spanish Armada was delayed by the death of the admiral and vice-admiral; and Philip appointed the duke of Medina Sidonia to the command, a nobleman of great family, but entirely unacquainted with the sea. The Armada at last set sail from Lisbon (June, 1588); but, being dispersed by a storm, was obliged to put into the Groyne (Corunna) to refit. When this was accomplished, the Spaniards with fresh hopes set out again to sea, in prosecution of their enterprise. The fleet consisted of 130 vessels of war. Nearly 100 of these were galleons, of greater size than any ever before used in Europe. It was manned by 11,000 seamen and galley slaves, carried 3000 pieces of cannon, and had on board 22,000 troops officered by the best families in Spain, and many priests and friars to lend the enthusiasm and sanction of religion to the enterprise. It was Philip's intention that the Armada should sail to Dunkirk; take on board the veteran Spanish troops in the Netherlands under the command of the duke of Parma, and, having landed them, make sail to the Thames in three different divisions. But these plans were disarranged by the storm; and in consequence the duke of Guise withdrew the troops he had collected in Normandy, and Parma relaxed in his preparations. A report was spread that the design was abandoned; but on the 19th of July the Spaniards were decried off the Lizard; and, Effingham had just time to get out of Plymouth, when he saw the Armada coming full sail towards

him, disposed in the form of a crescent, and stretching the distance of seven miles from the extremity of one division to that of the other. In spite of contrary winds, he continued to hang on their rear as they drew up the Channel. But, though his numbers had been augmented by perpetual reinforcements until his fleet amounted to 140 sail, he did not deem it prudent to come to close quarters with the Spaniards, the size and number of whose vessels, and their large body of soldiers, would be a disadvantage to the English. He resolved, therefore, to wait the opportunity which winds, currents, or various accidents might afford him of intercepting any scattered vessels of the enemy. Nor was it long before the event answered expectation. A great ship of Biscay, on board of which was a considerable part of the Spanish money, was blown up or took fire by accident; and while all hands were employed in extinguishing the flames, she fell behind the rest of the Armada. The great galleon of Andalusia was detained by the springing of her mast; and both these vessels were taken, after some resistance, by sir Francis Drake. As the Armada advanced up the Channel, the English hung upon its rear, and still infested it with skirmishes; whilst, the alarm having now reached the coast of England, the nobility and gentry hastened out with their vessels from every harbour, and reinforced the admiral. The Armada cast anchor before Calais, in expectation that the duke of Parma, who had received intelligence of their approach, would put to sea and join their forces (July 27). The English admiral practised here a successful stratagem. On the night of July 28 he converted eight of his more worthless vessels into fire-ships, and let them drive in the direction of the enemy. Before they had suffered any injury the Spaniards were seized with consternation; they immediately cut their cables, and took to flight with the greatest disorder and precipitation. The English fell upon them next morning while in confusion; and, besides doing great damage to other ships, they took or destroyed about 12 of the enemy (July 29).

The great body of them steered for Gravelines and Dunkirk, but the duke of Parma positively refused to leave the harbour; and the Spanish admiral, finding that in many rencounters, while he lost so considerable a part of his own navy, he had destroyed only one small vessel of the English, prepared to return homewards. As the wind was contrary to his passage through the Channel, he resolved to sail northwards, and, making the tour of the island, reach the Spanish harbours by the ocean. The English fleet followed him as far as the Orkneys; and had not their ammunition fallen short, by the negligence of the officers in supplying them, they had obliged the whole Armada to surrender at discretion. A violent tempest

overtook the Armada after it passed the Orkneys, and many of the ships were miserably wrecked. Not half of the navy returned to Spain; the seamen as well as soldiers who remained were so overcome with hardships and fatigue, so dispirited by their discomfiture, that they filled all Spain with accounts of the desperate valour of the English, and of the tempestuous violence of that ocean which surrounds them. Such was the miserable and dishonourable conclusion of an enterprise which had been preparing for three years, had exhausted the revenue and force of Spain, and had long filled all Europe with anxiety or expectation. Great rejoicings followed in England. Elizabeth attended a solemn thanksgiving at St. Paul's, Spanish banners waved from the churches, and the pulpits of the land rung with praises for this great national deliverance. The two medals struck on the occasion, of which fac-similes are exhibited in these pages, expressed in modest and appropriate language Elizabeth's sense of ~~his~~ glorious achievement, the greatest undoubtedly in the annals of England, and rightly attributed the main success of it to the elements that fought against the Spaniards. Something also was due to the more rapid movements of the English ships, which were more wisely handled, and took up their position without gunshot range of the huge floating batteries; something also to ignorance on the part of the Spaniards, of the shoals and sand-banks in the Channel. If there ever was a greater victory, never was one celebrated with less indecent exultation, and less boastfulness.

§ 3. Till now Spanish troops and the Spanish navy had with reason been considered the most formidable and irresistible in the world; and both now, to the astonishment of the world, had been discomfited by the single strength of England, in wealth, territory, military power and resources immeasurably inferior to its formidable antagonist. The spirit of the nation was excited in proportion. It was seized with a passionate enthusiasm for enterprises against Spain; and a design was formed in the following year (1589) to conquer the kingdom of Portugal for Don Antonio, an illegitimate scion of the royal family of that country. Sir Francis Drake and sir John Norris were the leaders in this romantic enterprise, which was afterwards joined by the earl of Essex; but the queen only allowed six of her ships of war to attend the expedition. The English gained several advantages over the Spaniards, took and burned Vigo, and even got possession of the suburbs of Lisbon; but, their ammunition and provisions being exhausted, and the army wasted by fatigue and intemperance, it was found necessary to make all possible haste to return. It is computed that 1100 gentlemen embarked on board the fleet, and that only 350 survived the multiplied disasters

to which they had been exposed through fatigue, famine, sickness, and the sword.

§ 4. Meanwhile a revolution was in progress in France, which finally engaged Elizabeth to take a part in the affairs of that country. Henry III., to disembarass himself of the tyranny of the league, had caused its leaders, the duke of Guise and his brother the cardinal, to be assassinated (December, 1588); and, having entered into a confederacy with the Huguenots and the king of Navarre, was himself murdered by Jaques Clement, a Dominican friar (August 2, 1589). The king of Navarre, next heir to the crown, assumed the government by the title of Henry IV.; but the league, governed by the duke of Mayenne, brother to Guise, gathered new force, and the king of Spain entertained views either of dismembering the French monarchy or of annexing the whole to his own dominions. In his necessity Henry addressed himself to Elizabeth, who made him a present of 22,000*l.*, and sent him a reinforcement of 4000 men under lord Willoughby. In 1591 she sent over, at two different times, a large body of men to the assistance of Henry, with the view of expelling the leaguers from Normandy. Robert, earl of Essex, was appointed general of these forces—a young nobleman who, by his many accomplishments, his birth, youth, and daring, was daily advancing in favour with Elizabeth, and seemed to occupy that place in her affections which Leicester, now deceased, had so long enjoyed (September 4, 1588). During these operations in France, Elizabeth employed her naval power against Philip, and endeavoured to intercept his West Indian treasures, the source of that greatness which rendered him formidable to all his neighbours. This war did great damage to Spain, but it was attended with considerable expense to England.

§ 5. Elizabeth therefore summoned a parliament in order to obtain a supply of money (1593). An extraordinary grant was made of three subsidies, six fifteenths and tenths, greatly to the dislike of sir Edward Coke, chosen speaker on this occasion, who observes that in former times the commons never gave more than one subsidy, usually amounting to 70,000*l.*, and two fifteenths, each amounting to 30,000*l.* The clerical subsidy was computed at 20,000*l.* On this occasion sir Francis Bacon and sir Robert Cecil took very prominent and opposite parts.

But for all this the queen betrayed no inclination of relaxing her authority. During the session she sent Peter Wentworth to the Tower for petitioning the lords to join with the commons in supplicating her to settle the succession. Sir Henry Bromley, who had attended with him, was committed to the Fleet, together with Stevens and Welsh, two members who had been concerned in draw-

ing the petition. Morrice, chancellor of the duchy, and attorney of the court of wards, having made a motion for redressing the abuses in the bishops' courts, but, above all, of the High Commission, was committed to the custody of sir John Fortescue, chancellor of the exchequer, discharged from his office, incapacitated from any practice in his profession as a common lawyer, and kept some years prisoner in Tutbury castle. The queen expressly forbade the commons to exhibit any "bills touching matters of state or reformation in causes ecclesiastical." In this session an act was passed against the puritans, who had given great offence to the queen in a scandalous controversy called the Martin Mar-Prelate tracts, in which they had attacked the bishops with great virulence, and had not scrupled to rail against the rule of a woman. It forbade any meetings or conventicles, under pretence of religion, on pain of imprisonment and abjuration of the realm in the event of continued nonconformity. With even-handed justice, an equal measure of severity was dealt out to popish recusants. They were to confine themselves within five miles of their homes, to pay a monthly fine of 20*l.* for non-attendance at church, or abjure the realm.

§ 6. Meanwhile Henry IV., moved by the necessity of his affairs, had resolved to renounce the protestant religion, and was solemnly received by the French prelates of his party into the bosom of the church (July 25, 1593). Elizabeth was extremely displeased with this abjuration of Henry; and she wrote him an angry letter. Sensible, however, that the league and the king of Spain were still their common enemies, she hearkened to his apologies, continued her succours both of men and money, and formed a new treaty, in which they mutually stipulated never to make peace but by common agreement. She assisted Henry in finally breaking the force of the league, which, after the conversion of that monarch, went daily to decay, and was threatened with speedy ruin and dissolution. The English forces rendered Henry considerable assistance till he made peace with Spain in 1598.

Among the designs against the life of Elizabeth at this time (1594), the most notorious was the attempt of her physician, Roger Lopez, a Portuguese Jew, who had been captured in one of the ships of the Armada. As early as 1590 he had entered into a secret correspondence with the Spanish minister to poison the queen for 50,000 crowns. Whether he really intended to execute this infamous design, or, like many others engaged in similar enterprises, had no other object than that of extorting money, is uncertain. He and his associates were executed with no little barbarity at Tyburn, and their quarters set on the gates of the city (June 7).

But these attempts only served to redouble the severity and the vigilance of the government against the catholics. Lop. z's attempt was followed by that of Squyer in 1598.

This was the age of naval enterprises, and several were undertaken about this time by sir John Hawkins and his son Richard Hawkins, sir Francis Drake, and others. In 1595 sir Walter Raleigh, who had been disgraced for an intrigue with a maid of honour, no sooner recovered his liberty than he was pushed by his active and enterprising genius to attempt some great action. It was imagined that in the inland parts of South America, called Guiana, a country as yet undiscovered, there were mines and treasures far exceeding any which Cortez or Pizarro had met with. Raleigh, whose turn of mind was somewhat romantic and extravagant, undertook, at his own charge, the discovery of this wonderful country. Having taken the small town of St. Joseph, in the isle of Trinidad, where he found no riches, he left his ship and sailed up the river Orinoco, but without meeting anything to answer his expectations.

§ 7. In 1596 the English attempted the Spanish dominions in Europe, where they heard Philip was making great preparations for a new invasion of England. A powerful fleet was equipped at Plymouth, in which near 7000 soldiers were embarked. The land forces were commanded by the earl of Essex; the navy by Howard, lord Effingham, high admiral. The fleet set sail on the 1st of June, and bent its course to Cadiz, which was taken and plundered, chiefly through the impetuous valour of Essex. The admiral was afterwards created earl of Nottingham, and his promotion gave great disgust to Essex. In the preamble of the patent it was said that the new dignity was conferred on him on account of his good services in taking Cadiz, a merit which Essex claimed solely for himself. Next year the queen, having received intelligence that the Spaniards were preparing a squadron in order to make a descent upon Ireland, equipped a large fleet, in which she embarked about 6000 troops, and appointed the earl of Essex commander-in-chief both of the land and sea forces. The design was to attack Ferrol and the Groyne, where the Spanish expedition was preparing; but the English fleet having been dispersed and shattered by a storm, Essex confined his enterprise to an ill-advised attempt of intercepting the Indian fleet; but the Spaniards contrived to reach Terceira. Three of their ships only were taken, but these were rich enough to repay the charges of the expedition.

The earl of Essex continued to increase daily in the queen's favour, but his lofty spirit could ill submit to that deference which she required, and had ever been accustomed to receive from her subjects. On one occasion, when he was engaged in a dispute with her about

the choice of a governor for Ireland, he was so heated in the argument that he entirely forgot the rules both of duty and civility, and turned his back upon her in a contemptuous manner. Her anger was roused at this provocation; and she instantly gave him a box on the ear, adding a passionate expression suited to his impertinence. Instead of recollecting himself, and making the submissions due to her sex and station, he clapped his hand to his sword, and swore that he would not bear such usage were it from Henry VIII. himself; and he immediately withdrew from court. Yet the queen's partiality reinstated him in his former favour, and her kindness to him appeared rather to have acquired new force from this short interval of anger and resentment. The death of lord Burleigh, in 1598, seemed to insure Essex entire possession of the queen's confidence; and nothing indeed could have shaken it except his own indiscretion. Soon after the death of Burleigh, the queen, who regretted extremely the loss of so wise and faithful a minister, was informed of the death of her capital enemy, Philip II., who, after languishing under many infirmities, expired at an advanced age in Madrid (September 13, 1598).

§ 8. The affairs of Ireland now challenged the queen's attention. Though the dominion of the English over that country had been established above four centuries, their authority often had been little more than nominal. A body of 1000 men was supported there, which on extraordinary emergencies was augmented to 2000. No wonder that such a force was unable to control the half-civilized Irish, and that their ancient animosity against the tyranny of the English, now further inflamed by religious antipathy, should have broken out into dangerous rebellions. Hugh O'Neale, nephew to Shan O'Neale, or the Great O'Neale, had been raised by the queen to the dignity of earl of Tyrone; but having murdered his cousin, son of that rebel, and being acknowledged head of his clan, he preferred the pride of barbarous licence and dominion to the pleasures of opulence and tranquillity, and he fomented all those disorders by which he hoped to weaken or overturn the English government. He entered into a correspondence with Spain; he procured thence a supply of arms and ammunition; and, having united the Irish chieftains in a dependence upon himself, he began to be regarded as a formidable enemy. Tyrone defied and eluded for some years the arms of sir John Norris, the English commander. He defeated sir Henry Bagnal, sir John's successor, in a pitched battle at Blackwater, where 1500 men, together with the general himself, were left dead upon the spot (August 14, 1598). This victory, so unusual to the Irish, roused their courage, supplied them with arms and ammunition, and raised the reputation of Tyrone, who assumed the

character of the deliverer of his country and patron of Irish liberty. The English council, sensible that the rebellion of Ireland was now come to a dangerous head, resolved to push the war by more vigorous measures. Essex was appointed governor of Ireland by the title of lord-lieutenant, and was sent over with an army of 16,000 men. He landed at Dalkey, near Dublin, April 15, 1599; but instead of bringing the war to an end, as had been expected, he found himself at the end of the campaign unable to effect anything against the enemy. By tedious marches, by sickness and other causes, his numbers were reduced to 6000 men. Essex hearkened therefore to a message sent him by Tyrone, who desired a conference; and a cessation of arms was agreed upon. He received from Tyrone proposals for a peace, in which that rebel had inserted many unreasonable and exorbitant conditions. With these he suddenly left Ireland (September 24), though the queen had expressly charged him to remain, and presented himself abruptly before her at Nonsuch, four days after.

Beamed with dirt and sweat, he hastened upstairs to the presence chamber, thence to the privy chamber, nor stopped till he was in the queen's bed-chamber. Elizabeth was newly risen, and was sitting with her hair about her face. He threw himself on his knees, kissed her hand, and was so graciously received that on his departure he was heard to express great satisfaction, and to thank God that, though he had suffered much trouble and many storms abroad, he found a sweet calm at home. But this placability of Elizabeth was merely the result of her surprise, and of the momentary satisfaction which she felt on his sudden and unexpected appearance. When Essex waited on her in the afternoon, he found her extremely altered. She ordered him to be confined to his chamber (September 28); to be twice examined by the council; and, though his answers were calm and submissive, she committed him to the custody of lord keeper Egerton, and held him sequestered from all company, even from that of his countess (October 2). The vexation of this disappointment, and of the triumph gained by his enemies, preyed upon his haughty spirit; and he fell into a distemper which seemed to put his life in danger. But, though Elizabeth showed her solicitude for his health, she resolutely refused to admit Essex to her presence. Several incidents kept alive the queen's anger. Every account which she received from Ireland convinced her more and more of his misconduct in that government, and of the insignificant purposes to which he had employed so much force and treasure. Her displeasure against him was augmented by his supposed popularity; and still more by the fact that several of the London clergy, inclined to puritanism, had openly prayed for

him in their pulpits. She expressed her determination to have the earl tried for his offences in the Star-chamber; but, relenting from her severity, she was contented to have him only examined by the privy council. Essex pleaded in his defence with great humility, but was condemned to remain a prisoner in his own house till it should please her majesty to restore him. Bacon, so much distinguished afterwards by his high offices, and still more by his profound genius, pleaded against him before the council; although Essex, who could distinguish merit, and who passionately loved it, had entered into an intimate friendship with Bacon; had zealously attempted, though without success, to procure him the office of Solicitor-general; and, in order to comfort his friend under the disappointment, had conferred on him an estate to the value of 1800*l*.

§ 9. All the world expected that Essex would soon be reinstated in his former credit, when they saw that, though he was still prohibited from appearing at court, he was continued in his office of master of horse, and was restored to his liberty. But Elizabeth, though gracious in her deportment, refused his repeated requests to be admitted into her presence. He possessed a monopoly of sweet wines; and, as his patent was near expiring, he patiently expected that the queen would renew it. She denied his request, not out of severity to Essex, but for other reasons. Being now reduced to despair, he gave entire reins to his violent disposition. Intoxicated with the public favour, which he already possessed, he practised anew every art of popularity. He secretly courted the confidence of the catholics; but his chief trust lay in the puritans, whom he openly caressed, and whose manners he seemed to have entirely adopted. He engaged the most celebrated preachers of that sect to resort to Essex house, he had daily prayers and sermons in his family, and he invited all the zealots in London to attend those pious exercises. He also indulged himself in great liberties of speech, and was even heard to say of the queen that she was now grown an old woman, and was become as crooked in mind as in body. He even made secret applications to the king of Scots, and assured him that he was determined to use every expedient for extorting an immediate declaration in favour of his succession.

Essex now resorted to more desperate counsels. A select council of malcontents was formed, by whom it was agreed that Essex should seize the palace, oblige the queen to assemble a parliament, and with common consent settle a new plan of government. While these projects were in agitation, Essex received a summons to attend the council, which met at the treasurer's house (1601). While he was musing on this circumstance a private note was conveyed to him, by which he was warned to provide for his own safety. He con-

cluded that the conspiracy was discovered, or at least suspected; and he immediately despatched messages to his more intimate confederates, requesting their advice and assistance in the present critical situation of his affairs. Flight was proposed, but rejected; to seize the palace seemed impracticable, without more preparations; there remained therefore no expedient but that of raising the city, which was immediately resolved on; but the execution of it was delayed till next day; and emissaries were despatched to all Essex's friends, informing them that Cobham and Raleigh had laid schemes against his life, and entreating their presence and assistance.

Next day (February 8, 1601) being Sunday, there appeared at Essex house the earls of Southampton and Rutland, the lords Sandys and Montegle, with about 300 gentlemen of good quality and fortune; and Essex informed them of the danger to which he pretended the machinations of his enemies exposed him. The queen, being informed of their concourse, sent some of the chief officers of state to Essex house to learn the cause of these unusual commotions. Essex detained them, and proceeded to the execution of his former project. He sallied forth with about 200 attendants, armed with swords; and in his passage to the city was joined by the earl of Bedford and lord Cromwell. He cried aloud, "For the queen! for the queen! a plot is laid for my life!" and then proceeded to the house of Smith, the sheriff, on whose aid he had great reliance. The citizens flocked about him in amazement, but no one showed a disposition to join him. The sheriff, on the earl's approach to his house, stole out at the back door, and made the best of his way to the lord mayor. Essex meanwhile, observing the coldness of the citizens, after in vain attempting to force his way through the streets, retired towards the river, and, taking boat, arrived at Essex house. He was now reduced to despair, and surrendered in the evening to the earl of Nottingham.

The queen soon gave orders for the trial of the most considerable of the conspirators, and on the 19th of February the earls of Essex and Southampton were arraigned before a jury of 25 peers, and were found guilty (February 19). Bacon, though he was not one of the special law officers of the crown, did not scruple to employ his talents, as counsel, against the earl, rather than sacrifice the queen's favour. After Essex had passed some days in the solitude and reflections of a prison, his proud heart was at last subdued, not by the fear of death, but by the sentiments of religion. He made a full confession of his disloyalty, not sparing his most intimate friends.

If Elizabeth had expected any application for mercy, Essex made none; and she gave her consent to his execution. At his death, he discovered symptoms rather of penitence and piety than of fear,

and willingly acknowledged the justice of his sentence. The execution was private, in the Tower, agreeably to his own request (February 25). At his death he was 34 years of age. Some of his associates were tried, condemned, and executed. Southampton's life was saved with great difficulty, but he was detained in prison during the life of Elizabeth.

§ 10. The remaining transactions of this reign are neither numerous nor important. The war was continued against the Spaniards with success; and in 1603 Tyrone appeared before Mountjoy, and made an absolute surrender of his life and fortunes to the queen's mercy. But Elizabeth was now incapable of receiving any satisfaction from this fortunate event. She had fallen into a profound melancholy, which all the advantages of her high fortune, all the glories of her prosperous reign, were unable to alleviate or assuage. Her dejection has been ascribed to various causes, and particularly to compunction for the fate of Essex; but it was probably the natural result of disease and old age. Worn out by the cares of state, her mind had preyed so long on her frail body that her end was visibly approaching; and the council, being assembled, sent the keeper, admiral, and secretary, to know her will with regard to her successor. She answered, with a faint voice, that, as she had held a regal sceptre, she desired no other than a royal successor. Cecil requesting her to explain herself more particularly, she subjoined that she would have a king to succeed her; and who should that be but her nearest kinsman, the king of Scots? Being then advised by the archbishop of Canterbury to fix her thoughts upon God, she replied that she did so, nor did her mind in the least wander from Him. Her voice soon after left her; her senses failed; she fell into a lethargic slumber, which continued some hours; and she expired gently, without further struggle or convulsion, in the 70th year of her age and 45th of her reign (March 24, 1603).

There are few great personages in history who have been more exposed to the calumny of enemies and the adulation of friends than queen Elizabeth, and yet there is scarcely any whose reputation has been more certainly determined by the almost unanimous consent of posterity. Her vigour, her constancy, her magnanimity, her penetration, vigilance, address, are allowed the highest praises, and appear not to have been surpassed by any person that ever filled a throne; a conduct less rigorous, less imperious, and more indulgent to her people, would have been requisite to form a perfect character. By the force of her mind she controlled all her more active and stronger qualities, and prevented them from running into excess; her heroism was exempt from temerity, her frugality from avarice, her active temper from turbulency and vain ambition; she guarded

not herself with equal care or equal success from lesser infirmities : the rivalry of beauty, the desire of admiration, the jealousy of love, and the sallies of anger.

§ 11. The many arbitrary acts of power exercised by the Tudor princes have, by some historians, been ascribed to an actual increase of the prerogative, nor can it be justly doubted that the crown gained an accession of strength under that dynasty. To be persuaded of this, we need only advert to the succession of the crown. Under the early Plantagenets the notion was not altogether obsolete, that the sovereign was in a certain degree elective ; and the invariable right of succession in the eldest branch was not completely established till the reign of Edward I. But under Henry VIII. an act was passed empowering that monarch to bequeath the crown to whomsoever he pleased, even to one not of the blood royal, if his children died without issue. So, too, an alteration was made in the coronation oath of Edward VI. ; and that prince was crowned, as the rightful and undoubted heir, before he had sworn to preserve the liberties of the realm, and without the consent of the people having been asked to his accession.

This augmented power of the crown under the Tudors was not supported by military force, and seems to have rested mainly upon public opinion. Such a state of opinion was a natural consequence of the long and bloody wars of the Roses ; which, being carried on merely for the choice of a sovereign of the blood royal, filled the public mind with an exaggerated idea of his personal importance. The same wars, however, undoubtedly added to the material as well as to the ideal power of the crown. The great nobility, hitherto the chief support of the people in their struggles with the throne, were nearly exterminated. They were further overawed and depressed by severe and unjust executions ; as those of the earl of Warwick and the earl of Suffolk under Henry VII., the duke of Buckingham under Henry VIII., and of several others in the subsequent reigns. On the other hand, the dissolution of the monasteries, and various encroachments upon the property of the church, supplied Henry and his successors with means of purchasing the affection of the great, and surrounding himself by a personal nobility strongly attached to the crown from motives of self-interest.

§ 12. Yet in theory the constitution, as a monarchy limited by law was maintained in several works,* written in the reign of Elizabeth. The two chief privileges of parliament, that of legislation under certain restrictions, and of taxation in general, were

* Such are Aylmer's *Harbours for Faithful Subjects* ; Hooker's *Ecclesiastical Polity* ; Sir T. Smith's *Commonwealth*, etc.

scarcely disputed. Henry VIII. procured indeed a statute to enable the king, on attaining the age of 24, to repeal any acts passed since his accession; and another to give his proclamations the force of laws. Yet here the constitution is acknowledged, in the very breach and suspension of it; for, instead of assuming these powers, the king prefers to have them conferred by parliament. On the other hand, the parliamentary right of taxation was sometimes evaded by the crown. One of the devices for this purpose was called a *Benevolence*, of which we have spoken already. In 1492 Henry VII. levied a *Benevolence* with the consent of parliament; Edward IV. had done so without its consent. In 1505 Henry levied a *Benevolence* without any fresh act. Henry VIII. made two similar attempts, in 1525 and 1544. He also exercised an act of great arbitrary power. Read, an alderman of London, who had refused to contribute, was enrolled as a foot soldier, and sent to the wars in Scotland, where he was taken prisoner. Henry also resorted to forced loans, and from the obligation of their repayment he was released by parliament. Elizabeth also raised compulsory loans, but was generally punctual in repaying them.

The sovereigns of this period still continued to derive an income from feudal rights, such as escheats, purveyance, etc. Another source of income was the sale of pardons, wardships, the first-fruits and tenths derived from all ecclesiastical promotions. They also enjoyed the means of rewarding favourites and adherents by monopolies; that is, the granting of patents for the exclusive sale of certain articles. Towards the close of Elizabeth's reign great complaints were made of this practice, which had grown at first out of mistaken notions of furthering commerce and encouraging home manufactures. Some of the most necessary articles of life, as salt, iron, calf-skins, train oil, vinegar, sea coals, lead, paper, and a great many more, were in the hands of patentees. Stormy debates ensued on the subject in the session of 1601. Elizabeth promised that most of the monopolies complained of should be abolished, but it does not appear how far her word was kept.*

§ 13. The narrative will have conveyed some idea of the manner in which the Tudor sovereigns occasionally treated the commons. Elizabeth forbade them to handle certain subjects, reprimanded unruly members, and committed some of them to the Tower. But though they submitted to this treatment, instances, though rare, are not wanting in which certain members of the commons boldly

* Sir Francis Bacon, in a speech made on this occasion in the commons, explains the true motive of these complaints: "If her majesty make a patent, or, as we term it, a monopoly, unto any of her

servants, that must go, and we cry out of it; but if she grant it to a number of burgesses, or a corporation, that must stand, and that forsooth is no monopoly."

asserted their privileges. In the debate on a subsidy in 1601, Mr. Serjeant Heyle having observed that the queen might take it at her pleasure, and that she had as much right to their land and goods as to any revenue of the crown, Mr. Montague replied that "if all prombles of subsidies were looked upon," it would be found they were free gifts. "And though," he observed, "her majesty requires *this** at our hands, *yet it is in us to give*, not in her to exact of duty." And speaker Onslow, in his address to the queen herself, at the close of the session of 1566, plainly pointed out the limits of her prerogative. "By our *common law*," he said, "although there be for the prince provided many princely prerogatives and royalties, yet it is not such as the prince can take money or other things, or do as he will, at his own pleasure, without order; † but quietly to suffer his subjects to enjoy their own, without wrongful oppression: wherein other princes, by their liberty, do take as pleaseth them."

The commons gained ground as the Tudor dynasty proceeded. In the reign of Henry VIII. they ventured to throw out only one bill recommended by the crown; but there are many instances under his successors of their doing so. On the other hand, the crown did not scruple to reject bills which had passed both houses; and in 1597 Elizabeth refused no fewer than 48. The interference of the crown in elections shows the opinion entertained of the power of the commons; and the same fact is evident from the creation of what we should now call rotten boroughs. In the short reign of Edward VI. 22 boroughs were created or restored; in that of Mary, 14; while Elizabeth added no fewer than 62 members to the house, of whom a large proportion sat for petty boroughs under the influence of the crown.

§ 14. Turning from the legislature to the executive and the administration of justice, we shall find, in like manner, that the liberty of the subject, though secure in theory, was frequently violated in practice. The law forbade any man to be thrown into prison without legal warrant; or to be kept there without being

* That is, the unprecedented grant of four subsidies and eight fifteenths and tenths.

† D'Ewes, p. 115. Onslow says, *without order*; not, *without order of the commons*. But what was order was the point in debate, and it varied according to men's notions of the prerogative. Could the sovereign in cases of political necessity dispense with the law or not? Even as late as 1601, an authority no less than Bacon declared in the same house: "For the prerogative royal of the prince, I ever

allowed of it, and it is such as I hope shall never be discussed. The queen, as she is our sovereign, hath both an enlarging and restraining power. For by her prerogative she may, first, *set at liberty things restrained by statute law or otherwise*; and, secondly, by her prerogative, *she may restrain things that are at liberty*." Opinions differed, and, though it was generally admitted that the prerogative was limited by the law, no one could precisely determine what those limitations were.

speedily brought to trial; or to be condemned without a trial by his peers; yet, in fact, all these things were frequently done. Even under the Plantagenets, the king's ordinary council sometimes exercised an arbitrary jurisdiction; depriving an accused person of trial by jury, or punishing jurors whose verdict was deemed unsatisfactory, by fine and imprisonment. Under the Tudors, these illegal proceedings were still further aggravated by means of the same council, or rather a committee of it, called the court of Star Chamber.* The more flagrant violations of justice were naturally displayed in political trials, and those conducted in parliament were no better than those in the ordinary courts of law. Cromwell, the minister of Henry VIII., sanctioned the precedent of condemning an accused person without hearing him in his defence; but by a just retribution he himself was one of the first to fall by his own invention †

§ 15. The reforms of the church introduced by Henry VIII. proceeded little beyond the abolishment of the papal jurisdiction in England; those of Edward VI. went a great way in the direction of doctrine. Elizabeth, taking a middle course, maintained the rites and ceremonies of the church of England. Of course the zealots on either side were not satisfied, and thus she raised up two political as well as religious parties against her, both of which occasioned her great trouble. In her first year two important acts were passed, that of supremacy and that of uniformity; by the latter of which the use of any but the established liturgy was prohibited under severe penalties. In order to enforce this law, a new court, called the court of High Commission, was erected. The courts of law regarded this tribunal from the first as illegal, and frequently granted prohibitions against its acts. On one occasion the judges refused to entertain a charge of murder against a man who had killed one of the pursuivants of the commissioners whilst attempting to enter his house by virtue of their warrant.

§ 16. If we turn our attention from constitutional questions to the general state of the nation, we must, on the whole, pronounce the period of the Tudors to have been one of advancement and improvement. The arms and negotiations of Henry VIII., though not always well directed, extended English influence on the continent; and, though this advantage was lost in the short but inglorious reign of Mary, it was more than recovered under Elizabeth. In her reign England first became a great maritime power; and some of the sea-fights and expeditions which then took place, especially the destruction of the Spanish Armada, were as brilliant

* See Notes and Illustrations: The Star Chamber.

† A similar instance occurred in 1491.

and glorious exploits as any that can be found in our naval annals. Nor was the aid which her land forces lent to the Huguenots in France, and to the nascent liberties of the Dutch, wanting in glory, though rather perhaps from the cause in which they were engaged, than from the feats actually performed. The enterprising voyages of Drake, Cavendish, and others, likewise shed a lustre on her reign, and prepared the way for that extensive colonization which has proved one of the chief sources of England's greatness.

The annals of Elizabeth are adorned with some of the greatest names of English literature. The majesty of English prose was furnished by Hooker; the harmony of English verse by Spenser. The drama, the surest proof of an advanced civilization, had then its first beginnings, and was perfected by the immortal genius of Shakespeare; whilst Bacon opened up a new method of philosophy whose practical fruits we may be said even now to be gathering.

NOTES AND ILLUSTRATIONS.

A. THE COURT OF STAR CHAMBER.

The origin of this court is derived from the most remote antiquity. It was originally composed of all the members of the king's *consilium ordinarium* or ordinary council, and its jurisdiction embraced both civil and criminal causes. Its title was derived from the *camera stellata* or Star Chamber, an apartment in the king's palace at Westminster in which it held its sittings; and we find "the lords sitting in Star Chamber" used as a well-known phrase in the records of Edward III. The name was continued long after the locality of the court was changed. In the time of Edward III. the jurisdiction of the court had become so oppressive, that various statutes were made to abridge and restrain it; and after this period its power, though not wholly extinct, appears to have gradually declined till the time of the Tudors. Henry VII., in the third year of his reign, erected a new court on the ruins of the old. It consisted of the chancellor, the treasurer, and the lord privy seal, as judges; together with a bishop, a temporal lord of the council, and the two

chief justices, or, in their absence, two other justices, as assistants. This court was not therefore, strictly speaking, the court of Star Chamber; still less are we to look upon it, as some writers have done, as the original of that famous court. Yet as most of, if not all, the members who composed it, were also members of the ordinary council, it may be regarded as a sort of committee of the ancient court of Star Chamber; and both lord Coke (*Fourth Institute*, p. 62) and lord Hale (*Jurisdiction of the Lords' House*, ch. v. p. 35) consider it as only a modification of that tribunal. So also the judges of the King's Bench, in the 13th year of Elizabeth, cite the proceedings of this court under the name of the Star Chamber (*Plowden's Commentaries*, 393). Yet that appellation does not appear to have been given to it either in the statute by which it was erected, or in another passed in the 21st year of Henry VIII., by which the president of the council was added to the number of the judges.

The fact just mentioned, however, shows that the tribunal erected by Henry VII. continued to exist as a court distinct from the ordinary council till a late period of the reign of Henry

VIII. It was chiefly designed to restrain and punish illegal combinations, such as the giving of liveries, etc., the partiality of sheriffs in forming panels and making untrue returns, the taking of money by jurors, riots, and unlawful assemblies; and it had the power to punish offenders, just as if they had been convicted in due course of law. But towards the close of Henry VIII.'s reign the jurisdiction of the ancient Star Chamber was revived, and the court of Henry VII. became gradually merged in it. The precise period of this revival cannot be ascertained. By some it is ascribed to cardinal Wolsey; and at all events the ancient court was again in activity in the 31st year of Henry VIII., as the celebrated act of that year concerning proclamations ordains that offenders against it may be tried before the Star Chamber. Sir Thos. Smith, who wrote his *Commonwealth of England* in Elizabeth's reign, knows nothing of Henry VII.'s court. It had then become merged in the general council.

The judges of the revived court, however, continued to be the same; viz. the lord chancellor, or lord keeper, as president, the treasurer, the privy seal, and the president of the council; but with these were associated the members of the council, and all peers of the realm who chose to attend. Under the Tudors the number of judges often amounted to 30 or 40; but under James I. and Charles I. only such peers seem to have been summoned as were also members of the privy council. The bishops also ceased to attend.

The civil jurisdiction of the Star Chamber embraced disputes between English and alien merchants, questions of maritime law, testamentary causes, suits between corporations, etc.; but these were gradually transferred to the admiralty court, the court of chancery, and the common law courts. It was the criminal jurisdiction which rendered the Star Chamber most powerful and most odious. The offences of which it took cognizance were perjury, forgery, riot, maintenance, fraud, libel, and conspiracy; and generally all misdemeanours, especially of a public kind, which could not be brought under the law. The regular course of proceeding was by information at the suit of the

attorney-general, or sometimes of a private person. Depositions of witnesses were taken in writing and read in court. But occasionally the process was summary. Fines and imprisonment were the usual punishments. Towards a later period the Star Chamber sentenced to the pillory, whipping, cutting off the ears, etc. But such cases were rare, and the great majority of cases brought before it were not of a political, but private, nature. In the reigns of James I. and Charles I. its jurisdiction became very tyrannical and offensive as a means of asserting the royal prerogative; and the court was at length abolished by the Long Parliament. It is but just to add that this court had done good service in punishing rich and powerful offenders, whom no ordinary juries would have dared to convict; and, when it was no longer needed for this purpose, it was resorted to by persons whose causes were too intricate for an ordinary jury. As a court of equity it was not without advantage to many suitors.

For further information respecting the Star Chamber, see Hallam's *Constitutional History*, ch. i. and ch. viii.; Sir F. Palgrave's *Essay upon the Original Authority of the King's Council*; and the article "Star Chamber" in the *Penny Cyclopædia*.

B. AUTHORITIES FOR THE PERIOD OF THE TUDORS.

The works of several of the chroniclers which serve for the period of the Plantagenets extend also into that of the Tudors; as those of Fabyan, Hall, Grafton, Polydore Virgil, Hollinshed, Stowe, etc.

The history of the reign of Henry VII. has been written by lord Bacon; that of Henry VIII. by lord Herbert of Cherbury; that of Edward VI. by Hayward; that of Elizabeth by Camden. Edward VI. left a journal of some of the occurrences of his reign.

Subsidiary works for this period are Fiddes's *Life of Wolsey*; Le Grand, *Hist. du Divorce*; Brewer's *Introductions to State Papers of Henry VIII.*; Froude's *History of England* containing the period from the fall of Wolsey to the Spanish Armada; D'Ewes's *Journal of Queen Elizabeth's Parliaments*; Birch's *Memoirs*;

Winwood's *Memorials*; Ellis's *Original Letters*; Haynes and Murrin's *State Papers*; Sir Dudley Digges's *Complete Ambassador*; *The Cabala*; the *State Trials*, *State Papers*, *Hardwicke Papers*, etc.

For the Scotch affairs of the period should be consulted: Geo. Buchanan's *Hist. of Scotland* (translated by Bond); Drummond's *Hist. of Scotland*; the *Memoirs of Melvil, Keith, Forbes*; Robertson's *Hist. of Scotland*; Tytler's and Hill Burton's *Hist. of Scotland*; *The Letter-Books of Sir Amyas Poulet*, by

John Morris; Hosack's *Mary Q. of Scots*; Jebb's, Goodal's, Anderson's, Labanoff's, and Teulet's collections.

For ecclesiastical affairs, and the history of the Reformation: Strype's *Ecccl. Memorials*, *Annals of the Reformation*, and *Lives of Parker, Grindal, Whitgift*, and *Aylmer*; Burnet's *Hist. of the Reformation*, by Pocock; Collier's *Ecccl. History*; Heylyn's *Hist. of the Reformation*, and of *The Presbyterians*; Foxe's *Acts and Monuments*; Neal's *Hist. of the Puritans*, etc.



Sardonyx ring, with cameo head of Queen Elizabeth, in the possession of Rev. Lord John Thynne.

This is said to be the identical ring given by queen Elizabeth to Essex. It has descended from lady Frances Deversaux, Essex's daughter, in unbroken succession from mother and daughter to the present possessor. The ring is gold, the sides engraved, and the inside of blue enamel.—Labarte, *Arts of the Middle Ages*, p. 55.



Obverse of medal of James I. IAC: I. TOTIVS . INS: BRYT . IMP: ET . FRANC . ET . HIB. REX. (The title imperator is to be noted.) Bust of king, facing.

BOOK V.

THE HOUSE OF STUART, TO THE ABDICATION OF JAMES II.

A.D. 1603–1688.

CHAPTER XX.

JAMES I., *b.* 1566; *r.* 1603–1625.

§ 1. Introduction. § 2. Accession of James. § 3. Conspiracy in favour of Arabella Stuart. Conference at Hampton Court. § 4. Proceedings of parliament. Peace with Spain. § 5. The Gunpowder plot. § 6. Struggles with the parliament. Assassination of Henry IV. of France. § 7. State of Ireland, and settlement of Ulster. Death of prince Henry, and marriage of the princess Elizabeth. § 8. Rise of Somerset. Murder of sir Thomas Overbury. § 9. Somerset's fall, and rise of Buckingham. § 10. English colonization. Raleigh's expedition to Guiana. His execution. § 11. Negotiations for the Spanish match. Affairs of the Palatinate. § 12. Discontent of the English. A parliament. Impeachments. Fall of lord Bacon. § 13. Rupture between the king and commons. § 14. Progress of the Spanish match. Prince Charles and Buckingham visit Madrid. § 15. The marriage treaty broken by Buckingham. Triumph of the commons. § 16. Rupture with Spain, and treaty with France. Count Mansfeld's expedition. Death and character of the king.

§ 1. THROUGH the able management of sir Robert Cecil, the crown of England was never transmitted from father to son with greater tranquillity than it passed from the Tudors to the Stuarts, in spite of

the will of Henry VIII., sanctioned by act of parliament, settling the succession on the house of Suffolk, the descendants of his younger sister Mary. Queen Elizabeth, on her deathbed, had recognized the title of her kinsman James; and the whole nation seemed to dispose themselves with joy and pleasure for his reception. Great were the rejoicings, and loud and hearty the acclamations, which resounded from all sides. But James, though sociable and familiar with his friends and courtiers, hated the bustle of a mixed multitude; and, though far from disliking flattery, he was still fonder of tranquillity and ease. Every one who expected rewards and preferments from the new sovereign flocked to see him and anticipate his favours. At the suggestion, therefore, of the council in England, James issued a proclamation, forbidding the resort of people, on pretence of the scarcity of provisions, and other inconveniences; and by his ungainly manners he lost some of his popularity even before his arrival in London.

§ 2. James, at his accession, was 36 years of age, and had by his queen, Anne of Denmark, two sons, Henry and Charles, and one daughter, Elizabeth. He had been brought up among scenes of turbulence. Of the governors he had in his infancy, three were cut off by violence. The murder of his father, the unhappy fate of his mother, were a perpetual memento of the insecurity of life, and how little "the divinity which hedges a king" was respected in Scotland. His education had been conducted by the celebrated George Buchanan, but was more suited for a pedant than a ruler; and James had acquired a considerable stock of learning, of which he took frequent occasion to make display, both in conversation and in writing. He was an author, and had published, for the use of his son, a book called *Basilikon Doron* (βασιλικὸν δῶρον) or *Royal Gift*, besides works on demonology and other subjects. But his pedantry was the pedantry of his age, and did not strike his contemporaries as ridiculous in itself, or unbecoming in their sovereign. His speeches were able and manly; and, though he spent much of his time in pursuits unsuited for his station, like most of his countrymen he possessed a fund of shrewd good sense, which seldom failed him when the occasion presented itself. His main fault was his indolence, partly physical, partly the result of untoward circumstances, and the intimidation to which he was subjected in his youth. So far as this country was concerned, his inexperience of the arts of government tempted him to trust the cares of state to his ministers, whilst he abandoned himself to his own amusements.

James signalized his accession by freely distributing the honour of knighthood. It is computed that within three months after his entrance into the kingdom he bestowed that distinction on no fewer

than 400 persons. He had brought with him, to what he called the "Land of Promise," great numbers of his Scottish courtiers, some of whom were immediately added to the English privy council. Yet he left the chief offices in the hands of Elizabeth's ministers, and trusted the conduct of political concerns, both foreign and domestic; to his English subjects. Among these, secretary Cecil, afterwards created earl of Salisbury, was always regarded as his prime minister and chief counsellor. The secret correspondence into which he had entered with James, and which had sensibly contributed to the easy reception of that prince in England, had laid the foundation of Cecil's credit with James.

§ 3. In 1603 a double conspiracy to subvert the government was discovered. One of these plots, called the *Main*, is said to have been chiefly conducted by sir Walter Raleigh and lord Cobham, and consisted of a plan to place Arabella Stuart, the cousin of the king,* on the throne, with the assistance of the Spanish government. The other plot, called the *Bye*, the *Surprise*, or the *Surprising Treason*, was led by Broke, brother of lord Cobham, and by sir Griffin Markham, and was a design to *surprise* and imprison the king, and to remodel the government. Broke was engaged in both plots, and formed the connecting link between them. In this wild undertaking men of all persuasions were enlisted; as lord Grey, a puritan, Watson and Clarke, two Roman catholic priests, and others. Their design was betrayed by Broke to Cecil, and the conspirators were arrested. Raleigh split upon Cobham, and Cobham retaliated. The two priests and Broke were executed; Cobham, Grey, and Markham were pardoned, after they had been brought to the scaffold. Raleigh was reprieved, but not pardoned; and remained in confinement in the Tower many years.

The religious disputes between the church and the puritans induced James to call a conference at Hampton Court, on pretence of finding expedients which might reconcile both parties. The conference was opened January 14, 1604. The puritans, who had not yet separated from the church of England, desired the abolition of certain ceremonies, as the use of the cross in baptism, the ring in marriage, the surplice, and the like. To some of their demands the king yielded, a few alterations were made in the Book of Common Prayer; an addition inserted to the catechism; and a new translation of the Bible was promised. But on the main question, obedience to the rules and discipline of the church, James would admit of no relaxation. Quite unexpectedly—for he had been brought up as a presbyterian—from the beginning of the conference, he showed the

* She was the daughter of the duke of Lennox, the brother of lord Darnley, the king's father. (See the Genealogical Table of the Stuarts).

strongest propensity to the established church, and inculcated the maxim, No BISHOP, no KING. The puritans were bitterly dissatisfied.

§ 4. The popular element had begun to develop itself in the House of Commons in the declining years of Elizabeth; and it was clear, from many indications, that it would before long demand an enlargement of its privileges. Though not puritans in the sense of antagonism to the church, many of the members inclined to those particular tenets which were considered especially Calvinistic and puritanical; and as the bishops supported the measures of the court, and leaned to doctrines of an opposite tendency, puritanism found its supporters in that party of the house which was opposed to the court. At present, however, no indication of a struggle was visible. Upon the assembling of the parliament (March 19, 1604) the commons granted the king tonnage and poundage.* When the upper house desired that the commons would take into consideration "a relief and subsidy to his majesty," James, foreseeing that it might lead to an altercation between the two houses, already exasperated on a question of privilege between themselves, wisely sent a letter to the commons declining any further supply. The house was profuse in its gratitude. It resolved that the king's letter should be recorded, "for an everlasting memory of his majesty's grace." All knights of the shires were to take a copy of it to be read in their several counties, and the speaker was commanded to thank the king in the name of the whole house.

This summer a treaty of peace and commerce was concluded with Spain, and was signed by the Spanish ministers at London. By it James was bound to lend no aid to Holland (August 18, 1604).

§ 5. The Roman catholics had expected great favour on the accession of James; but the rigorous measures of Elizabeth, especially against the priests, were not relaxed. Catesby, a gentleman of good parts and of an ancient family, first thought of a most extraordinary method of revenge. His scheme was, to destroy the king, the royal family, the lords, and the commons, when assembled on the first meeting of the parliament, by blowing them up with gunpowder. The project was communicated to Thomas Winter, who went over to Flanders in April to solicit aid from Spain. He returned to England with Guy Fawkes, an officer in the Spanish service, with whose zeal and courage he was thoroughly acquainted. Thomas Percy, a relation to the earl of Northumberland, was now

* These, which are the origin of our custom-house duties, consisted chiefly of imported, and of 1s. in the pound on other articles.
a duty of 3s. upon every tun of wine

associated in the design. The conspirators, five in number, bound themselves to secrecy by an oath, before Gerard, a Jesuit. Thus passed the spring and summer of the year 1604, when the conspirators hired in Percy's name a cellar below the House of Lords. Thirty-six barrels of powder were lodged in it, the whole covered up with faggots and billets, the doors of the cellar boldly flung open, and everybody admitted, as if it contained nothing dangerous.

The dreadful secret, though communicated to several persons, had been religiously kept during the space of nearly a year and a half. But Catesby's funds growing exhausted, he was compelled to seek the means of proceeding with the conspiracy by enlisting other persons; and particularly sir Everard Digby, of Gayhurst, in Buckinghamshire, and Francis Tresham, of Rushton, in Northamptonshire, two opulent Roman catholic gentlemen. It is suspected that the plot was revealed by Tresham. Ten days before the meeting of parliament, lord Mounteagle, a catholic peer, son to lord Morley and brother-in-law of Tresham, received the following letter, which had been delivered to his servant by an unknown hand. "My lord, out of the love I bear to some of your friends, I have a care of your preservation. Therefore I would advise you, as you tender your life, to devise some excuse to shift off your attendance at this parliament. For God and man hath concurred to punish the wickedness of this time. And think not slightly of this advertisement; but retire yourself into your country, where you may expect the event in safety. For though there be no appearance of any stir, yet, I say, they shall receive a terrible blow this parliament, and yet they shall not see who hurts them." Mounteagle communicated this to lord Salisbury,* and he to the king, who conjectured, from the serious and earnest style of the letter, that it implied something dangerous and important. A *terrible blow*, and yet the *authors concealed*, seemed to denote some contrivance by gunpowder; and it was thought advisable to inspect all the vaults below the houses of parliament. The task belonged to the earl of Suffolk, lord chamberlain, who purposely delayed the search till the day before the meeting of parliament. He remarked those great piles of wood and faggots which lay in the vault under the upper house, and he cast his eye upon Fawkes, who stood in a dark corner, and passed himself off for Percy's servant. These circumstances appeared suspicious, and it was resolved that a more thorough inspection should be made. About midnight, sir Thomas Knevet, a justice of peace, was sent

* It is certain that Cecil knew of the plot some time before. Lord Mounteagle was unquestionably concerned in it; and it has been surmised that, fearing to be

betrayed by other conspirators, he procured this letter to be written to himself, and so made a merit of his discovery.

with proper attendants; and before the door of the vault finding Fawkes, who had just finished all his preparations, he immediately seized him, and, turning over the faggots, discovered the powder (November 5). The matches, and everything proper for setting fire to the train, were taken in Fawkes's pocket; who, finding his guilt now apparent, and seeing no refuge but in boldness and despair, expressed the utmost regret that he had lost the opportunity of firing the powder at once, and so sweetening his own death by that of his enemies. Before the council he displayed the same intrepid firmness; and, though he was put to the rack in the Tower, he does not appear to have disclosed the names of his associates till they had already risen in arms.

Catesby, Percy, and the other criminals, hearing that Fawkes was arrested, hurried down to Warwickshire, where sir Everard Digby, thinking himself assured that success had attended his confederates, was already prepared to seize the princess Elizabeth. They then proceeded to Holbeach, in Staffordshire, hoping to maintain themselves by a rising of the catholics in their favour; but none stirred. Pursued by the sheriffs, and surrounded on every side, they could no longer entertain hopes of escape. The powder they had brought with them accidentally took fire and injured some of them. Regarding this as a work of divine retaliation, they prepared for death, and spent the time in prayer. At eleven the sheriff arrived, and fired upon the house. Percy and Catesby were killed by one shot. Digby, Rookwood, Thomas Winter, and others, being taken prisoners, were tried, convicted, and died by the hands of the executioner (January 30-31, 1606). Gerard suffered the same fate. Tresham was committed to the Tower, where he died on the 27th of December. On the meeting of parliament (January 21), James, in his opening speech, declared that he would only punish those who were actually concerned in the plot; but the parliament passed various acts of renewed severity against the catholics: and the methods adopted for aggravating the horrors of the late attempt formed a sufficient excuse for withholding all moderation in the treatment of catholics, and for bringing under suspicion all that ventured to suggest it.

§ 6. In 1607 James recommended to parliament the union of England and Scotland; but the proposal was not acceptable to either people, and little progress was made. Another session was held in 1610, when the king was full of hopes of receiving supply, and the commons of circumscribing his prerogative. The earl of Salisbury laid open the king's necessities, first to the peers, then to a committee of the lower house. The commons, not to shock the king with an absolute refusal, granted him one subsidy and one fifteenth, which

would scarcely amount to 100,000^l.* Under the pressure of his increasing necessities, the king had raised the customs payable upon certain commodities (1608). But a spirit of liberty had now taken possession of the house; the leading members, men of independent genius and enlarged views, began to regulate their opinions more by the consequences they foresaw, than by the precedents which were set before them. Though former sovereigns had done the same, and it had been decided by the judges that such impositions were constitutional, the commons, regardless of the king's prerogative, passed a bill abolishing these new rates, which was rejected by the House of Lords. They likewise discovered some discontent against the king's proclamations, against the practice of borrowing on privy seals, and other abuses; and they made remonstrances against the proceedings of the *High Commission Court*, with which, however, James refused compliance. But the business which chiefly occupied them during this session was the abolition of wardships and purveyance,—prerogatives which were more or less touched on every session during the whole reign of James. To put an end to this dispute, a bargain was struck, called the *Great Contract*, by which the king consented to abandon these antiquated rights of the crown for a settled income of 200,000^l. a year. But before this agreement could be embodied in an act of parliament, the summer vacation had arrived. When winter came the temper of the two parties was altered for the worse. The commons now demanded more than James was willing to concede; and in displeasure his first parliament was dissolved (February 9, 1611), after it had sat nearly seven years.

The year 1610 was distinguished by the murder of the French monarch; Henry IV., by the poniard of the fanatical Ravallac. In England antipathy to the catholics was increased by this tragical event; and some of the laws which had formerly been enacted, in order to keep the catholics in awe, were now made more stringent and executed with greater severity.

§ 7. About this time the king brought to a conclusion the project he had framed to civilize the Irish, and render their subjection durable and useful to the crown of England. He proceeded in this work by a steady, regular, and well-concerted plan. In particular, six of the counties of Ulster having fallen to the crown by the attainder of Tyrone, he resolved to plant in them new colonies. The property was divided into moderate shares, the largest not exceeding 2000 acres; tenants were brought over from England and Scotland; and by these means Ulster, from being the most wild and disorderly province of all Ireland, soon became the best

* The expenditure was about 500,000^l. a year, the income about 320,000^l.

cultivated and most civilized. To raise the funds needed for this enterprise and for the defence of the colonists, a new order of nobility, called baronetcy, was created. The patents were sold for 1095*l.* apiece. Hence baronets bear on their shields the arms of Ulster, a bloody hand.*

The sudden death of Henry prince of Wales, in his 19th year (November 5, 1612), diffused a universal grief throughout the nation. It is with peculiar fondness that historians mention him, and in every respect his merit seems to have been extraordinary. The marriage of the princess Elizabeth with Frederick, elector palatine, was concluded some time after the death of the prince (February 14, 1613), and served to dissipate the grief which arose on that melancholy event; but this marriage ultimately proved itself an unhappy event to the king, as well as to his son-in-law, and was of ill consequence to the reputation and fortunes of both.

§ 8. Shortly after the king's accession, Robert Carr, a youth of a good family in Scotland, arrived in London. His natural accomplishments consisted in good looks, his acquired abilities in an easy air and graceful demeanour. He had letters of recommendation to his countryman lord Hay; and that nobleman assigned him the office, at a match of tilting, of presenting to the king his buckler and device. The king became strongly attached to him, taught him the elements of the Latin grammar, intending to train him as his private secretary. In 1607 he was sworn gentleman of the bed-chamber, was afterwards knighted, and eventually created earl of Somerset (November 4, 1613). He contracted a friendship with an unscrupulous adventurer, sir Thomas Overbury, who trusted to Carr for his hopes of preferment. But an event soon happened which proved the ruin of both. Carr had succeeded to Salisbury's power on the death of that able minister in 1612, and had been created viscount Rochester in the previous year. He entertained a passion for the wife of the earl of Essex,† who was engaged in obtaining a divorce from her husband. Overbury, to whom he communicated his design to marry her, strongly opposed it: and in order to get him out of the way, Rochester, instigated by the countess, persuaded the king to send him on an embassy into Russia. But Overbury declined this proposal, was committed to the Tower, and died there after a rigorous confinement of six months (September 15, 1613), not without suspicion of poison. The countess was accused of the crime (1615). Weston, a warder

* This new creation—though often ridiculed—was of excellent service; for it opened to wealthy commoners, now greatly enriched by the extension of com-

merce, the distinctions of nobility, from which they had been rigidly excluded.

† Essex had been restored to the honour of his father in 1603.

of the Tower, her agent, was executed, with several others; and her husband was vehemently suspected of being concerned in the plot: After a long trial both were sentenced to die, but were pardoned by the king, and eventually set at liberty in 1622.

§ 9. Meanwhile a new favourite had appeared on the scene. George Villiers, better known as the duke of Buckingham, a youth of two and twenty, a younger brother of a good family, returned in 1614 from his travels, and was remarked for the advantages of a handsome person, genteel air, and fashionable apparel. In ability he was far superior to Somerset. Confident, intrepid, free-spoken to the very verge of imprudence, he attached himself to the person of the king, and never scrupled to express openly his hatred or contempt for those who differed from him. In a court full of intrigues and rival parties, such a disposition would have been certain to expose him to malevolent expressions, had he done nothing to deserve them; but at this juncture, when the commons were determined on restricting the prerogative of the crown, and the utmost caution and moderation were required to prevent a rupture, the conduct of Villiers provoked the bitterest animosities. It is true that James kept the decision of political questions in his own hands, but access to royal favour was through Buckingham.

In the course of a few years James created him viscount Villiers, earl, marquis, and duke of Buckingham, and conferred upon him some of the highest offices in the kingdom. By these premature and exorbitant honours, the king took an infallible method to ruin him. It must, however, be stated that in these acts of favouritism James was swayed by other motives besides personal affection. He had come to England with little knowledge of English politics; and so long as Salisbury lived, whom he implicitly trusted in all matters of government, James had no favourites. At his death, so bitter were the rivalries between the Scotch and English nobles, that James, who would have preferred the former, dared not select a successor to Salisbury from either party. A young man, like Villiers, of some ability and agreeable manners, but not formidable for his birth or riches, was a more manageable instrument for the king's purpose. At this time, also, the number of the House of Lords was greatly diminished, for the jealous policy of the Tudors had impaired its influence, and it had become quite subordinate in importance to the commons. The older peers owed nothing to James. To counterbalance the power of the commons, a new and augmented nobility was desirable; and as they would owe their honours to James, he naturally expected to find them more compliant.*

* In 1621 the House of Lords protested against the making such a multitude of Scotch and Irish lords.

§ 10. The commencement of English colonization dates from the reign of James. In that of Elizabeth, Raleigh had endeavoured to plant a colony in North America, in the district called after the queen, Virginia; but it proved a failure. Towards the close of Elizabeth's reign, and the beginning of that of James, several discoveries and surveys were made in North America; and in 1606 James granted charters to two companies—the London of South Virginia Company, and the Plymouth Company—for planting colonies in that quarter: in consequence of which James Town, in the bay of Chesapeake, was founded in the following year, and was preserved from destruction by the courage and fortitude of John Smith. In 1610 Lord Delaware proceeded thither as governor of Virginia, with a new body of emigrants, who were again reinforced in the following year; and from this time the colony flourished and increased. In 1610 a charter was also granted for the colonization of Newfoundland. At the same period the trade to the east was fostered and encouraged by the government. On the 31st December, 1600, the East India Company was established by a charter of Elizabeth for 15 years, which was renewed by James in 1609 for an unlimited period; and in 1612 the first English factory was established at Surat. (Supplement, Note III.)

But the man who had given the first impulse to British colonization was still languishing in prison. The long sufferings of Raleigh had worn out his unpopularity. People forgot that he had been the bitter enemy of their great favourite the earl of Essex, and were struck with the extensive genius of the man who, educated amidst naval and military enterprises, had cultivated literature with no little success. They admired his unbroken magnanimity, which at his age and under his circumstances could engage him to undertake so great a work as his "History of the World." To increase these favourable dispositions, on which he built the hopes of recovering his liberty, he spread the report of a gold mine in Guiana, a country he had visited 20 years before, and which was sufficient, according to his representation, not only to enrich all the adventurers, but to afford immense treasures to the nation. Though he still refused to grant Raleigh a pardon, the king released him from the Tower, and conferred on him authority over his fellow-adventurers; exacting, however, a promise from him that he should not approach the Spanish territory on forfeiture of his life. Raleigh maintained that the English title to the whole of Guiana, by virtue of its discovery, remained certain and indefeasible; but it happened in the mean time that the Spaniards, not knowing or not acknowledging this claim, had taken possession of a part of Guiana, had formed a settlement on the river Orinoco, and built a

town called St. Thomas. Raleigh sent his men up the river without distinct orders to avoid fighting. They seized and plundered the Spanish settlement. The gold they expected eluded their search. The other adventurers now concluded that they had been deceived by Raleigh, and thought it safest to return immediately to England, and carry him along with them to answer for his conduct. Gondomar, the Spanish ambassador, whose brother had been killed in resisting Raleigh's men, demanded justice; and James signed the warrant for his execution upon his former sentence.

Raleigh, finding his fate inevitable, collected all his courage. "Tis a sharp remedy," he said, "but a sure one for all ills," when he felt the edge of the axe by which he was to be beheaded. With the utmost indifference he laid his head upon the block, and received the fatal blow. In his death there appeared the same great mind which during his life had displayed itself in all his conduct and behaviour (October 29, 1618). No measure of James's reign was attended with more public dissatisfaction. It was regarded as a piece of complaisance towards Spain, with which country James was now meditating more intimate connections.*

§ 11. In 1611 James proposed to marry his son to the Spanish infanta. In 1614, after parliament was dissolved, he renewed the proposal: "Money I must have, and if he could not get money from parliament, he would get it from the king of Spain as a daughter's portion." The court of Spain, though determined to contract no alliance with a heretic, entered into negotiations with James, which they artfully protracted; and the transactions in Germany, so important to the Austrian greatness, became every day a new motive for this duplicity of conduct. In 1618 the states of Bohemia, which were in open revolt against the emperor Ferdinand II. for the defence of their religious liberties, had elected Frederick, elector palatine, for their king. In addition to his own forces, Frederick was son-in-law to the king of England, and nephew to prince Maurice, whose authority was become almost absolute in the United Provinces. The Bohemians hoped that these princes, moved by the connections of blood, as well as by the tie of their common religion, would interest themselves in the fortunes of Frederick, and would promote his greatness. On the other hand, the catholic princes of the empire had embraced Ferdinand's defence; and, above all, the Spanish monarch, deeming his own interest closely connected with that of the younger branch of his family, prepared powerful succours from Italy and from the Low Countries (1619).

* Brave as he was, Raleigh was unscrupulous. By his sea life, like many of his contemporaries, he had tarnished his principles. The government had other evidence against him than what was produced upon the trial.

The news of these events no sooner reached England than the whole kingdom was on fire to engage in the quarrel. But James was in no condition, nor had he the temper, to embark in a continental war. He hesitated; and, after much irresolution resolved to defend the hereditary dominions of the palatine, but to give him no support in his claim on Bohemia. Meanwhile affairs everywhere hastened to a crisis. Almost at the same time it was known in England that Frederick, being defeated in the great and decisive battle of Prague, had fled with his family into Holland, and that Spinola, the Spanish commander, had invaded the palatinate, and, meeting with no resistance, except from some princes of the union, and from one English regiment of 2400 men, commanded by the brave sir Horace Vere, had in a little time reduced the greater part of that principality (1620). (Supplement, Note IV.)

§ 12. Loud were now the murmurs and complaints against the king's neutrality and inactive disposition; but the only attention James paid to this feeling was to make it a pretence for obtaining money. He first tried the expedient of a Benevolence, but the jealousy of liberty was now roused, and the nation regarded such expedients as extortions, contrary to law, and dangerous to freedom. A parliament was found to be the only resource which could furnish any large supplies; and writs were accordingly issued for summoning that great council of the nation (January 30, 1621). The parliament met in a very discontented mood. What the king most needed was a supply, and the commons were in no humour to grant it. They proceeded at once to the examination of grievances. They found that patents had been granted to sir Giles Mompesson for licensing inns and alehouses, and for gold and silver thread, which he was accused of making of baser metal. The commons proceeded against him by way of impeachment—a revival of a practice sometimes adopted under the Lancastrian kings, but of which there had been no instance under the Tudors. Encouraged by this success, the commons carried their scrutiny into other abuses, and sent up an impeachment to the peers against the celebrated Bacon, now viscount St. Albans and lord chancellor. His want of economy and his indulgence to his servants had involved him in necessities. He was accused of taking bribes from suitors in chancery, by the title of presents. Conscious of guilt, the chancellor deprecated the vengeance of his judges; and endeavoured, by a general avowal, to escape the confusion of a stricter enquiry. The lords insisted on a particular confession of all his corruptions. He acknowledged the articles; was sentenced to pay a fine of 40,000*l.*, to be imprisoned in the Tower during the king's pleasure, to be for ever incapable of any office, place, or employment, or of ever

again sitting in parliament, or coming within the verge of the court (May 3). In consideration of his great merit, the king released him in a little time from the Tower, remitted his fine, as well as other parts of his sentence, and paid him his pension of 1200*l.* three years in advance. And that great philosopher at last acknowledged with regret that he had too long neglected the true ambition of a fine genius; and by plunging into business and affairs which require much less capacity, but greater firmness of mind, than the pursuits of learning, had exposed himself to such grievous calamities.

§ 13. Time was passing rapidly, and nothing had yet been done in parliament for the war. But before the House of Commons adjourned for the summer, they passed a unanimous resolution to spend their lives and fortunes in defence of their religion and of the palatinate, "lifting up their hats in their hands so high as they could hold them, as a visible testimony of their unanimous consent, in such sort that the like had scarce ever been seen in parliament." This solemn protestation and pledge was recorded in the journals. The affairs of the elector palatine proceeded from bad to worse. His allies fell rapidly from him, and made their peace with the emperor Ferdinand II. Frederick professed his willingness to resign all claim to Bohemia; but in the mean time, unable to defend the upper palatinate, he withdrew upon the lower, pursued by Tilly at the head of the imperial forces. James's son-in-law, the chosen champion of protestantism, was in danger of losing all his dominions. To avoid such an eventuality and enable Mansfeld to keep the field, the king re-assembled parliament and demanded a subsidy (November 20). But the commons were in no hurry to meet the demand. Their late successes encouraged them to higher flights. They had already claimed, by the encouragement of sir Edward Coke, to act as a court of judicature and administer oaths like the House of Lords; but the claim had been stoutly resisted by the peers. When the lord treasurer stated the occasion for the supply, reminding them of their solemn promise, so lately made, he was tamely listened to. They deferred the question to a consideration of grievances, and, omitting all reference to the unfortunate Frederick, drew up a long remonstrance against popery in general, indulgences to catholics, and the proposed marriage with the infanta. As soon as the king heard of the intended remonstrance, he wrote a letter to the speaker, in which he sharply rebuked the house for openly debating matters on which their opinion had not been required; and he strictly forbade them to meddle with anything that regarded his government or deep matters of state. The commons replied by insisting on their former remonstrance, and their right to debate

on any business they pleased. So vigorous an answer was nowise calculated to appease the king. It is said, when the approach of the committee who were to present it was notified to him, he ordered twelve stools to be brought for the twelve ambassadors, as he termed them. In his answer he commented on the unfitness of the house to enter on affairs of government, and told them that their privileges were derived from the grace and permission of his ancestors, but that, as long as they contained themselves within the limits of their duty, he would be careful to maintain and preserve their lawful liberties and privileges.

This open pretension of the king's naturally gave great alarm to the commons. In a thin house, the day before they adjourned, they drew up a protestation (December 18), in which they repeated their former claims for freedom of speech, and an unbounded authority to interpose with their advice and counsel; and they asserted "that the liberties, franchises, privileges, and jurisdictions of parliament are the ancient and undoubted birthright and inheritance of the subjects of England."* On the 30th, the king sent for the journals, and with his own hand, before the council, he tore out this protestation, and ordered his reasons to be inserted in the council book. After the dissolution (Feb. 1622), sir Edward Coke was sent to the Tower,† and Pym was confined to his own house; some others, as a lighter punishment, were sent to Ireland, on the king's service.

§ 14. James now attempted to raise money by a Benevolence, and obtained enough to support Vere's volunteers for a few months longer. He then had recourse to diplomacy; but diplomacy without the support of parliament was of little avail. Step by step the palatinate was lost. He now turned his attention to Spain; and he doubted not, if he could effect his son's marriage with the infanta, but that, after so intimate a conjunction, the restoration of the palatine could easily be obtained. A dispensation from Rome was requisite for the marriage of the infanta with a protestant prince; and the king of Spain, having undertaken to procure that dispensation, had thereby acquired the means of retarding at pleasure or of forwarding the marriage, and at the same time of concealing entirely his designs from the court of England. To soften the objection on the score of religion, James issued public orders for discharging all popish recusants who were imprisoned; and it was daily appre-

* The language is studiously ambiguous, and was doubtless suggested by Coke. The sting was in the tail of it.

† Sir Edward Coke, the rival and enemy of Bacon, and the most eminent lawyer of those times, had been created

chief justice of the King's Bench in 1613; but having lost the favour of James by his opposition to the court, he was deprived of his seat upon the bench in 1616, and was returned to parliament in 1621.

hended that he would forbid, for the future, the execution of the penal laws enacted against them. By this concession, as well as by the skilful negotiations of the earl of Bristol, James's ambassador in Spain, matters seemed to have been nearly brought to a successful conclusion, when all these flattering prospects were suddenly blasted. Buckingham was persuaded that a visit to Spain by Charles himself would be a more expeditious method of securing the hand of the infanta than the involved and circuitous route of diplomacy. The mind of the young prince was inflamed by this romantic idea; and, having with difficulty obtained the consent of the king, the prince and Buckingham, with three attendants, passed disguised and undiscovered through France, under the names of John and Thomas Smith. They even ventured into a court-ball at Paris, where Charles saw the princess Henrietta Maria, then 13 years old, whom he afterwards espoused. In 18 days after their departure from London they arrived at Madrid (March 7, 1623), and surprised everybody by so unusual a step. Philip, by the most studious civilities, showed the respect which he bore to his royal guest. He conferred on him the golden key. He introduced Charles into the palace with the pomp and ceremony accorded to the kings of Spain on their coronation. The infanta, however, was only shown to her lover in presence of the court, the Spanish ideas of decency being so strict as not to allow of any further intercourse till the arrival of the dispensation. A treaty was soon concluded in which nothing could reasonably be found fault with, except one article, in which the king promised that the children should be educated by the princess till ten years of age. This condition could not be insisted on but with a view of seasoning their minds with catholic principles; and though so tender an age seemed a sufficient security against theological prejudices, yet the same reason which made the pope insert that article should have induced James to reject it. But besides the public treaty there were separate articles, privately sworn to by the king and his council, in which he promised to suspend the penal laws against catholics, to procure a repeal of them in parliament, and to grant a toleration for the exercise of the catholic religion in private houses. But meanwhile Gregory XV., who granted the dispensation, died, and Urban VIII., his successor, delayed sending a new dispensation in hopes of extorting fresh concessions. As a further impediment, a condition was imposed that the infanta should remain a year in Spain after her marriage. Charles chafed against these restrictions. Month after month slipped away, and he was no nearer the attainment of his object. James also became impatient. On the first hint Charles obtained permission to return, and Philip graced

his departure with all the circumstances of elaborate civility and respect which had attended his reception. But Charles was deeply offended, and when he left Madrid he was firmly determined to break off the treaty with Spain. He reached England October 5.

§ 15. A rupture with Spain, and the loss of two millions of crowns, were prospects little agreeable to the pacific and indigent James; but finding his only son bent against a match which had always been opposed by his people and his parliament, he yielded to difficulties which he could not overcome. Buckingham assumed the direction of the negotiations; and Bristol received positive orders not to deliver the proxy, which had been left in his hands, or conclude the marriage, till security were given for the full restitution of the palatinate. Short of an appeal to the sword, the Spaniard promised everything; but without the sword the palatinate was not to be recovered. If James was to regain his daughter's dominions he must prepare for war; but war could only be carried on with the support of parliament. The infanta laid aside the title of princess of Wales, which she had borne after the arrival of the dispensation from Rome, and dropped the study of the English language.

A fourth parliament met February 19, 1624, but their enthusiasm in behalf of the palatinate had evaporated with the tossing up of their hats in 1621. They were now fully bent on enforcing the penal laws against catholics with the utmost vigour. It was ordered that every knight and burgess should act as informer, and present to the house the names of persons suspected of popery in their several counties and boroughs (April 3). The prospect of a war with Spain was hailed with enthusiasm. It was urged by both houses. Even the king shared in the general joy, and with ready condescension informed the houses that this was the way to make him "in love with parliaments." The duke, attended by the prince, delivered from a scaffold in Whitehall an account of their proceedings at Madrid. He was acquitted of all blame. The people displayed their triumph by public bonfires and rejoicings, and by insults to the Spanish ministers; and Buckingham became the favourite of the public and of the parliament. The Commons voted a subsidy bill of 300,000*l.*, containing a clause of an unprecedented nature, that the money should be intrusted to treasurers of their own nomination. Advantage was also taken of the present juncture to pass the bill against monopolies, which had formerly been encouraged by the king, but which had failed by the rupture between the king and the last House of Commons; and the commons corroborated their newly revived power of impeachment by preferring one against the earl of Middlesex, the treasurer, who was found guilty of malversation and of other misdemeanours:

though he had been a careful guardian of the public purse, and had done much towards remedying financial disorders.

§ 16. All James's measures, and all the alliances into which he entered, were now founded on the system of enmity to the Austrian family, and of war to be carried on for the recovery of the palatinate. An army of 12,000 men, under Mansfeld, was levied in England and sent over to Holland, which had renewed the war with the Spanish monarchy. A treaty was entered into with France, which included a marriage between Charles and the princess Henrietta; and, as the prince during his abode in Spain had given a verbal promise to allow the infanta the education of her children till the age of thirteen, this article was here inserted in the treaty. In the spring of 1625 James was seized with a tertian ague; and after some fits expired on the 27th of March, after a reign over England of 22 years and some days, and in the 59th year of his age. His reign over Scotland was almost of equal duration with his life. No prince was ever so much exposed to the opposite extremes of calumny and flattery, of satire and panegyric. His generosity bordered on profusion, his learning on pedantry, his pacific disposition on pusillanimity, his wisdom on cunning, his friendship on fancy. His capacity was considerable, but he was fitter to discourse on general maxims than to conduct any intricate business with energy and despatch. Awkward and ungainly in his person, he was ill qualified to command respect partial and undiscerning in his affections, he was little fitted to acquire general love. Never had sovereign a higher notion of kingly dignity, never was any less qualified by nature to sustain it, for he hated business and spent much of his time in hunting and in field sports. From the charge of immorality brought against him by the libellers of the Stuarts he was entirely free, though his manners were not elegant, nor his language refined. He spoke broad Scotch to the end of his life, and his conversation was often interspersed with humour more pointed than polite.



Obverse of pattern for a Broad of Charles I. CAROLVS D: G: MAG: BRIT: FR: ET: H: REX. Bust of king to left.

CHAPTER XXI.

CHARLES I. b. A.D. 1600; r. 1625-1649.—FROM HIS ACCESSION TO THE COMMENCEMENT OF THE CIVIL WAR. A.D. 1625-1642.

§ 1. Accession of Charles. Proceedings in parliament. § 2. Expedition against Spain. Second parliament. Impeachment of Buckingham. § 3. Illegal taxation. War with France. Expedition to the isle of Rhé. § 4. Third parliament. Petition of Right. Struggle between the king and commons. § 5. Assassination of Buckingham. Surrender of Rochelle. § 6. New session. Tonnage and poundage. Religious disputes. Dissolution of parliament. § 7. Peace with France and Spain. The king's advisers. Laud's innovations in the church. Arbitrary and illegal government. § 8. Ship-money. Trial of Hampden. § 9. Discontents in Scotland. The Covenant. Episcopacy abolished. Scotch wars. § 10. Fourth English parliament. Riots in London. § 11. Scotch war. Rout at Newburn, and treaty of Ripon. Council at York, and summoning of the Long Parliament. § 12. Meeting of the Long Parliament. Impeachment of Strafford. Great authority of the commons. Triennial bill. § 13. Strafford's trial. His attainder and execution. § 14. Court of High Commission and Star Chamber abolished. King's journey to Scotland. § 15. Irish rebellion. § 16. Meeting of the English parliament. The remonstrance. Impeachment of the bishops. § 17. Accusation of lord Kimbolton and the five members. The king leaves London. The militia bill. The king arrives at York. § 18. Preparations for a civil war. The king erects his standard at Nottingham.

§ 1. CHARLES I., the second son of James I., was born at Dunfermline, November 19, 1600. By the death of his brother Henry, in 1612, he became heir-apparent, but was not created prince of Wales until 1616. Soon after his accession (May 27), he completed his marriage with the French princess Henrietta, daughter of Henry IV. and of Mary de Medici. He had espoused her by proxy at Paris, and in June, 1625, Buckingham conducted her to England. On the 18th a new parliament assembled at Westminster. The last parliament was dissolved on the death of the king, in a happy state of ex-

citement at a prospect of a war with Spain; and Charles not unnaturally expected that at the commencement of his reign the commons would display their affection by granting him supplies adequate to conduct a war which had been undertaken with the apparent approbation of the people. But that house was now governed by men of advanced views, distinguished by their ability and parliamentary experience. Some of them, like Pym, were unfavourable to monarchy, and preferred a form of government in which the supremacy should no longer reside in the crown, but exclusively in the commons. They now formed themselves into a regular party, united by fixed aims and projects, as well as by the hardships they had experienced in the late reign. Among these sir Edward Coke, sir Robert Philips, sir Francis Seymour, sir Dudley Digges, sir John Eliot, sir Thomas Wentworth, Mr. Selden, and Mr. Pym were the most prominent. Animated with a warm regard for liberty, they were resolved to seize the opportunity which the king's necessities offered of reducing the prerogative within narrower limits. With these views the commons voted only two subsidies (about 140,000*l.*) to meet the expenses of the formidable war in which Charles was already engaged; and whereas it had been usual at the commencement of every reign from the time of Henry VI. to grant tonnage and poundage for life, they restricted the grant to one year. In consequence of the plague, parliament was adjourned, and met at Oxford (August 1st). The king laid the state of his affairs before them. He showed that upwards of a million a year was necessary for the conduct of the war and for the defence of Ireland, and even condescended to use entreaties; but the commons remained inexorable. "We are called hither," said one of them, "first for religion, *secondly* for a supply. Our coldness in religion is a powerful cause of the previous visitation upon us." Accordingly they proceeded to remedy this defect by petitioning the king to give no connivance to papists—alluding to the queen and her attendants—by passing an act "for punishing divers abuses on the Lord's Day, commonly called *Sunday*"—(the puritans objecting to the use of the word *Sunday* as of heathen origin)—and by falling foul upon two books written by a doctor Montagu, in which he had undertaken to show that the doctrines of the church of England were not Calvinistic, nor the pope Antichrist. Finding that the commons in their present temper were not inclined to pay any attention to his demands, Charles dissolved them (August 12.)*

* A trifle shows the new tendencies of the commons at this time. For on their appearance at the lords' they resolved, "that if the lord, keep bare, they to do the

like; but if they cover their heads, the speaker and the commons are to do the same."

To supply the want of parliamentary aid, Charles issued privy seals for borrowing money from his subjects. The advantage reaped by this expedient was a small compensation for the disgust which it occasioned: by means, however, of that supply, and by other expedients, he was enabled, though with some difficulty, to equip a fleet under sir Edward Cecil, lately created viscount Wimbledon, to intercept the Spanish plate fleet.

§ 2. The armament, which consisted of 80 ships and 10,000 soldiers, had been commenced in April, 1625, and was to have been despatched in May, but in consequence of the temper of the commons in refusing the needful supplies, it was not ready before October, when it suffered severely from the lateness of the season. It reached Cadiz October 22. The fort defending the harbour was surrendered, but the men under Cecil's command, who were pressed in haste and ill-disciplined, fell into disorder, by indulging too much in Spanish wines. Cadiz was too strong to be taken. Putting to sea, the fleet steered in the direction of the treasure-ships, which arrived safely in the bay two days after Wimbledon had left it. Such a disastrous result, which at other times would have provoked little comment, was magnified into a national humiliation in the present temper of the nation. For want of pay, soldiers were kept embodied, and were billeted in private houses, thus increasing the general discontent.

Whilst Wimbledon was at Cadiz, Buckingham had visited the Hague to form a confederacy against Spain. In addition to so formidable an opponent, Charles was in danger of a conflict with France. At the close of his reign, James had consented to allow an English squadron to assist Louis XIII. in quelling the rebellion of his protestant subjects in Rochelle. The ships had been recalled by Charles and Buckingham. Hearing that Louis and the protestants were at peace, Charles permitted his brother-in-law to use the ships. The act was greedily laid hold of by the king's enemies and Buckingham's, to hold them up in the odious light of using English forces against the protestants. A *second* parliament was summoned (February 6, 1626). Great and successful efforts had been employed to secure the return of members of similar sentiments to the last. The commons made the same order as before, "that all their members should give in the names of all persons, in trust, who are suspected of popery." On February 24 they resolved themselves into a committee to consider the state of the king and the kingdom; and all considerations of supply were postponed. The duke of Buckingham, who had become every day more unpopular, was obliged to sustain two violent attacks this session—one from the earl of Bristol, another from the House of Commons. The earl

of Bristol had mortally offended Buckingham in the affair of the Spanish marriage, and was consequently obnoxious to Charles. When the parliament was summoned, Charles had given orders that no writ, as was customary, should be sent to Bristol, as that nobleman was under restraint. Bristol applied to the House of Lords by petition, and craved their good offices with the king for obtaining his due as a peer of the realm. His writ was sent him, but accompanied with a letter from the lord-keeper, Coventry, commanding him, in the king's name, to absent himself from parliament, as his restraint still remained in force. Bristol refused to obey, and took his seat. Provoked at these instances of vigour, which the courtiers denominated contumacy, Charles ordered his attorney-general to enter an accusation of high treason against him. By way of recrimination, Bristol accused Buckingham of being the author of the war with Spain, and of the loss of the palatinate. To carry on their proceedings with more despatch, the commons appointed various committees of enquiry. The committee on religion resolved on enacting severer laws against papists; that on grievances denounced purveyance and the levying tonnage and poundage without consent of parliament. But the most important was directed against the duke of Buckingham. After they had voted that common fame was a sufficient ground of accusation, they proceeded to frame regular articles against Buckingham (May 8). They accused him of having united many offices in his own person; of neglecting to guard the seas, insomuch that many merchant-ships had fallen into the hands of the enemy; of delivering ships to the French king, in order to serve against the Huguenots; of selling honours and offices; of accepting extensive grants from the crown; of procuring titles for his kindred; and of administering physic to the late king without acquainting his physicians. As the commons called for no evidence, it is impossible to decide how far these articles were well founded. The duke replied to these charges; but the commons were dissatisfied, and petitioned the king to remove Buckingham from his councils. Charles felt that to abandon Buckingham, whose chief fault was devotion to his service, would be a stain upon his honour as a man, and derogatory to him as a king. If the commons were to determine who should be his ministers, the prerogatives of the crown would be transferred to them. He preferred to abandon all hope of supply, much as it was needed to recover the palatinate, and dissolved the parliament (June 15).

§ 3. By advice of his council, Charles now took steps to raise the funds necessary for the war with Spain without the consent of the parliament. On July 26 he issued a commission for levying customs

and imposts, "intending to have this settled by parliament," as in former reigns. He required loans and Benevolences; he compounded with recusants. From the nobility he desired assistance; from the city a loan of 100,000*l*. The former contributed slowly; the latter gave at last a flat refusal. Each of the maritime towns was required, with the assistance of the adjacent counties, to arm so many vessels as were appointed them. The city of London was rated at 20 ships. This is the first appearance, in Charles's reign, of ship-money; a taxation which had once been imposed by Elizabeth, but which afterwards, when carried some steps further by Charles, created such violent discontents. But after the news of the battle of Lutter, between the king of Denmark, the ally of England, and count Tilly, the imperial general, in which the former was totally defeated, money became more necessary than ever, in order to support a prince who was so nearly allied to Charles. After some deliberation, an act of council was passed, importing that, as the urgency of affairs admitted not "the way of parliament," the most speedy, equal, and convenient method of supply was by a GENERAL LOAN from the subject, "according as every man was assessed in the rolls of the last subsidy." Commissioners, invested with almost inquisitorial power, were appointed to levy the money. Many refused; some, active in encouraging their neighbours to resist, were by warrant of council thrown into prison or sent to the Fleet.

The ill feeling between France and England was now ready to burst into a flame. Louis XIII., under the guidance of cardinal Richelieu, proposed to lay siege to the great protestant seaport of Rochelle; and Charles, in answer to the demands of the French protestants, felt himself bound in honour to interfere and proclaim war against France. Other causes contributed to the ill feeling between the two crowns. In the state of irritation against the catholics, which had grown stronger daily, the king had not been able to carry out those indulgences for the exercise of their faith, which Louis had been led to expect. He had even found it necessary to dismiss all his queen's French servants, contrary to the articles of the marriage treaty. Buckingham sailed first to Rochelle, with a fleet of nearly 100 sail and an army of 7000 men; but though Rochelle was in possession of the Huguenots, and was then besieged by cardinal Richelieu, the inhabitants, mistrusting the English commander, refused to admit him. The duke then landed on the isle of Rhé—a point of great advantage, and admirably chosen for protecting Rochelle. Its principal fort was St. Martin's; and, if the duke had been properly supported, it must have fallen into his hands. Charles pleaded and urged his ministers to the

utmost; but money and men were not forthcoming, and there were those at home who did not desire that Buckingham should be successful and thus obtain greater credit than ever with his master. A French force landed on the island, and Buckingham, unable to resist superior numbers, after making one more gallant and ineffectual stand, gave orders for a retreat. Of the troops sent out, less than one-half returned to England (November, 1627).

§ 4. Meanwhile the money levied under colour of the prerogative had come in very slowly, and had left such ill humour in the nation, that it appeared dangerous to renew the experiment, and the absolute necessity of supply forced the king to call a *third* parliament. The commons who assembled (March 17, 1628) were men of the same spirit as their predecessors, and possessed of such riches that their property was computed to surpass three times that of the House of Peers. Some of them had been harshly used by the court or thrown into prison for refusing the loan; and the result was quickly shown in the speed with which they declared, by their votes, that all such imprisonment and all such loans were illegal. The king told them, in his opening speech, that it was his duty and theirs "to maintain their church and commonwealth; and certainly," he continued, "there never was a time in which this duty was more necessarily required than now. I therefore, judging a parliament to be the ancient, speediest, and best way, in common danger, to give such a supply as to secure ourselves, and to save our friends from universal ruin, have called you together. Every man must do according to his conscience; wherefore, if you (as God forbid) should not do your duty in contributing what the state needs, I must do mine, and use other means which God hath put into my hand." To conciliate the commons, Charles offered certain concessions. He agreed to their petition for rigid execution of the laws against catholics; he released 78 gentlemen who had been imprisoned for resisting the loan. The commons promised five subsidies, but refused to pass any bill to that effect until they had secured the king's assent to the liberties and privileges claimed by them. Forced loans, Benevolences, taxes without consent of parliament, arbitrary imprisonments, the billeting of soldiers, martial law—these were the grievances complained of, and against these a sufficient remedy was to be provided. The commons pretended not, as they affirmed, to any unusual powers or privileges: they aimed at securing those which had been transmitted from their ancestors; and their petition, which provided against all these abuses, and which was founded on Magna Carta and other ancient statutes, they resolved to call a PETITION OF RIGHT—as implying that it contained a corroboration or explanation of the

ancient constitution, not any infringement of royal prerogative, or acquisition of new liberties. To some of these the king offered no objection. He was ready to promise never to raise a forced loan, to billet soldiers upon unwilling freeholders, or execute martial law in time of peace, but he shrank from promising never to send any one to prison without cause shown. This was, in effect, to part with his power of punishing political offences, and to leave them to the decision of the judges.

The lords were disposed to modify the bill by a saving clause in behalf of the sovereign power. But the commons stood firm, sent the bill in its original state to the upper house, and the peers passed it without any material alteration. Nothing but the royal assent was now wanting to give it the force of a law. The king came to the House of Lords, sent for the commons, and, being seated in his chair of state, the petition was read to him. Instead of the usual concise and clear form, by which a bill is either passed or rejected, Charles said, in answer to the petition (June 2), "The king willeth that right be done according to the laws and customs of the realm, and that the statutes be put in due execution, that his subjects may have no cause to complain of any wrongs or oppressions, contrary to their just rights and liberties, to the preservation whereof he holds himself in conscience as much obliged as of his own prerogative." The result might have been foreseen. The commons returned in very ill humour. They proceeded to form a remonstrance, and showed a further disposition to censure the conduct of Buckingham. After some abortive attempts to divert the tempest that was ready to burst on the duke, the king thought proper, upon a joint application of the lords and commons, to come to the House of Peers. He then commanded the clerk of the parliament to cut out his former answer from the journals; and by pronouncing the usual form of words, "Let right be done as is desired," he gave full sanction and authority to the petition * (June 7). The commons, nevertheless, proceeded as before. They resumed their censure of Buckingham's conduct, to whom they attributed all their grievances. They sent to the lords a charge against doctor Manwaring for preaching a sermon on non-resistance. He was judged to be imprisoned, to pay a fine of £1000, to make his submission, to be suspended for three years, to be disabled from ever preaching at court or holding any ecclesiastical or secular dignity, and his book was ordered to be burned. They also remonstrated against "the undue taking of tonnage and poundage," and would come to no decision for

* This celebrated PETITION OF RIGHT, which is the second great charter of English liberties, is printed in *extenso* in

Notes and Illustrations at the end of this chapter.

conceding it as it had been conceded * in times past. To avoid all further remonstrance, the king came suddenly to the parliament, and prorogued it (June 26).

§ 5. The great object of the displeasure of the commons was soon after removed in a sudden and unexpected manner. The duke of Buckingham had repaired to Portsmouth to superintend the preparations for an expedition to relieve Rochelle. Immediately after breakfast (August 23), as he was passing through a narrow passage and stooped down to speak to sir Thomas Fryer, a colonel in the army, he was struck on the sudden, over sir Thomas's shoulder, upon the breast with a knife. Without uttering other words than "The villain has killed me," at the same moment pulling out the knife, he breathed his last. Soon after, a man without a hat was seen walking very composedly before the door. One crying out, "Here is the fellow who killed the duke," everybody ran to ask, "Which is he?" The man very sedately answered, "I am he." He was now known to be one Felton, who had served under the duke in the station of lieutenant. His captain being killed in the retreat at the isle of Rhé, Felton had applied for the company; and, being disappointed, he threw up his commission, and retired in discontent from the army. When asked at whose instigation he had performed the horrid deed, he replied that the resolution proceeded only from himself, and the impulse of his own conscience; and that his motives would appear if his hat were found: for that, believing he should perish in the attempt, he had there taken care to explain them. Though threatened with the rack, he made no disclosure, and was soon afterwards executed.

Meanwhile the distress of Rochelle had risen to the utmost extremity. After Buckingham's death, the command of the fleet and army was conferred on the earl of Lindsey, who, arriving before Rochelle, made some attempts to break through the mole erected across the harbour by Richelieu; but by the delays of the English that work was now fully finished and fortified; and the inhabitants, finding their last hopes fail them, were reduced to surrender at discretion, even in sight of the English admiral (October 18, 1628).

§ 6. For many years it had been the habitual usage of the commons to vote the king for life, at the beginning of his reign, certain duties on exports and imports, familiarly known as tonnage and

* At any grant of public money, it was usual for the king to thank the commons for their benevolence. But it is clear from this debate that when the king promised, by the Bill of Right, not to levy

any benevolence without consent of parliament, the word was used in the strict technical sense of an extraordinary tax, and did not refer to tonnage and poundage.

poundage. From uniform practice it had come to be regarded as a sort of prescriptive right, for which the assent of the commons was merely nominal. In Charles's first parliament the commons had voted it for a year only; but the peers had allowed the bill to drop: and as a dissolution of parliament followed soon after, no attempt seems to have been made for obtaining tonnage and poundage in any other form. Charles, meanwhile, continued to levy this duty by his own authority, and the nation was so accustomed to this exertion of royal power, that no scruple was raised against it. He was anxious, however, to have the matter settled. He even condescended so far as to assure the commons that he had no intention to challenge these duties as a right, and pleaded the necessity he was under to take it until they had formally granted it. The case was urgent. It was precisely analogous to stopping the supplies. Without it the administration of the country could not be carried on. It would have been more dignified and candid in the commons to have returned a positive answer at once; but this was not their policy. The longer they delayed, the greater would be the king's necessities; the easier their victory. They diverted their attention from tonnage and poundage to controversial theology, to debates on Arminianism and the due interpretation of the Thirty-nine Articles. On the 28th of January, Charles sent them a message to proceed with the bill of tonnage and poundage. They excused themselves on the ground that their attention was occupied with religion. Week after week passed away, and the settlement of the question was as distant as ever.

On March 2, sir John Eliot framed a remonstrance against levying those duties without consent of parliament, which the speaker and the clerk refused to read. He read it himself. The question being then called for, the speaker, sir John Finch, said, "That he had a command from the king to adjourn, and to put no question." Upon which he rose and left the chair. The whole house was in an uproar. They resolved to dispute the king's right to adjourn them without their own consent. The door was locked. The speaker was pushed back into the chair, and forcibly held in it by Holles and Valentine, till a short remonstrance was framed, and was passed by acclamation rather than by vote. In it papists and Arminians were declared capital enemies to the commonwealth. Those who levied tonnage and poundage were branded with the same epithet. Even the merchants who should voluntarily pay these duties were denominated betrayers of English liberty and public enemies. Maxwell, usher of the Black Rod, who was sent by the king, stood knocking at the door, but could not obtain admittance till these resolutions were adopted. He took

the mace from the table, which ended their proceedings; and a few days after, the parliament was dissolved (March 10, 1629). Sir John Eliot, Holles, Valentine, and some others, for seditious speeches in parliament, were committed to the Tower (March 5), and informations were exhibited against them in the Star Chamber. They applied to the court of King's Bench for their liberation, but were sent to separate prisons. The judges declared that they were entitled to bail, but must give sureties for good behaviour. On their refusal, they were condemned to be imprisoned during the king's pleasure, to find the requisite sureties, and to be fined, the two former in 1000*l.* apiece, the latter in 500*l.* Sir John Eliot died in custody (1632); his comrades made their submission one by one, and were discharged. (Supplement, Note V.)

§ 7. After the turbulent proceedings of the last parliament, Charles resolved, for a time at least, to rule without one. Such an act did not at that time appear so unconstitutional as it appears to modern readers; for, from the time of Henry VII., long intervals had often occurred between the meetings of parliament. It did not appear unconstitutional to the nation at the time, nor probably to the king himself. "If," says an able writer, "Charles had been asked whether he intended to tread the law and constitution under-foot, he would have shrunk back with horror at the thought. He would have replied, that he was in truth the supporter of the law. Always in theory, and since the accession of the house of Tudor, in practice as well, parliament had been but the great council of the king. The king had been the centre of government, the acting power round which all else revolved. What the commons now demanded was to take his place, to keep him short of money till he would comply with their wishes, and to render him powerless, by calling his ministers to account when they did what the commons considered to be illegal. Not only the authority of the king, but the decision of the judges, was to be swept aside. And all this was to be done in order that freedom of thought, except so far as it found favour in the eyes of the dominant majority, might be stamped out in England; that no one might print a book or preach a sermon without the leave of the House of Commons. Charles was not wrong in dissolving such a parliament. It had done its work in preparing the great Petition. . . . A parliament stereotyping upon the country a particular form of religious or political belief, which happened to be popular at the time, would degenerate into the most odious of despotisms. The mouth of the counsellors, whose work it is invariably to change public opinion, would be closed. The establishment of parliamentary supremacy in 1658 was a noble work. But it would not have been a noble work if it

had stood alone. It came accompanied by the abolition of the censorship of the press and by the 'Toleration Act.'*

Charles had now become practically absolute. But though he had obtained a victory over the commons—due in some measure to their arbitrary proceedings—and though their temporary eclipse produced no expression of national regret, he was not careful to avoid their errors.

The death of Buckingham had disarmed much of the hostility of the parliamentary opponents of the court, and the proceedings of Pym and Eliot, who made no secret of their intentions to deprive the crown of its supremacy, induced many to abandon them, and lend their support to the king. Among them were, sir Thomas Wentworth, whom the king created first a baron, then a viscount, and afterwards earl of Strafford, and made him president of the council of York and deputy of Ireland; sir Dudley Digges, created Master of the Rolls; Noy, attorney-general; Littleton, solicitor-general. All these had been parliamentary leaders, and were eminent in their profession. In ecclesiastical affairs, Laud, bishop of London, had acquired a great ascendancy over Charles, and led him, by the facility of his temper, into actions which proved fatal to himself and to his kingdom. Possessed with a deep sense of authority—a conviction increased by the manifest disregard of it in his own times—Laud was bent on securing conformity. Adherence to ritual was rigidly enforced. The communion table was removed from the body of the church, placed at the east end, railed in, and called the altar: the use of copes, pictures, and other decorations was allowed. The puritans believed that the church of England was fast relapsing into Romish superstition: the court of Rome entertained hopes of regaining its authority in this island; and offered Laud informally a cardinal's hat, which he declined. As if they had seriously accepted the converse of the proposition, "No bishop, no king," Laud and his followers took care to magnify, on every occasion, the regal authority, and to treat with the utmost disdain all puritanical pretensions.

At the advice of his ministers, Charles levied money either by the revival of obsolete laws, or by violations, some more open, some more disguised, of the privileges of the nation. He gave way to the severities of the Star Chamber and High Commission. He issued a proclamation, from which it was generally inferred that during this reign no more parliaments were intended to be summoned (March 27, 1629). Monopolies were revived. Tonnage and poundage continued to be levied by the royal authority alone. Compositions were made with recusants. At the king's coronation, all those who possessed

* Gardiner, *The First Two Stuart*, p. 71.

40*l.* a year in land were summoned, according to ancient usage, to appear and take up their knighthood, or compound for their neglect. As these fines had not been discharged, commissioners were now appointed by the council to fix the rates of composition, and instructions were given them not to accept of a less sum than would have been due by the party upon a tax of three subsidies and a half.

The court of Star Chamber extended its authority, and it was matter of complaint that it encroached upon the jurisdiction of the other courts, by imposing heavy fines and inflicting severe punishments. One case may be mentioned by way of example. Prynne, a barrister of Lincoln's Inn, had written an enormous quarto of a thousand pages, which he called *Histriomastix*. It professed to decry stage-plays, comedies, interludes, music, and dancing, as the occasions of all immorality. From the players he turned to the government, which he stigmatized for permitting the abuse, and he inserted expressions which were held to reflect upon the queen, who had sometimes acted a part in pastorals and interludes which were represented at court. Prynne was indicted in the Star Chamber as a libeller; was condemned to be put from the bar; to stand in the pillory in two places, Westminster and Cheapside; to lose both his ears, one in each place; to pay 5000*l.* fine to the king; and to be imprisoned until he made his submission (1634). In the same year Charles renewed his father's edict for allowing sports and recreations on Sunday to such as had attended public worship; and he ordered his proclamation for that purpose to be read by the clergy after divine service. Those who were puritanically affected refused obedience, and were punished by suspension or deprivation. Some encouragement and protection which the king and the bishops gave to wakes, church-ales, bride-ales, and other cheerful festivals of the common people, were the objects of like scandal to the puritans.

§ 8. Till the year 1634, however contrary these proceedings may appear in this century to law and justice, they awakened little or no discontent in the nation at large. Even Prynne's sentence at the time produced no sensation. When there was no vehicle for public opinion, no reports of the proceedings of the commons, it made little difference whether they were silent by authority or by the force of circumstances. The nation went on much as usual, believing in a king, and not very clearly understanding the meaning of his disputes with the commons. Laud was only bishop of London. A small and noisy minority only in his diocese opposed his reforms. As for drifting into a civil war or taking up arms against the government, such a thought never occurred to the most sanguine opponent of the church or the state. But in August, 1633, archbishop Abbott died; and Laud, appointed his

successor, succeeded also to the great influence connected with such a dignity in very critical times, with a fixed resolution to carry out those ecclesiastical principles which had hitherto found no encouragement in his predecessor. But, besides the power to enforce his views resulting from his official position, Laud was clothed with still greater authority as a member of the two great courts, the High Commission and the Star Chamber. Such also was his influence with the king in other than ecclesiastical questions, that whatever he determined was backed by the power of the crown. Thoroughly honest in his intentions, earnestly devoted to the interests, as he held them, of the king, the church, and the nation, it would have been impossible for Laud to have escaped envy and detraction had he employed his immense power with the utmost prudence, suavity, and circumspection. But, in the confidence of the sincerity of his own intentions, Laud was not always careful to disarm hostility or resentment by those arts of popularity with which no great minister can well afford to dispense. Consequently, without intending it, he created bitter enemies, not only among the clergy and the nobility, but among the king's privy councillors, who were not forward in seconding his efforts, nor sorry when he was foiled and disappointed.

In 1634 a measure was introduced which led to fatal consequences. This was ship-money. Whilst England was engrossed with domestic broils, she was fast losing the supremacy of the seas. British waters were infested with pirates; Englishmen were carried off and sold for slaves in Barbary. The Dutch, taking advantage of the political complications of the times, had greatly advanced their commerce, and were prepared to dispute with England the sovereignty of the narrow seas. They excluded the English from the northern fisheries, and claimed the right of fishing on the English coasts. The navy of France was also rapidly augmented, under the fostering care of Richelieu. Intercepted letters fell into the hands of the government, detailing a plot for an attack upon Dunkirk by the French and the Dutch. Charles had no mind to see the whole of the southern shore of the Straits of Dover in the hands of the French, and, though his pecuniary distresses were great, he wished to meet the emergency. He had already had evidence, in the case of the palatinate, of the hopelessness of appealing to parliament for support, and he therefore fell back on the precedents of Elizabeth's reign. The first writ of ship-money was drawn up by Noy, formerly a leader of the puritan party, now attorney-general. The ancient precedents were carefully followed. In the first instance the writs were directed to seaport towns only. Afterwards the counties were informed that they might contribute money,

instead of ships, for the expenses of the royal dockyards. In 1635 the tax was extended by the council to the inland shires, and each county was rated at a specified sum, to be levied in fair proportions upon individuals. The tax seems to have been moderately and equitably assessed, and the money was expended on the navy. In some few instances complaints were made, not against the legality of the tax—for that seems to have attracted no attention—but against the equality of the assessment. This was left to the sheriffs and their officers, and party or personal feelings sometimes interfered with the strict justice of their proceedings. In spite of all these difficulties a fleet was raised; and in 1635 and the following year the Dutch fishing vessels were driven from the coast, and a number of English slaves were rescued from Moorish pirates. In anticipation of any resistance or disputes with the sheriffs, Charles had taken the precaution in 1637 to ask the advice of the twelve judges as to the legality of the tax. They gave it as their unanimous opinion that the king might call on his subjects for ships, or money to supply them, when the kingdom was in danger, and that he only was the judge of such necessity.*

John Hampden, a Buckinghamshire gentleman, who had already resisted the sheriff in his own county on the assessment of the tax, following the example of lord Saye and Sele, a bitter opponent of the court, refused to pay the tax levied on him for his estate, amounting to twenty shillings. The case was argued in the Exchequer. The twelve judges adhered to their former opinion, with the exception of Hutton and Croke. The latter excused themselves on the grounds that the opinion they had given was only a private opinion—though it is not easy for the uninitiated to see how, in a dry matter of law, a judge can well hold two different opinions at the same time. As a further apology for his conduct, Croke urged that he had signed his name out of deference to the majority. As neither of the two dissentients incurred the formal displeasure of the crown, it is fair to infer that the judges were not so obsequious to the dictation of the king as party prejudices would sometimes represent. But though the decision was ostensibly in favour of the king, practically it was the reverse; and Hampden's refusal made the levying of the tax more difficult and more precarious.

The puritans at this time were divided into two classes: political puritans, who were generally averse to the ceremonies of the church, and especially its episcopacy or "lordly prelacy," as they affected to call it; and doctrinal puritans, to whom the opinions of Hooker,

* This was strictly in accordance with the original text of the *Confirmatio Chartarum* of Edward I., for which the

informal text had been substituted in the Petition of Right

Grotius, and Laud were particularly obnoxious. But neither had as yet withdrawn themselves from the communion of the church of England. Restrained by Laud in England, some now took this step, and shipped themselves for America, where they laid the foundations of a government possessing that liberty, civil and religious, of which they considered themselves bereaved in their native country. In 1630 the charter of Massachusetts Bay had been obtained from the crown, and about 350 nonconformists sailed with the first fleet. Already, in 1620, a band of emigrants, to the number of 100, called the "Pilgrim Fathers," had sailed from Plymouth and anchored in the harbour of Cape Cod. Few came to join them.

§ 9. But affairs in England might long have continued on the same footing, had they not been influenced by the proceedings in Scotland. James, from his love of prelacy, which order he considered best fitted to inculcate obedience and loyalty among the people, had raised some of the Scotch prelates to chief dignities in the state. The Scotch nobility, whose power was great, and whose connection with the king had been much loosened by his long absence, were disgusted to find the prelates superior to themselves in power and influence. The inferior ranks of the Scotch clergy themselves equalled, if they did not exceed, the nobility in their prejudices against the court, the prelates, and episcopal authority. The people, under the influence of the nobility and clergy, could not fail to partake of their discontents, and were imbued with the same horror against popery which possessed the English puritans. Yet, in spite of these symptoms, the king's great aim was to complete the work begun by his father; to establish ecclesiastical discipline in Scotland, to introduce a liturgy into public worship, and to render the ecclesiastical government of all his kingdoms regular and uniform.

The liturgy imposed on Scotland was copied, with a few alterations, from that of England: and due notice was given of the intention to commence the use of it on Sunday, July 23, 1637. On that day, accordingly, in the cathedral church of St. Giles, the dean of Edinburgh, arrayed in his surplice, began the service; the bishop himself and many of the privy council being present. But no sooner had the dean opened the book than the people, clapping their hands, cursing, and crying out, "A pope! a pope! antichrist! stone him!" raised such a tumult, that it was impossible to proceed with the service. It was with difficulty that the magistrates were able to expel the crowd, and shut the doors against them. The tumult, however, still continued without: and the bishop, returning home, narrowly escaped from the enraged multitude.

Further riots ensued; and, as Charles continued inflexible, a systematic resistance was organized at Edinburgh. Four com-

mittees or *tables*, as they were called, were formed. One consisted of nobility, another of gentry, a third of ministers, a fourth of burghesses. In the hands of the four tables the whole authority of the kingdom was placed. Orders were issued by them, and were obeyed with the utmost regularity. A proclamation by the king, granting a free pardon for past offences, but insisting on obedience to the service book, was met by a public protestation, and THE COVENANT was renewed, with fresh clauses (March 1). This famous deed consisted, first, of a renunciation of popery, formerly signed by James in his youth, followed by a bond of union, by which the subscribers obliged themselves to resist the recent religious innovations, and to defend one another against all opposition.* The people, without distinction of rank or condition, of age or sex, flocked to the subscription of this Covenant, and even the king's ministers and counsellors themselves were, for the most part, seized by the general contagion. The king now began to apprehend the consequences, and sent the marquis of Hamilton, as commissioner, with authority to treat with the Covenanters. He required the Covenant to be renounced and recalled; but the popular leaders told Hamilton they would sooner renounce their baptism. Charles offered concessions; expressed his willingness to abolish the canons, the liturgy, and the High Commission Court, and even to limit extremely the power of the bishops. These successive concessions of the king, which still came short of the rising demands of the malcontents, and only discovered his own weakness, gave no satisfaction. A general assembly of the Scotch met at Glasgow November 21, 1638; and in August, next year, it formally abolished episcopacy, the High Commission, the canons, and the liturgy. Thus the whole fabric which James and Charles, in a long course of years, had been rearing with so much care and policy, fell at once to the ground. The Covenant likewise was ordered to be signed by every one, under pain of excommunication.

Preparations were now openly made for war. Cardinal Richelieu, in revenge for Charles's opposition to his designs upon Flanders, carefully fomented the first commotions in Scotland, and secretly supplied the Covenanters with money and arms. The earl of Argyle, though he long seemed to temporize, at last embraced the Covenant, and became the chief leader of the party. Forces were regularly enlisted and disciplined; arms were imported from abroad; and the whole country, except a small part where the marquis of Huntley

* No doubt religious animosity had much to do with the popular outbreak, but the bitterness of it was increased from the intense dislike of English dictation. The Scotch, always jealous of their na-

tional independence, had become doubly jealous when their native sovereign ruled not from Edinburgh, but London, and they seemed in danger of being sunk into the position of an English province.

still adhered to the king, being in the hands of the Covenanters, was in a very little time put in a posture of defence. To add to these advantages, Scotland swarmed with veteran soldiers who had returned home from the wars in Germany; among them Alexander Lesley, now entrusted with the command, had fought under Gustavus Adolphus. On the other hand, Charles's fleet was formidable, and had 5000 land forces on board, under the marquis of Hamilton, who had orders to sail to the firth of Forth, and to cause a diversion in the forces of the malcontents. An army was raised of nearly 20,000 foot and above 3000 horse, and was put under the command of the earl of Arundel. But many of these were hasty and undisciplined levies, without heart to fight, discouraged by want of provisions, and ill paid. The king himself joined the army, and summoned the peers of England to attend him, and in this situation, carrying more show than real force with it, the camp arrived at Berwick. Charles, advised that to fight with such forces was impossible, concluded a sudden pacification, in which it was stipulated that he should withdraw his fleet and army; that within 48 hours the Scots should dismiss their forces; that the king's forts should be restored to him, his authority be acknowledged, and a general assembly and a parliament be immediately summoned, in order to compose all differences (June 18, 1639). He further agreed to confirm his former concessions of abrogating the canons, the liturgy, and the High Commission, and to abolish the order of bishops. The treaty was not observed by the Scotch. Their army was not disbanded, nor the forts surrendered; whilst all those of the nation who had adhered to the king were bitterly persecuted. The Scotch parliament, which met soon after, advanced pretensions which tended to limit the royal power. The war was renewed with great advantages on the side of the Covenanters, and disadvantages on that of the king. For no sooner had Charles concluded the pacification, than the necessities of his affairs and his want of money obliged him to disband his troops.

§ 10. The king, with great difficulty, found means to draw together an army; but by the advice of Laud and Wentworth, who had returned from Ireland, he was persuaded to summon a parliament. The time appointed for the meeting of parliament—known as the fourth or the SHORT PARLIAMENT—was late in the year (April 13, 1640), and very near the time appointed for opening the campaign against the Scots. Charles took occasion to press the commons for an immediate grant, before they proceeded to offer him petitions for the redress of grievances; promising that as much as was possible of this season should afterwards be allowed them for that purpose. But, by means of the Scottish insurrection, and the general discon-

tents in England, affairs had drawn so near to a crisis, that the leaders of the house began to foresee the consequences, and to hope that the time was now coming when liberty would acquire a full ascendancy. Instead of taking notice of the king's complaints against his Scottish subjects, or his applications for supply, they entered immediately upon grievances. They began with examining the behaviour of the speaker the last day of the former parliament, when he refused, on account of the king's command, to put the question; and they declared it a breach of privilege. They proceeded next to inquire into the imprisonment and prosecution of sir John Eliot, Holles, and Valentine. The affair of ship-money was canvassed; and fresh subjects of enquiry were suggested on all hands. To bring the matter of supply to some issue, Charles solicited the house by repeated messages. He offered to abandon ship-money in return for a supply of 12 subsidies, about 600,000*l.*, payable in three years. But the commons objected that, by bargaining for the remission of that duty, they would, in a manner, ratify the authority by which it had been levied. The king was in great doubt and perplexity. He saw that his friends in the house were outnumbered by his enemies. Where great evils lie on all sides, it is difficult to follow the best counsel; nor is it any wonder that the king, whose capacity was not equal to situations of such extreme delicacy, should hastily have formed and executed the resolution of dissolving this parliament (May 5); a measure, however, of which he soon after repented. This abrupt and violent dissolution naturally excited discontents among the people, and these were increased when some of the members were imprisoned and otherwise harshly treated. An attack was made during the night upon Laud, in his palace of Lambeth, by above 500 persons. Later on, a multitude entered St. Paul's, where the High Commission then sat, tore down the benches, and cried out, "No bishop, no High Commission."

§ 11. The king, having raised money chiefly by a clerical subsidy granted in convocation, and by other contributions, was enabled, though with great difficulty, to set on foot his army, commanded by the celebrated Strafford and the earl of Northumberland. It consisted of 19,000 foot and 2000 horse. The Scottish army, superior in numbers, was sooner ready than the king's. The Covenanters still preserved the most pathetic and most submissive language; and entered England, they said, with no other view than to obtain access to the king's presence, and lay their humble petition at his royal feet. At Newburn-upon-Tyne they were opposed by a detachment of 4500 men under Conway, who seemed resolute to dispute with them the passage of the river. The Scots first entreated them, with great civility, not to stop them in their

march to their gracious sovereign, and then attacked them with great bravery, killed several, and chased the rest from their ground (August 28). The English forces at Newcastle now retreated into Yorkshire, and the Scots took possession of Newcastle. Hence they despatched messengers to the king, who had arrived at York; and they took care, after the advantage which they had obtained, to redouble their expressions of loyalty, duty, and submission to his person, and they even made apologies, full of sorrow and contrition, for their late victory. In order to prevent their advance, the king appointed 16 English noblemen to treat with 11 Scottish commissioners at Ripon (October 26).

An army newly levied, undisciplined, seditious, and ill paid, was very unfit for withstanding a victorious and high-spirited enemy, and retaining in subjection a discontented and zealous nation; and Charles, in despair of being able to stem the torrent, at last determined to yield to it. He had summoned a great council of the peers at York (September 24), but, foreseeing that they would advise him to call a parliament, he told them in his first speech that he had already taken this resolution. They agreed to pay the Scots a daily subsidy of 850*l.*, to be levied on the four northern counties, on condition of their refraining from plunder.

§ 12. The elections, as might have been expected, ran in favour of the popular party. The parliament, memorable as the *Long PARLIAMENT*, met on November 3, 1640. The first act of the commons was to choose William Lenthall for their speaker, in opposition to Charles's views, who had intended to advance Gardiner, recorder of London, to that important dignity. Without any interval they entered upon business, and they immediately struck a blow which may in a manner be regarded as decisive, by impeaching the earl of Strafford, who was considered as the king's chief minister. Strafford, sensible of the load of popular prejudices under which he laboured, would gladly have declined attendance in parliament; but Charles, who had entire confidence in the earl's capacity, thought that his counsels would be extremely useful during the critical session which approached. And when Strafford still insisted on the danger of appearing amidst so many enraged enemies, the king, little apprehensive that his own authority was so suddenly to expire, promised him protection, and assured him that not a hair of his head should be touched by the parliament. The debate respecting Strafford was conducted with locked doors; his impeachment was unanimously voted, and Pym was chosen to carry it up to the lords. Most of the house accompanied him on so agreeable an errand; and Strafford, who had just entered the House of Peers, and who little expected so speedy a prosecution, was

immediately, upon this general charge, ordered into custody (November 11), and a fortnight after sent to the Tower. After a deliberation which scarcely lasted half an hour, an impeachment of high treason was voted against Laud, who was immediately sequestered from parliament, and committed to custody (December 18). The lord-keeper Finch, and sir Francis Windebank, apprehending a similar fate, fled to the continent. Thus, in a few weeks, the House of Commons, not opposed, but rather seconded, by the peers, had produced such a revolution in the government, that the two most powerful and most favoured ministers of the king were thrown into the Tower, and daily expected to be tried for their life; whilst two other ministers had by flight alone saved themselves from a similar fate. The commons, not content with the authority which they had acquired by attacking these great ministers, were resolved to render the most considerable personages of the nation subject to them. All who had assumed power not authorized by statute were declared *delinquents*. This term was newly come into vogue, and expressed a degree or species of guilt not exactly known or ascertained. It would comprehend all the sheriffs, and all those who had been employed in assessing ship-money; all the farmers and officers of the customs, who had been engaged during so many years in levying tonnage and poundage; and all those who had concurred in the arbitrary sentences of the courts of Star Chamber and High Commission. No minister of the king, no member of the council, but found himself exposed by this decision. Almost all the bench of bishops, and the most considerable of the inferior clergy, who had voted in the late convocation, were involved, by these new principles, in the imputation of delinquency. Freed from the restraint of sovereign authority, the popular leaders nourished unbounded hopes. The sagacity of Pym, the ambition of Hampden, the dark, ardent, and dangerous character of St. John, the impetuous spirit of Holles, and the enthusiasm of the younger Vane, challenged general attention. Men even of the most moderate tempers, attached to the church and the monarchy, exerted themselves with the utmost vigour in the redress of grievances, and in prosecuting the authors of them. In this list are found the names of Hyde and Falkland, of Digby and of Capel. Though in their ultimate views and intentions these men differed widely from the former, in their present actions and discourses entire unanimity prevailed amongst them.

The harangues of members were now first published and dispersed; and the pulpit and the press were delivered from dread of the Star Chamber and the High Commission. The sentences

pronounced against Prynne, Bastwick, and Burton were reversed by parliament, and they were released from their prisons in Scilly and the Channel Islands. When Prynne and Burton landed in England, they were received with the highest demonstrations of affection. They were attended by a mighty confluence of company, their charges were borne with great magnificence, and liberal presents were bestowed on them (November 27). The invasion of the Scots had evidently been the cause of assembling the parliament. The presence of that army had reduced the king to the subjection in which he was now held: and the commons, for this reason, openly professed their intention of retaining these invaders. Eighty thousand pounds a month were required for the subsistence of the Scotch and the English armies, a sum much greater than the subject had ever been accustomed to pay in any former period. And though several subsidies, together with a poll-tax, were from time to time voted to answer the charge, the commons still took care to be in debt, in order to render the continuance of the session the more necessary.

The zeal of the commons was particularly directed against the bishops and the established church. They introduced a bill for prohibiting all clergymen the exercise of any civil office, as a consequence of which the bishops were to be deprived of their seats in the House of Peers. But the bitter and intolerant spirit displayed by the puritans was now beginning to alienate many of the lords, and the bill was rejected by a large majority. Among other acts of regal executive power, which the commons were every day assuming, they issued orders for demolishing all images, altars, and crucifixes (January 23, 1641). It was now that the zealous sir Robert Harlow, to whom the execution of these orders was committed, removed the beautiful crosses at Cheapside and Charing Cross. A committee was elected as a court of inquisition upon the clergy, and was commonly denominated the committee of *Scandalous Ministers*. The proceedings of this famous committee, which continued for several years, were cruel and arbitrary, and made great havoc in the church and the universities. They began with harassing, imprisoning, and molesting the clergy, and ended with sequestering and ejecting them. Charles, who was now aware of the uselessness of resistance, opposed, as long as he could, the bill for assembling a parliament at least once in three years (February, 1641). By a statute passed during the reign of Edward III., it had been enacted that parliaments should be held once every year, or more frequently if necessary: but, as no provision had been made in case of failure, this statute had been dispensed with at pleasure. The defect was supplied by those vigilant patriots who now assumed the reins of government. It was enacted that, if the chancellor failed to issue

writs on the 3rd of September in every third year, any 12 or more of the peers should be empowered to exercise this authority; in default of the peers, that the sheriffs, mayors, bailiffs, etc., should summon the voters; and in their default, that the voters themselves should meet and proceed to the election for members, in the same manner as if writs had been regularly issued by the crown. Nor could the parliament, after it was assembled, be adjourned, prorogued, or dissolved, without its own consent, during the space of 50 days.*

§ 13. Immediately after Strafford was sequestered from parliament and confined in the Tower, a joint committee of the lords and commons were appointed to investigate his case, and were bound to secrecy by an oath. To confer greater solemnity on this important trial, scaffolds were erected in Westminster Hall, where both houses sat, the one as accusers, the other as judges (March 22, 1641). Besides the chair of state, a close gallery was prepared for the king and queen, who attended during the whole trial. The articles of impeachment against Strafford were 28 in number, and regarded his conduct as president of the council of York, as deputy or lieutenant of Ireland, and as counsellor or commander in England. From a cumulation of charges it was endeavoured to establish a constructive one of treason. The principal articles were the billeting of soldiers on the Irish, in order to make them submit to his illegal demands, advising the king to employ the army raised in Ireland to subjugate England, and the taxing of the people of Yorkshire for the maintenance of his troops. The remaining charges were for hasty and imperious expressions and tyrannous acts towards individuals. To strengthen the case of the impeachment, Pym produced a paper, said to have been found by Henry Vane in his father's cabinet, purporting to be notes of a debate in council after the dissolution of the last parliament, in which Strafford was represented as saying, "Your majesty having tried the affections of your people, you are absolved and loose from all rules of government. . . . You have an army in Ireland that you may employ to reduce this kingdom to obedience; for I am confident the Scots cannot hold out five months."† Though Strafford denied the accuracy of the statement, and other members of the council who were present declared that they had never heard it, yet it was received in evidence. It was pretended that the fact of this paper having been seen by Pym, who had copied it, and by Vane the younger, was equivalent to the testimony of two witnesses, the number required by law in cases of treason. Strafford is allowed, on all hands, to have made a

* Repealed in 1664.

† The words are variously reported.

noble defence. "Certainly," remarks Whitelock, the chairman of the committee which conducted the impeachment, "never any man acted such a part, on such a theatre, with more wisdom, constancy, and eloquence, with greater reason, judgment, and temper, and with a better grace in all his words and actions, than did this great and excellent person; and he moved the hearts of all his auditors, some few excepted, to remorse and pity."

It was evident that Strafford had gained many friends by the manly modesty of his demeanour and the eloquence of his defence. The result appeared doubtful if the trial proceeded in Westminster Hall; and some of the leaders of the popular party therefore resolved to adopt one of the worst precedents of the reign of Henry VIII., and to proceed against Strafford by bill of attainder.* In this step they had the active concurrence of Hyde and Falkland, who were shortly afterwards the mainstay of the royalist party. The bill of attainder passed the commons with only 59 dissenting votes (April 21), and was by Pym carried up to the lords. About 80 peers had constantly attended Strafford's trial; but such apprehensions were entertained on account of the popular tumults, that only 45 were present when the bill of attainder was brought into the house. Yet of these, 19 had the courage to vote against it. The opinion of the judges was read to the house previously to the division. It did not state that the prisoner was guilty of treason, but that "they were of opinion, upon all that which their lordships have *voted to be proved*, that the earl of Strafford doth deserve to undergo the pains and forfeitures of high treason by law." The bill then passed the lords (April 29, 1641). On Monday, May 3rd, "a rabble of about 6000 out of the city," influenced by the sermons of certain puritan preachers the day before, "came thronging down to Westminster, crying out for justice against the earl of Strafford." They posted up on the walls the names of all those who had voted for the earl, calling them "Straffordians and betrayers of their country." Another incident added fuel to the flame. Some officers of the army concocted a form of a petition to the king and parliament, to be subscribed by the army, in which they offered to come up and guard the parliament. The draft of this petition being conveyed to the king, he was prevailed on to signify his approbation of

* The student should bear in mind the difference between an *Impeachment* and a *Bill of Attainder*. In an *Impeachment* the commons are the accusers, and the lords alone the judges. In a *Bill of Attainder* the commons are the judges, as well as the lords. It may be intro-

duced in either house; it passes through the same stages as any other bill; and when agreed to by both houses, it receives the assent of the crown. As Selden remarked, it violated the commonest principles of justice by making the same party accusers and judges.

it. An officer named Goring betrayed the secret to the popular leaders. Their alarm may easily be imagined. The commons voted a protestation, to be signed by the whole nation, declaring that the subscribers would defend their religion and liberties.

The king's servants, consulting their own safety rather than their master's honour, declined interposing with their advice between him and his parliament. Juxon alone, bishop of London, whose courage was not inferior to his other virtues, ventured to advise him, if in his conscience he did not approve of the bill, by no means to assent to it. Some plans for the earl's escape were devised, but abandoned; and Strafford, hearing of Charles's irresolution and anxiety, took a very extraordinary step. He wrote a letter (May 4), in which he entreated the king, for the sake of public peace, to put an end to his unfortunate, however innocent, life; and to quiet the tumultuous people by granting them the request for which they were so importunate.* After a week of violent agitation, Charles granted a commission to four noblemen to give the royal assent, in his name, to the bill (May 10). Secretary Carleton was sent by the king to inform Strafford of the final resolution which necessity had extorted from him. The earl, rising up from his chair, exclaimed, in the words of Scripture, "Put not your trust in princes, nor in any child of man: for of them cometh no salvation." But immediately collecting his courage, he prepared himself for the fatal sentence. The king now made a new effort in his behalf, and sent, by the hands of the young prince of Wales, a letter in his own hand, addressed to the peers, entreating them to confer with the commons and spare the earl's life.

In passing from his apartment to Tower Hill, where the scaffold was erected, Strafford stopped under Laud's windows, with whom he had long lived in intimate friendship, and entreated his prayers. His discourse on the scaffold was full of decency and courage. His head fell at one blow (May 12, 1641), in the 49th year of his age. Few will uphold the justice or legality of his sentence, nor can such gross disregard of justice be defended on the plea of political necessity. Strafford's life was sacrificed quite as much to religious as to political animosity. He was a friend of Laud, and heartily embraced Laud's ecclesiastical principles in defence of episcopacy. So long as either remained in power, the designs of the Scotch Covenanters, with whom the parliamentary leaders had contracted the closest alliance, could not be realized. Jealousy of his favour with the king, perhaps also a tacit belief that Charles would never consent to his death, induced the lords to agree with the commons in the earl's condemnation. The result was the same

* It has been asserted that this letter was a forgery.

in both cases—with the lords, because the commons now began to undervalue their concurrence, and eventually abolished them; with the king, because having once surrendered his authority, when he had every obligation to stand firm, men were persuaded that, under sufficient pressure, he would give way on all other occasions. Great as was the compunction of Charles for his compliance with Strafford's execution, and hardly as he was pressed to it by those about him, it was a fatal step to himself and to all who were concerned in it.

§ 14. On the same day that the king gave his assent to the execution of Strafford, he likewise sanctioned a bill, which had been rapidly carried through both houses, that the parliament should not be dissolved, prorogued, or adjourned, without its own consent. A bill was also passed to abolish the courts of High Commission and Star Chamber. By the same bill the jurisdiction of the king's council was regulated, and its authority abridged. Thirteen of the bishops were impeached for their share in making the canons of 1640. The house adjourned to the 20th of October; and a committee of both houses, a thing unprecedented, was appointed to sit during the recess with very ample powers.

A small committee of both houses attended the king on his journey into Scotland, in order, as was pretended, to see that the articles of pacification were executed; but really to act as spies upon him, and to extend still further the ideas of parliamentary authority, as well as to eclipse the majesty of the king. Besides the large pay voted to the Scots for lying in good quarters during a twelvemonth, the English parliament conferred on them a present of 300,000*l.* for their brotherly assistance. In the articles of pacification they were declared to have ever been good subjects. Their invasions of England were approved of, as enterprises calculated and intended for his majesty's honour and advantage. In Scotland, as in England, the king was obliged to strip himself of his most valued prerogatives. Several of the Covenanters were sworn of the privy council; and the king, while in Scotland, conformed himself entirely to the services of the kirk, assisting with great gravity at the long prayers and longer sermons with which the presbyterians endeavoured to regale him.

§ 15. While the king was employed in pacifying the commotion in Scotland, a dangerous rebellion had broken out in Ireland. Strafford had raised the army in Ireland from 3000 to 12,000 men, with the secret design, as his enemies asserted, of employing them to maintain Charles's power in England. The parliament insisted on their being reduced to their original number; nor would they forward the king's plan of enlisting 4000 of these disbanded troops in the Spanish service in Flanders, whence indeed they might have

been easily diverted to a different object. By this means, however, not only was the standing army in Ireland greatly reduced, but a large body of discontented papists, trained to the use of arms, was suddenly turned loose on society. The old Irish observed these false steps of the English, and resolved to take advantage of them. A gentleman called Roger More, of Kildare, much celebrated among his countrymen for valour and capacity, formed the project of expelling the English; and he engaged in the conspiracy the chiefs of the native Irish, especially sir Phelim O'Neale, the representative of the Tyrone family, and lord Inniskillen (Macguire). The commencement of the revolt was fixed for the approach of winter, that there might be more difficulty in transporting forces from England. An attempt to surprise Dublin castle was betrayed and failed, but O'Neale and his confederates had already taken up arms in Ulster. The Irish, everywhere intermingled with the English, needed but a hint from their leaders to begin hostilities against a people whom they hated on account of their religion, and envied for their riches. The houses, cattle, and goods of the unwary English were first seized. After rapacity had fully exerted itself, a massacre commenced (October 23, 1641). No age, no sex, and no condition was spared. The English, as heretics abhorred of God, were marked out for slaughter. The English colonies were almost annihilated in the open country of Ulster, whence the flames of rebellion diffused themselves over the other three provinces of Ireland. Not content with expelling the English from their houses, and despoiling them of their manors and cultivated fields, the Irish stripped them of their clothes, and turned them out, naked and defenceless, to all the inclemency of the season. The number of those who perished is estimated at the lowest from 30,000 to 40,000. The English of the pale, or ancient English planters, who were all catholics, were probably not at first in the secret, and pretended to blame the insurrection and to detest the barbarity with which it was accompanied. By their protestations and declarations they engaged the justices to supply them with arms, which they promised to employ in defence of the government; but in a little time the interests of religion were found more powerful than regard and duty to their mother country. They chose lord Gormanston their leader; and, joining the old Irish, rivalled them in every act of violence towards the English protestants.

§ 16. The king, to whom the Scots could grant no further aid than to despatch a small body to support the Scottish colonies in Ulster, sensible of his utter inability to subdue the Irish rebels, found himself obliged, in this exigency, to have recourse to the English parliament. But the parliament discovered, in every vote,

the same dispositions in which they had separated. The Irish rebellion had increased their animosity; but, while they pretended the utmost zeal against it, they took no steps towards its suppression. The necessity to which the king was now reduced, his facility in making concessions fatal to his own authority, the example of the Scots, all combined in encouraging the commons to impair the prerogatives of the monarchy. They levied money under pretence of the Irish expedition, but reserved it for purposes which concerned them more nearly; they took arms from the king's magazines, but still kept them, with a secret intention of employing them against himself. To vindicate their conduct and to show that their distrust of the king was well founded, the leaders of the popular party thought proper, in the king's absence, to frame a general REMONSTRANCE on the state of the nation. This memorable document was not addressed to the king, but was openly declared to be an appeal to the people. It consisted of many gross falsehoods, mixed with evident truths. Whatever invidious, whatever suspicious, whatever questionable measure had been embraced by the king, from the commencement of his reign, is insisted on with merciless rhetoric: the unsuccessful expeditions to Cadiz and the isle of Rhé; the sending of ships to France for the suppression of the Huguenots; the forced loans; the illegal confinement of men for not obeying illegal commands; the violent dissolution of four parliaments; the arbitrary government which always succeeded, the questioning, fining, and imprisoning of members for their conduct in the house; the levying of taxes without consent of the commons; the introducing of superstitious innovations into the church, without authority of law: in short, everything which, with or without reason, had given offence during the course of 15 years, from the accession of the king to the calling of the present parliament. And all their grievances, they said, which amounted to no less than a total subversion of the constitution, proceeded entirely from the combination of a popish faction, which had ever swayed the king's counsels, had endeavoured, by an uninterrupted effort, to introduce their superstition into England and Scotland, and had now at last excited an open and bloody rebellion in Ireland. But the opposition which the Remonstrance met with in the House of Commons was great. For above 14 hours the debate was warmly maintained, and the vote was at last carried by a small majority of 159 to 148 (November 22). It was two o'clock in the morning—the debate, which was hot and furious, had lasted the whole day before—when a member at once sprang to his feet, and moved that, without waiting for the concurrence of the lords, the Remonstrance should be printed,—in effect, that it should be put into general circulation to

excite the passions of the people, before the king, who was then absent, or his council, could have time to answer it. In this memorable debate Hyde and Falkland, who had previously acted with the popular party, were the chief leaders in opposition to the Remonstrance.

Every measure pursued by the commons, and still more every attempt made by their partisans, was full of the most inveterate hatred against the hierarchy, and showed a determined resolution of subverting the whole ecclesiastical establishment. The majority of the peers, who had hitherto supported the commons, now adhered to the king, though a few, as the earl of Northumberland, the earl of Essex, and lord Kimbolton (soon after earl of Manchester), still took the opposite side. The commons professed to be alarmed for their personal safety, and applied to the king for a guard, as they apprehended "some wicked and mischievous practice to *interrupt the peaceable proceedings of parliament*" (November 30). The pulpits were called in aid, and resounded with the dangers which threatened religion from the desperate attempts of papists and malignants. Multitudes flocked towards Westminster; insulted the prelates and such of the lords as adhered to the crown, and threw out insolent menaces against Charles himself. Several reduced officers and young gentlemen of the inns of court, during this time of disorder and danger, offered their service to the king. Between them and the populace there passed frequent skirmishes, which ended not without bloodshed. By way of reproach, these gentlemen gave the rabble the appellation of Roundheads, on account of the short-cropped hair which they wore; the latter called the others Cavaliers. And thus the nation, which was before sufficiently provided with religious as well as civil causes of quarrel, was also supplied with party names, under which the factions might rally and signalize their mutual hatred.

As the bishops were prevented from attending parliament by the dangerous insults to which they were particularly exposed, twelve of them drew up a remonstrance to the king and House of Lords, in which they protested against all laws, votes, and resolutions, as null and invalid, passed during the time of their constrained absence (December 30). The opportunity was seized with joy and triumph by the commons. An impeachment of high treason was immediately sent up against the bishops, as endeavouring to subvert the fundamental laws, and to invalidate the authority of the legislature. They were, on the first demand, sequestered from parliament and committed to custody.

§ 17. A few days after, the king was betrayed into an act of indiscretion, which was followed by most disastrous results. He had

discovered that six of the foremost leaders of the opposition had entered into treasonable correspondence with the Scots during their invasion of England. These were lord Kimbolton (Edward Montagu, eldest son of the earl of Manchester), Pym, Hampden, Hazelrig, Holles, and Strode. On January 3, 1642, he sent Herbert, the attorney-general, to impeach them in the House of Peers. To the demand made the same day by a sergeant-at-arms for the arrest of the five members, the commons returned an evasive answer, and the king resolved to seize them in person on the morrow. It is probable that, if he had been left to himself, he would have shrunk from executing this design on cooler reflection; but he was surrounded by those who urged him to more violent counsels, especially the queen and her attendants, who taunted him with cowardice and reflections on his honour. Accompanied by his ordinary retinue, to the number of above 200, armed as usual, some with halberts, some with walking-swords, the king made his appearance at the doors of the House of Commons. Leaving his followers outside, he advanced through the hall alone, while all the members rose to receive him. The speaker withdrew from his chair, and the king took possession of it. He then in a short speech demanded the accused members, who, having received private intelligence from the countess of Carlisle, had withdrawn; and he asked the speaker, who stood below, whether any of those persons were in the house. The speaker (Lenthall), falling on his knee, prudently replied, "I have, sir, neither eyes to see, nor tongue to speak, in this place, but as the house is pleased to direct me, whose servant I am; and I humbly ask pardon that I cannot give any other answer to what your majesty is pleased to demand of me." "Well, well," rejoined the king, "'tis no matter; I think my eyes are as good as another's." Then, convincing himself by a further scrutiny that his search was vain, he added, "As the birds are flown, I do expect from you that you will send them unto me as soon as they return, otherwise I must take my own course to find them." The answer was not ill natured, and probably the king was not ill satisfied at the result; but as he moved to the doors, shouts of "*Privilege! privilege!*" followed him from all sides (January 4). The house immediately adjourned till the 5th; and, appointing a committee to sit at Guildhall, it put forth a declaration that the king's proceedings were a breach of its privileges, and its sittings at Westminster should no longer be held consistently with its safety.

Next morning Charles, attended only by three or four lords, went to Guildhall, and made a speech to the common council containing many gracious expressions. The city was the stronghold of the disaffected members. As he passed through the streets, he heard

the cry, "Privilege of parliament! privilege of parliament!" resounding from all quarters. One of the populace, more insolent than the rest, drew nigh to his coach, and threw in a paper on which was written, "To your tents, O Israel!" the words employed by the mutinous Israelites when they abandoned Rehoboam, their rash and ill-advised sovereign.

The house met (January 11), and, after confirming the votes of their committee, instantly adjourned, as if exposed to the most imminent perils from the violence of their enemies. On the appointed day the accused members were conducted by water to the house. The river was covered with boats and other vessels, laden with small pieces of ordnance, and prepared for fight; and, on landing, the members were received by a body of horsemen, who had come up from Buckinghamshire to testify their devotion to Hampden. When the populace, by land and by water, passed Whitehall, they asked, with insulting shouts, "What has become of the king and his cavaliers? And whither are they fled?" For the king, apprehensive of danger, had retired to Hampton Court (January 10), and from thence to Windsor (January 12).

Petitions of the most threatening and seditious kind were presented to the commons, among which were some, signed by many thousands, from the apprentices, from the porters, and from decayed tradesmen. The very women were seized with the same infatuation. A brewer's wife, followed by many thousands of her sex, brought a petition to the house, in which they expressed their terror of the papists and prelates, and the dread of like massacres, rapes, and outrages with those which had been committed upon their sex in Ireland. They claimed equal rights with the other sex in the public cause, and were thanked by Pym, who begged their prayers for the success of the commons. The king's authority was now reduced to the lowest ebb. By the death of Strafford and the imprisonment of Laud, Charles was deprived of his most energetic councillors. Those who remained about his person, terrified by the late events, consulted only their own interests and their own safety. The king's friends, as they were called, were dispirited and dispersed. To increase the terrorism, the commons, the day after they reassembled (January 12), reported to the lords that there was a design to kill the earl of Essex and four others. Two days after, they resolved that all who had given the king evil counsel, or endeavoured to maintain divisions between the king and the parliament, should be judged enemies of the state; thus suspending the sword of impeachment over all the king's advisers, legal or otherwise, who might incur the displeasure of the House of Commons. The king vainly endeavoured to calm this irritation, which, if not

assumed, was preposterous. He sent a message to the lord keeper (January 14), that he never intended to violate the privileges of the house, and would clear all doubts in a reasonable way. He offered also (January 20) to take any of their grievances into consideration. He openly announced that he had abandoned the charges against the accused members. But these concessions were only met by demands, the purport of which could not be mistaken.

As a large magazine of arms was stored in the town of Hull, the commons despatched thither sir John Hotham, a gentleman of considerable fortune in the neighbourhood, and of an ancient family; and they gave him the authority of governor. They sent orders to Goring, governor of Portsmouth, to obey no commands but such as he should receive from the parliament. They never ceased soliciting the king till he had bestowed the command of the Tower on sir John Conyers, in whom alone, they said, they could repose confidence; and after making a fruitless attempt, in which the peers refused their concurrence, to give public warning that the people should put themselves in a posture of defence against the enterprises of *papists and other ill-affected persons*, they now resolved to seize at once the whole power of the sword, and to confer it entirely on their own creatures and adherents, by means of the militia. A bill was introduced, and passed the two houses, which restored to lieutenants of counties and their deputies the powers of which by the votes of the commons they had been deprived; but at the same time the names of all the lieutenants were inserted in the bill, and these consisted entirely of men in whom the parliament could confide; and for their conduct they were accountable, by the express terms of the bill, not to the king, but to the parliament (March 5).

When this demand was made, Charles was at Dover, attending the queen and his daughter Mary, princess of Orange, on their embarkation to Holland. He at first attempted to postpone and evade the bill; but the commons pressed it upon him, and asserted that, unless he speedily complied with their demands, they should be constrained, for the safety of prince and people, to dispose of the militia by the authority of both houses, and were resolved to do it accordingly; and, while they thus menaced the king with their power, they invited him to fix his residence at London. Charles replied by a remonstrance; and, lest violence should be used to extort his consent to the militia bill, he removed by slow journeys to York, taking with him the prince of Wales and the duke of York (March 19).

§ 18. The king here found marks of attachment beyond what he had before expected. From all quarters of England the prime nobility and gentry, either personally or by messages and letters,

expressed their duty towards him, and exhorted him to save himself and them from that ignominious slavery with which they were threatened. Finding himself supported by a considerable party in the kingdom, Charles began to speak in a firmer tone, and persisted in refusing the bill; while the commons insisted on their ordinance, in which, by the authority of the two houses, without the king's consent, they had named lieutenants for all the counties, and conferred on them the command of the whole military force, of all the guards, garrisons, and forts of the kingdom (May 5). Charles issued proclamations against this manifest usurpation; and the commons, inventing a distinction, hitherto unheard of, between the office and the person of the king, proceeded to levy, in his name and by his authority, those very forces which they employed against him.

Charles had entertained hopes that, if he presented himself at Hull before the commencement of hostilities, Hotham, overawed by his presence, would admit him with his retinue, after which he might easily render himself master of the place; but the governor was on his guard. He shut the gates and refused to receive the king, who desired leave to enter with 20 persons only (April 23).

The county of York levied a guard for the king of 600 men, which the two houses immediately voted a breach of the trust reposed in him by his people, contrary to his oath, and tending to a dissolution of the government. The forces, which had been everywhere raised on pretence of the service in Ireland, were henceforth openly enlisted by the parliament for their own purposes, and the command of them was given to the earl of Essex. In London no less than 4000 men enlisted in one day. Within ten days vast quantities of plate were brought to their treasurers. Such zeal animated the partisans of the parliament, especially in the city. The women gave up all the plate and ornaments of their houses, and even their silver thimbles and bodkins, in order to support the *good cause* against the malignants. On the other hand, the queen, by disposing of the crown jewels in Holland, had been enabled to purchase a cargo of arms and ammunition, a portion of which reached the king after many perils.

The parliament now sent the conditions on which they were willing to come to an agreement (June 2). They required that no man should remain in the council who was not agreeable to parliament; that no deed of the king's should have any validity unless it passed the council, and was attested under their hand; that all the officers of state and principal judges should be chosen with consent of parliament, and enjoy their offices for life; that none of the royal family should marry without consent of parliament or the

council; that the laws should be executed against catholics; that the votes of popish lords should be excluded; that the reformation of the liturgy and church government should take place according to advice of parliament; that the ordinance with regard to the militia be submitted to; that the justice of parliament pass upon all delinquents; that a general pardon be granted, with such exceptions as should be advised by parliament; that the forts and castles be disposed of by consent of parliament; and that no peer be made but with consent of both houses. War on any terms was esteemed, by the king and all his counsellors, preferable to so ignominious a peace. Collecting therefore some forces, Charles advanced southwards; and at Nottingham he erected his royal standard (August 22, 1642).

NOTES AND ILLUSTRATIONS.

PETITION OF RIGHT.

3 CAR. I. C. 1.

The petition exhibited to his majesty by the lords spiritual and temporal, and commons, in this present parliament assembled, concerning divers rights and liberties of the subjects, with the king's majesty's royal answer thereunto in full parliament.

To the king's most excellent majesty.

Humbly show unto our sovereign lord the king, the lords spiritual and temporal, and commons, in parliament assembled, that whereas it is declared and enacted by a statute made in the time of the reign of king Edward I., commonly called *Statutum de tallagio non concedendo*, that no tallage or aid shall be laid or levied by the king or his heirs in this realm, without the good will and assent of the archbishops, bishops, earls, barons, knights, burgesses, and other the freemen of the commonalty of this realm; and by authority of parliament holden in the five and twentieth year of the reign of king Edward III. it is declared and enacted, that from thenceforth no person should be compelled to make any loans to the king against his will, because such loans were against reason and the franchise of the land; and by other laws of this realm it is provided that none should be charged by any charge or imposition called a benevolence, nor

by such like charge; by which statutes before mentioned, and other the good laws and statutes of this realm, your subjects have inherited this freedom, that they should not be compelled to contribute to any tax, tallage, aid, or other like charge not set by common consent, in parliament.

II. Yet nevertheless of late divers commissions directed to sundry commissioners in several counties, with instructions, have issued; by means whereof your people have been in divers places assembled, and required to lend certain sums of money unto your majesty, and many of them, upon their refusal so to do, have had an oath administered unto them not warrantable by the laws or statutes of this realm, and have been constrained to become bound to make appearance and give utterance before your privy council and in other places, and others of them have been therefore imprisoned, confined, and sundry other ways molested and disquieted; and divers other charges have been laid and levied upon your people in several counties by lord lieutenants, deputy lieutenants, commissioners for musters, justices of peace, and others, by command or direction from your majesty, or your privy council, against the laws and free customs of the realm.

III. And whereas also by the statute called "The Great Charter of the Liber-

ties of England," it is declared and enacted, that no freeman may be taken or imprisoned, or be disseised of his freehold or liberties, or his free customs, or be outlawed or exiled, or in any manner destroyed, but by the lawful judgment of his peers, or by the law of the land.

IV. And in the eight and twentieth year of the reign of king Edward III. it was declared and enacted by authority of parliament, that no man, of what estate or condition that he be, should be put out of his lands or tenements, nor taken, nor imprisoned, nor disinherited, nor put to death without being brought to answer by due process of law.

V. Nevertheless, against the tenor of the said statutes, and other the good laws and statutes of your realm to that end provided, divers of your subjects have of late been imprisoned without any cause showed; and when for their deliverance they were brought before your justices by your majesty's writs of *habeas corpus*, there to undergo and receive as the court should order, and their keepers commanded to certify the causes of their detainer, no cause was certified, but that they were detained by your majesty's special command, signified by the lords of your privy council, and yet were returned back to several prisons, without being charged with anything to which they might make answer according to the law.

VI. And whereas of late great companies of soldiers and mariners have been dispersed into divers counties of the realm, and the inhabitants against their wills have been compelled to receive them into their houses, and there to suffer them to sojourn, against the laws and customs of this realm, and to the great grievance and vexation of the people.

VII. And whereas also by authority of parliament, in the five and twentieth year of the reign of king Edward III., it is declared and enacted, that no man should be forejudged of life or limb against the form of the Great Charter and the law of the land; and by the said Great Charter, and other the laws and statutes of this your realm, no man ought to be adjudged to death but by the laws established in this your realm, either by the customs of the same realm, or by acts of parliament: and whereas no offender of what kind soever is ex-

empted from the proceedings to be used, and punishments to be inflicted by the laws and statutes of this your realm; nevertheless of late time divers commissions under your majesty's great seal have issued forth, by which certain persons have been assigned and appointed commissioners with power and authority to proceed within the land, according to the justice of martial law, against such soldiers or mariners, or other dissolute persons joining with them, as should commit any murder, robbery, felony, mutiny, or other outrage or misdemeanor whatsoever, and by such summary course and order as is agreeable to martial law, and as is used in armies in time of war, to proceed to the trial and condemnation of such offenders, and them to cause to be executed and put to death according to the law martial.

VIII. By pretext whereof some of your majesty's subjects have been by some of the said commissioners put to death, when and where, if by the laws and statutes of the land they had deserved death, by the same laws and statutes also they might, and by no other ought to have been judged and executed:

IX. And also sundry grievous offenders, by colour thereof claiming an exemption, have escaped the punishments due to them by the laws and statutes of this your realm, by reason that divers of your officers and ministers of justice have unjustly refused or forborne to proceed against such offenders according to the same laws and statutes, upon pretence that the said offenders were punishable only by martial law, and by authority of such commissions as aforesaid, which commissions, and all other of like nature, are wholly and directly contrary to the said laws and statutes of this your realm.

X. They do therefore humbly pray your most excellent majesty, that no man hereafter be compelled to make or yield any gift, loan, benevolence, tax, or such like charge, without common consent by act of parliament, and that none be called to make answer, or to take such oath, or to give attendance, or be confined, or otherwise molested or disquieted concerning the same, or for refusal thereof; and that no freeman, in any such manner as is before mentioned, be imprisoned or detained, and that your majesty would be pleased to remove the said soldiers and mariners,

and that your people may not be so burdened in time to come; and that the aforesaid commissions, for proceeding by martial law, may be revoked and annulled; and that hereafter no commissions of like nature may issue forth to any person or persons whatsoever to be executed as aforesaid, lest by colour of them any of your majesty's subjects be destroyed or put to death contrary to the laws and franchise of the land.

XI. All which they most humbly pray of your most excellent majesty as their rights and liberties, according to the laws and statutes of this realm; and that your majesty would also vouchsafe to declare that the awards, doings, and proceedings,

to the prejudice of your people in any of the premises, shall not be drawn hereafter into consequence or example; and that your majesty would be also graciously pleased, for the further comfort and safety of your people, to declare your royal will and pleasure, that in the things aforesaid all your officers and ministers shall serve you according to the laws and statutes of this realm, as they tender the honour of your majesty, and the prosperity of this kingdom.

Quâ quidem petitione lectâ et plenius intellectâ per dictum dominum regem taliter est responsum in pleno parlamento, viz. Sicut dicitur fuit comma est desiderat.



"Oxford Crown" of Charles I.

Ob. : CAROLVS . D . G : MAG : BRIT : FRAN : ET . HIBER . REX. The king mounted, to left. Beneath his horse a view of Oxford, with the name OXON and the letter R, the initial of the name of the artist, Rawlins. Rev. : EXVRGAT DEVS DEMIPENTVR INIMICI. Across the field RELIG . PROT . LEG ANG . LIBER . PARL : above, V, for the value ; and below, 1644 OXON.

CHAPTER XXII.

CHARLES I.—CONTINUED. FROM THE COMMENCEMENT OF THE CIVIL WAR TO THE TRIAL AND EXECUTION OF THE KING.

A.D. 1642–1649.

§ 1. Commencement of the civil war. State of the kingdom. § 2. Battle of Edgehill. Negotiation at Oxford. § 3. Campaign of 1643. Death of Hampden. Siege of Gloucester. Waller's plot. Battle of Newbury. Actions in the north. § 4. Proceedings in Scotland. The Solemn League and Covenant. Troops sent from Ireland. § 5. Parliaments at Westminster and Oxford. Campaign of 1644. Battle of Marston Moor. Second battle of Newbury. § 6. Independents and presbyterians. Cromwell accuses the earl of Manchester. The self-denying ordinance. § 7. Execution of Laud. § 8. Campaign of 1645. Montrose's victories. The "new model." Battle of Naseby. Surrender of Bristol and other places. § 9. Negotiations with the parliament. Glamorgan's commission in Ireland. The king flies to the Scottish camp. He is delivered up by the Scots. § 10. Mutiny of the army. The king seized by Joyce. § 11. The army subdue the parliament. The king flies to the Isle of Wight. § 12. Cromwell restores the discipline of the army. Deliberations respecting the king. § 13. Displeasure of the Scots. Commotions in England. Treaty of Newport. Civil wars. § 14. Pride's "purge." Trial of the king. § 15. Execution and character of the king.

§ 1. WHEN two names so sacred in the English constitution as those of KING and PARLIAMENT were placed in opposition, no wonder the people were divided in their choice, and were agitated with the most violent animosities and factions. The nobility and more considerable gentry, dreading a total confusion of rank from the fury

of the populace, enlisted themselves in defence of the monarch, from whom they received, and to whom they communicated, their lustre. The city of London, on the other hand, and most of the great corporations, took part with the parliament, and adopted with zeal those democratical principles on which the pretensions of that assembly were founded. The devotees of presbytery became, of course, zealous partisans of the parliament; the friends of the episcopal church valued themselves on defending the rights of monarchy. Those who aspired to an easy enjoyment of life flocked to the king's standard, where they breathed a freer air, and were exempted from that rigid preciseness and melancholy austerity which reigned among the parliamentary party. But on the whole, however, the torrent of general affection ran to the parliament, and their assumption of the king's name led people to believe that they were maintaining his authority against less disinterested advisers. The neighbouring states of Europe, engaged in violent wars, little concerned themselves in these civil commotions; and this island enjoyed the singular advantage (for such it surely was) of fighting out its own quarrels without the interposition of foreigners. The king's condition, when he appeared at Nottingham, was not very encouraging to his party. His artillery, though far from numerous, had been left at York for want of horses to transport it. Besides the trained bands of the county, raised by sir John Digby, the sheriff, he had not got together above 300 infantry. His cavalry, in which consisted his chief strength, exceeded not 800, and were very ill provided with arms. The forces of the parliament lay at Northampton, within a few days' march of him; and consisted of above 6000 men, well armed and well appointed. Had these troops advanced upon him, they must soon have dissipated the small force which he had assembled, and perhaps have for ever prevented his collecting an army; but the earl of Essex, the parliamentary general, had not yet received any orders from his masters. In this situation, by the unanimous desire of Charles's counsellors, the earl of Southampton, with sir John Colepeper and sir William Uvedale, was despatched to London with offers of a treaty (August 25). Both houses replied that they could admit of no treaty with the king till he took down his standard and recalled his proclamations, in which the parliament supposed themselves to be declared traitors. A second attempt at negotiation had no better success (September 3).

The courage of the parliament was increased both by their great superiority of force and by two recent events which had happened in their favour. They had obtained possession of Portsmouth, the best fortified town in the kingdom, through the negligence of Goring, the governor (September 9); and the marquis of Hertford, a noble-

man of the greatest quality and character in the kingdom, who had drawn together some appearance of an army in Somersetshire, had been obliged to retire into Wales on the approach of the earl of Bedford with the parliamentary forces. All the dispersed bodies of the parliamentary army were now ordered to march to Northampton: and the earl of Essex, who had joined them, found the whole amount to 15,000 men. The king, sensible that he had no army which could cope with so formidable a force, thought it prudent to retire to Derby, and thence to Shrewsbury. At Wellington, a day's march from Shrewsbury, he made a solemn declaration before his army, in which he promised to maintain the protestant religion, to observe the laws, and to uphold the just privileges and freedom of parliament (September 19). On the appearance of commotions in England, the princes Rupert and Maurice, sons of the unfortunate palatine and the princess Elizabeth, had offered their service to the king, their uncle; and the former at that time commanded a body of horse which had been sent to Worcester in order to watch the motions of Essex. Here prince Rupert began the civil wars by routing a body of cavalry near that city (September 25). The action, though in itself of small importance, mightily raised the reputation of the royalists, and acquired for prince Rupert the character of promptitude and courage, qualities which he eminently displayed during the whole course of the war.

The king, on mustering his army, found it amount to 10,000 men. The earl of Lindsey, who in his youth had sought experience of military service in the Low Countries, was general; prince Rupert commanded the horse, sir Jacob Astley the foot, sir Arthur Aston the dragoons, sir John Heydon the artillery.

§ 2. With this army the king left Shrewsbury in October, and directed his march towards the capital, with the intention of bringing on an action. He fell in with the parliamentary forces at Edgehill, near Kington, in the county of Warwick (October 23, 1642). Though the day was far advanced, the king resolved upon the attack. After a desperate struggle, in which great mistakes were committed on both sides, the battle ended without either party obtaining any decisive advantage. All night the two armies lay under arms, and next morning they found themselves in sight of each other. General, as well as soldier, on both sides, seemed averse to renew the battle. Essex first drew off, and retired to Warwick. The king returned to his former quarters. About 1200 men are said to have fallen; and the loss of the two armies, as far as we can judge by the opposite accounts, was nearly equal. Lindsey, the royal general, was mortally wounded and taken prisoner.

The king, except the taking of Banbury a few days after, had few

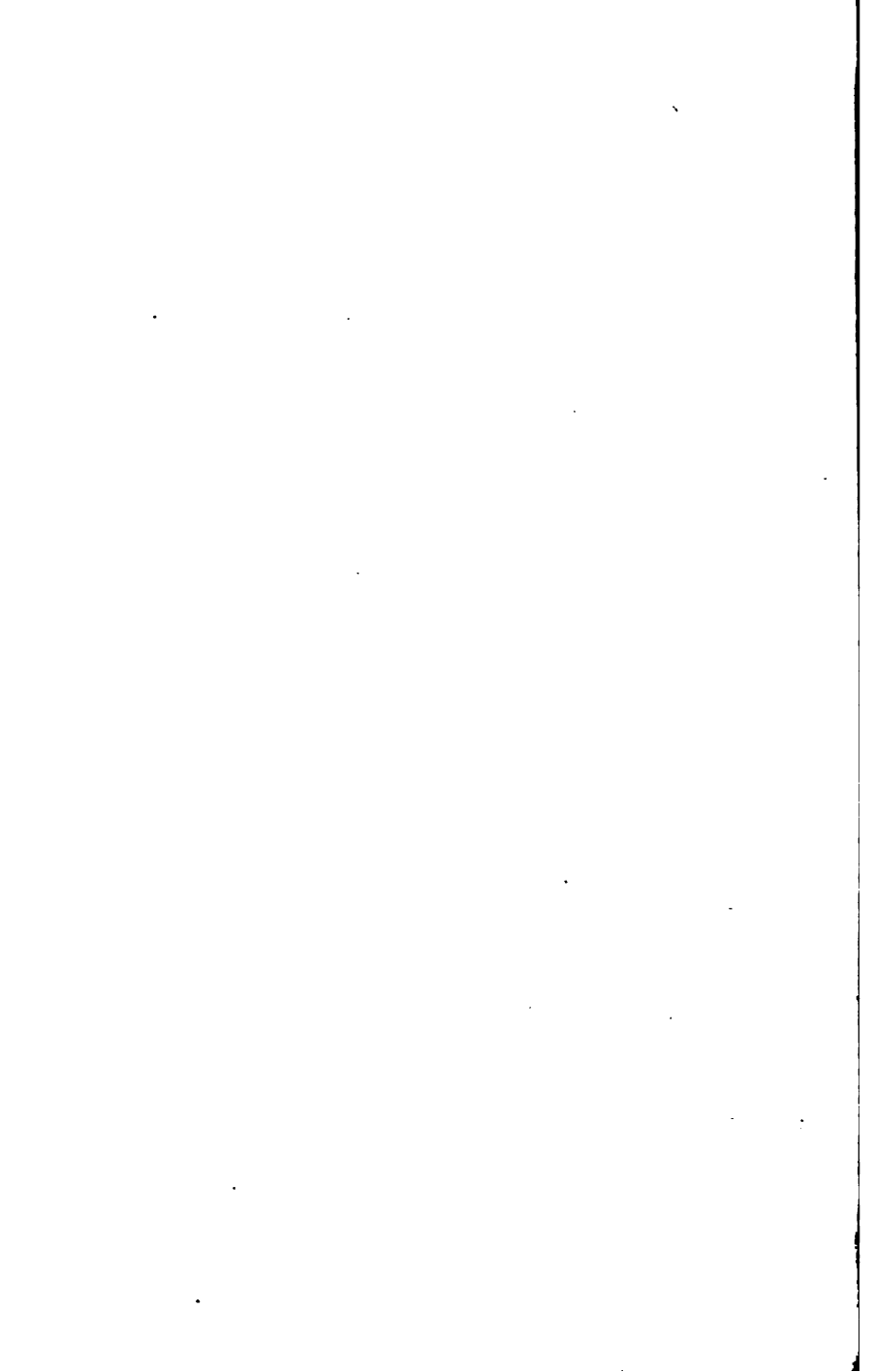
marks of victory to boast of. He continued his march to Oxford, the only town in his dominions which was altogether at his devotion (October 26). Hence he proceeded to Reading, from which both the parliamentary governor and garrison, seized with panic, fled with precipitation to London. The parliament, alarmed at the near approach of the royal army, while their own forces lay at a distance, voted an address for a treaty; and the king named Windsor as the place of conference (November 11). Meanwhile Essex, advancing by hasty marches, had arrived at London. He committed the first breach of faith by throwing three regiments into Brentford. Charles attacked them, and after a sharp action beat them from that town, and took about 500 prisoners (November 12). The city trained bands joined the army under Essex, which now amounted to above 24,000 men, and was much superior to that of the king. After both armies had faced each other a whole day at Farnham Green, both drew off. Charles retired to Reading, and thence to Oxford (November 29).

In the early part of the next year, negotiations for a treaty were continued at Oxford. The king insisted on the re-establishment of the crown in all its legal powers, and on the restoration of his constitutional prerogative. The parliament required, besides other concessions, that the king should abolish episcopacy, and acquiesce in their settlement of the militia. But the conferences went no further than the first demand on each side. The parliament, finding that there was no likelihood of coming to any agreement, suddenly recalled their commissioners.

§ 3. The campaign of 1643 was opened by the defeat of the parliamentarians at Hopton Heath (March 19), and the taking of Reading by Essex (April 27). In the north, where lord Fairfax commanded for the parliament, and the earl of Newcastle for the king, the latter nobleman united in a league for Charles the counties of Northumberland, Cumberland, Westmoreland, and the bishopric of Durham, took possession of York, and established the royal authority in all the northern provinces. The eastern or associated counties, as they were called, consisting of Essex, Suffolk, Norfolk, Lincoln, Cambridge, Huntingdon, and Hertford, had been combined against the king by lord Grey of Wark. In the south and west, sir William Waller, who now began to distinguish himself among the generals of the parliament, took Winchester, Chichester, Hereford, and Tewkesbury. On the other hand, sir Ralph Hopton secured Cornwall for the king.

Essex, finding that his army fell continually to decay after the siege of Reading, was resolved to remain upon the defensive; and the weakness of the king, and his want of all military stores, had also





restrained the activity of the royal army. No action had happened in that part of England, except one skirmish at Chalgrove Field, in Oxfordshire, which of itself was of no great consequence, and was rendered memorable only by the death of the famous Hampden (June 18). He was seen riding off the field before the action was finished, his head hanging down, and his hands leaning upon his horse's neck. He was shot in the shoulder with a brace of bullets, and the bone broken. He died some days after, in exquisite pain, of his wound (June 24); nor could his whole party, had their army met with a total overthrow, have been struck with greater consternation. The king himself so highly valued him, that, either from generosity or policy, he intended to have sent him his own surgeon to assist at his cure. *

The west now became the principal scene of action. The king sent thither the marquis of Hertford and prince Maurice, with a reinforcement of cavalry, who, having joined the Cornish army, soon overran the county of Devon, and, advancing into that of Somerset, began to reduce it to obedience. On the other hand, the parliament, having supplied sir William Waller with a complete army, despatched him westwards. After some skirmishes, a pitched battle was fought at Lansdown, near Bath, with great loss on both sides, but without any decisive event (July 5); and shortly after another near Devizes, in which Waller was completely defeated, and forced to retire to Bristol (July 13). This city surrendered to prince Rupert a few days afterwards (July 27); and Charles having now joined the army in the west, Gloucester was invested on the 10th of August.

The rapid progress of the royalists threatened the parliament with immediate subjection. The factions and discontents among themselves, in the city, and throughout the neighbouring counties, prognosticated some dangerous division or insurrection. In the beginning of this summer a design had been discovered for disarming the London militia and obliging the parliament to accept of reasonable conditions. Edmund Waller, the poet, a member of the House of Commons, was at the head of it, with Tomkias his brother-in-law, and Chaloner his friend. Being seized and tried by a court-martial, they were all three condemned, and the two latter were executed on gibbets erected before their own doors. Waller saved his life by an abject submission, and was fined 10,000*l*.

The news of the siege of Gloucester renewed the cry for peace, and the parliament seemed disposed to consent to more moderate terms; but the zealous puritans redoubled their efforts, and the parliament was persuaded to make preparations for the relief of this city. Essex, taking the road to Brockley, carried with him a well-armed

pointed army of 14,000 men, drawing in the parliamentary forces quartered at Bedford and Leicester; and on his approach to Gloucester the king was obliged to raise the siege. Being deficient in cavalry, Essex would willingly have avoided an engagement, and therefore proceeded towards London; but when he reached Newbury, in Berkshire, he found that the king, by hasty marches, had arrived before him. An action was now unavoidable, and was fought on both sides with desperate valour and steady bravery (September 20). The militia of London especially, though utterly unacquainted with action, equalled on this occasion what could be expected from the most veteran forces. While the armies were engaged with the utmost ardour, night put an end to the action, and left the victory undecided. Next morning Essex proceeded on his march, and reached London in safety. In the battle of Newbury, fell, among others on the king's side, Lord Falkland, secretary of state. Falkland had at first stood foremost in all attacks on the high prerogatives of the crown, and displayed that masculine eloquence and undaunted love of liberty which, from his intimate acquaintance with the sublime spirits of antiquity, he had greedily imbibed; but when civil convulsions proceeded to extremities, and it became requisite for him to choose his side, he embraced the defence of those limited powers which remained to monarchy, and which he deemed necessary for the support of the English constitution. From the commencement of the war his natural cheerfulness and vivacity became clouded; and among his intimate friends, often, after a deep silence and frequent sighs, he would with a sad accent reiterate the word "Peace." On the morning of the battle he called for a clean shirt, that if he were slain his body should not be found in foul linen. He observed, "I am weary of the times, and foresee much misery to my country; but believe that I shall be out of it ere night." The loss sustained on both sides in the battle of Newbury, and the advanced season, obliged the armies to retire into winter quarters.

In the north, during this summer, two men on whom the event of the war finally depended began to be remarked for their valour and military conduct. These were sir Thomas Fairfax, son of Ferdinand, lord Fairfax, and Oliver Cromwell, son of a gentleman of Huntingdon. The former gained a considerable advantage at Wakefield over a detachment of royalists; the latter obtained a victory at Gainsborough over a party commanded by the gallant Cavendish, who perished in the action; but both these defeats were more than compensated by the total rout of lord Fairfax at Ather-ton Moor, near Bradford, and the dispersion of his army (June 30). After this victory the marquis of Newcastle, with an army of

15,000 men, sat down before Hull, but was ultimately obliged to abandon the siege (October 11). Hotham was no longer governor of this place. He and his son, being detected in a conspiracy to deliver it to Newcastle, were arrested and sent prisoners to London, where, without any regard to their former services, they were executed two years after.

§ 4. While these military enterprises were carried on with vigour in England, and the event became every day more doubtful, both parties cast their eye towards the neighbouring kingdoms. The parliament had recourse to Scotland, the king to Ireland. The Scots beheld with the utmost impatience a scene of action of which they could not deem themselves indifferent spectators. The struggle in England was the topic of every conversation among them; and the famous curse of Meroz, that curse so solemnly denounced and reiterated against neutrality and moderation, resounded from all quarters. Charles having refused to assemble a Scottish parliament, the conservators of the peace, an office newly erected in Scotland, resolved to summon, in the king's name, but by their own authority, a convention of estates, an assembly which, though it meets with less solemnity, has the same authority as a parliament in raising money and levying forces. The English parliament, which had at that time fallen into great disgrace by the progress of the royal arms, gladly sent to Edinburgh commissioners with ample powers to treat for a nearer union and confederacy with the Scottish nation. In this negotiation the man chiefly trusted was Vane, who in eloquence, address, capacity, as well as in art and dissimulation, was not surpassed by any one, even during that age so famous for active talents. By his persuasion was framed at Edinburgh that SOLEMN LEAGUE AND COVENANT, which effaced all former protestations and vows taken in both kingdoms, and long maintained its credit and authority. In this Covenant the subscribers, besides engaging mutually to defend one another against all opponents, bound themselves to endeavour, without respect of persons, to extirpate popery and prelacy, superstition, heresy, schism, and profaneness to maintain the rights and privileges of parliaments, together with the king's authority; and to discover and bring to justice all incendiaries and malignants. The Scotch had thus obtained what they had long been aiming at—the establishment of presbyterianism as the dominant religion in the united kingdoms, and the extirpation by authority of episcopacy; thus imitating the conduct of the king and Laud, in denunciation of which they had only two years before risen in rebellion. As the Scotch made the acceptance of presbyterianism the condition of their assistance, the commons made no scruple of violating the religious liberty of the nation. In place of

the old national convocation they summoned an assembly of divines, consisting of those who were earnest supporters of presbyterian tenets, or supposed to be strongly inclined to them. But, unlike the former convocations of the clergy, each of these members received from the parliament an allowance of four shillings a day. The English parliament, having first subscribed the Covenant themselves, ordered it to be received by all who lived under their authority (September 25). They expelled from their preferments the whole body of the episcopal clergy, and bestowed them on their own partisans among the presbyterians. The Scots, having received 100,000*l.* from England, were now prepared to carry conviction by the sword. Having added to their other forces the troops which they had recalled from Ireland, they were ready about the end of the year to enter England, under the command of their old general, the earl of Leven, with an army of more than 20,000 men.

The king, foreseeing this tempest which was gathering upon him, cast his eye towards Ireland. The army in that country, by reinforcements from England and Scotland, now amounted to 50,000 men. The lords justices and council of Ireland had been engaged, chiefly by the interest and authority of Ormond, the commander-in-chief, to support the king's cause; and a committee of the English House of Commons, which had been sent to Ireland in order to conduct the affairs of that kingdom, had been excluded from the council. Ormond now sent over to England considerable bodies of troops, most of which continued in the king's service; but a small part, having imbibed in Ireland a strong animosity against the catholics, and hearing the king's party universally reproached with popery, soon after deserted to the parliament.

§ 5. That he might make preparations during winter for the ensuing campaign, Charles summoned to Oxford all the members of either house who adhered to his interests; and endeavoured to avail himself of the name of parliament, so passionately cherished by the English nation (January 22, 1644). The House of Peers contained twice as many members as that which sat at Westminster; the House of Commons counted no more than 118 members. The parliament at Westminster having voted an *excise* on beer, wine, and other commodities, those at Oxford imitated the example, and conferred that revenue on the king. This impost had been hitherto unknown in England. This winter died Pym, a man as much hated by one party as respected by the other. He had been so little studious of improving his private fortune in those civil wars of which he had been a principal author, that the parliament thought themselves obliged to pay his debts.

The military operations were carried on with vigour in several places, notwithstanding the severity of the season. The forces brought from Ireland were landed at Mostyn, in North Wales, and reduced Cheshire; but Fairfax, by an unexpected attack, defeated and captured a great part of them at Nantwich (January 25), and the parliamentary interests revived in those north-western counties of England. The invasion from Scotland was attended with consequences of much greater importance. The marquis of Newcastle at first succeeded in keeping the Scots at bay; but sir Thomas Fairfax, returning from Cheshire with his victorious forces, routed colonel Bellasis and a considerable body of troops at Selby, in Yorkshire. Afraid of being enclosed between two armies, Newcastle, the commander of the royal forces in the north, retreated; and Leven having joined Fairfax, they sat down before York, to which the army of the royalists had retired. On the whole, the winter campaign proved unfavourable to the king in all quarters. At the approach of summer the earl of Manchester, having taken Lincoln, united his army to that of Leven and Fairfax; and York was now closely besieged by their combined forces. That city, though vigorously defended by Newcastle, was reduced to extremity, when on a sudden prince Rupert advanced to its relief with an army of 20,000 men (July 1). The Scottish and parliamentary generals raised the siege, and, drawing up on Marston Moor, purposed to give battle to the royalists. Prince Rupert approached the town by another quarter, and, interposing the river Ouse between him and the enemy, safely joined his forces to those of Newcastle. The marquis endeavoured to persuade him not to hazard an engagement; but the prince, having positive instructions from the king, immediately issued orders for battle, and led out the army to Marston Moor (July 2). Prince Rupert, who commanded the right wing of the royalists, was opposed to Cromwell, who conducted the choice troops of the parliament, inured to danger, animated by zeal, and confirmed by the most rigid discipline. After a sharp combat, the cavalry of the royalists gave way; and such of the infantry as stood next them were likewise borne down and put to flight. Newcastle's regiment alone, resolute to conquer or to perish, obstinately kept their ground, and maintained, by their dead bodies, the same order in which they had at first been ranged. Lucas, who commanded the royalists on the other wing, made a furious attack on the parliamentary cavalry, threw them into disorder, pushed them upon their own infantry, and put that whole wing to the rout. When ready to seize on their carriages and baggage, he perceived Cromwell, who was now returned from pursuit of the other wing. Both sides were not a little surprised to find that they

must again renew the combat for that victory which each of them thought they had already obtained. The front of the battle was now exactly counterchanged, and each army occupied the ground which had been possessed by the enemy at the beginning of the day. The second battle was equally furious and desperate with the first; but, after the utmost efforts of courage by both parties, victory wholly turned to the side of the parliament. The prince's train of artillery was taken, and his whole army driven off the field of battle.

This event was in itself a mighty blow to the king, but proved more fatal in its consequences. The marquis of Newcastle, either disgusted with the rejection of his advice, or despairing of the king's cause, went to Scarborough, where he found a vessel which carried him beyond sea. During the ensuing years, till the Restoration, he lived abroad in great necessity, and saw with indifference his opulent fortune sequestered by those who assumed the government of England. Prince Rupert, with equal precipitation, drew off the remains of his army, and retired into Lancashire. York surrendered a few days afterwards; and Fairfax, remaining in the city, established his government in that whole county. The town of Newcastle was taken by the Scottish army (October 29).

While these events passed in the north, the king's affairs in the south were conducted with more success and greater abilities. Ruthven, a Scotchman who had been created earl of Brentford, acted under the king as general. Waller was routed by the royalists at Cropredy Bridge, near Banbury (June 29), and was pursued with considerable loss. Disheartened with this blow, his army decayed and melted away by desertion; and the king thought he might safely leave it, and march westward against Essex. That general, having retreated into Cornwall, and being surrounded on all sides by the royalists, escaped in a boat to Plymouth. Balfour with his horse passed the king's outposts in a thick mist, and got safely to the garrisons of his own party; but the foot, under Skippon, were obliged to surrender their arms, artillery, baggage, and ammunition (September 2). The parliament, however, soon collected another army, which they placed under the command of the earl of Manchester, who fought an indecisive action with Charles at Newbury (October 27).

§ 6. During these operations, contests had arisen among the parliamentary generals, which were renewed in London during the winter season. There had long prevailed in the parliamentary party a distinction which now began to discover itself with bitter animosity. The INDEPENDENTS, who had at first taken shelter under the wings of the PRESBYTERIANS, now appeared as a distinct

party, and betrayed very different views and pretensions. Their numbers were greatly increased by the return of the more fiery spirits who had abandoned England during the supremacy of Laud. Many of these, coming back from New England, had carried the doctrines of puritanism to the very verge of extravagance. Thrown upon their own designs and resources on a foreign soil, and left to their own self-government, they brought back with them confirmed habits of independence, and inspired the party they embraced with similar sentiments. They rejected all ecclesiastical establishments, would admit of no spiritual government or pastors, and no interposition of the magistrate in religious concerns. According to their principles, each congregation, united voluntarily and by spiritual ties, composed within itself a separate church, and exercised its own jurisdiction. The political system of the Independents kept pace with their religious. They aspired to a total abolition of the monarchy, and even of the aristocracy; and projected an entire equality of rank and order in a republic quite free and independent. Hence they were declared enemies to all proposals for peace, except on such terms as they knew it was impossible to obtain; and they adhered to that maxim, which is in the main prudent and political, that whoever draws his sword against his sovereign should throw away the scabbard. Sir Harry Vane, Oliver Cromwell, Nathaniel Fiennes, and Oliver St. John, the solicitor-general, were regarded as their leaders. In the parliament a considerable majority, and a much greater in the nation, were attached to the presbyterian party; and it was only by cunning and deceit at first, and afterwards by military violence, that the Independents could entertain any hopes of success.

Cromwell, in the House of Commons, accused the earl of Manchester of having wilfully neglected at Donnington castle, after Charles's retreat from Newbury, a favourable opportunity of finishing the war, by refusing him permission to charge the king's army in their retreat. Manchester, by way of recrimination, informed the parliament that at another time, Cromwell having proposed some scheme to which it seemed improbable that parliament would agree, he insisted and said, "My lord, if you will stick to honest men, you shall find yourself at the head of an army which shall give law both to king and parliament." So full indeed was Cromwell of these republican projects, that, notwithstanding his habits of profound dissimulation, he could not so carefully guard his expressions but that sometimes his favourite notions would escape him. He was persuaded that the only mode of carrying them out was by remodelling the army, but how to effect this project was the difficulty. The authority as well as merits of Essex were very great with the

parliament. Manchester, Warwick, and the other commanders had likewise great credit with the public; nor were there any hopes of prevailing over them but by laying the plan of an oblique and artificial attack which would conceal the real purpose of their antagonists. Accordingly, at the instance of Cromwell, a committee was chosen to frame what was called the "Self-denying Ordinance," by which the members of both houses were excluded from all civil and military employments, except a few offices which were specified. After great debate it passed the House of Commons; the peers, though the scheme was in part levelled against their order, and though they even ventured once to reject it, durst not persevere in their opposition. The Ordinance therefore having passed both houses (April 3, 1645), Essex, Warwick, Manchester, Denbigh, Waller, Brereton, and many others, resigned their commands, and received the thanks of parliament for their good services. A pension of 10,000*l.* a year was settled on Essex.

It was agreed to recruit the army to 22,000 men, and sir Thomas Fairfax was appointed general. A change was made in his commission, which did not run, like that of Essex, in the name of the



Obverse of medal of sir Thomas Fairfax. GEN. & THO. FAIRFAX MILIT. PARLI. DVX. Bust to left.

king and parliament, but in that of the parliament alone; and the article concerning the safety of the king's person was omitted. Cromwell, being a member of the lower house, ought to have been discarded with the others; but he was sent into the west with a body of horse; and shortly afterwards, at the earnest entreaty of Fairfax, who represented his services as indispensable, his commission was renewed for a short period, and ultimately for the whole campaign. Thus the Independents, though the minority, prevailed over the Presbyterians, and bestowed the whole military authority, in appearance, upon Fairfax—in reality upon Cromwell.

Already a conference between the king and the parliament had been opened at Uxbridge (January 30, 1645). The subjects of

debate were the three important articles, *religion*, the *militia*, and *Ireland*; but it was soon found impracticable to come to any agreement with regard to any of them. In the summer of 1643 the Assembly at Westminster, consisting of 121 divines and 30 laymen, rejecting the Thirty-nine Articles, had drawn up others in their place. Instead of the liturgy they had established a new Directory for worship, by which, suitably to the spirit of the puritans, no form of prayer was prescribed to the minister. By the Solemn League and Covenant episcopacy was abjured as destructive of all true piety; and the king's commissioners were not therefore surprised to find the establishment of presbytery and the Directory positively demanded, together with the subscription of the Covenant both by the king and kingdom. But Charles, though willing to make some concessions, was not disposed to go to such lengths; and, as the parliament would abate nothing, the negotiations on this head fell to the ground. Still less could parties now in a state of open warfare agree upon a militia bill, by which the power of the sword must necessarily have been transferred to one of them.

§ 7. A little before the enactment of the Self-denying Ordinance, archbishop Laud was brought to the scaffold. From the time that Laud had been committed, the House of Commons, engaged in enterprises of greater moment, had found no leisure to finish his impeachment; but they now resolved to gratify their vengeance in the punishment of this prelate. He was accused of high treason in endeavouring to subvert the fundamental laws, and of other high crimes and misdemeanours. After a long trial, and the examination of above 150 witnesses, whose evidence, however, the commons had not heard, they found so little likelihood of obtaining a judicial sentence against him, that they had recourse to their legislative authority, and passed an ordinance for taking away the life of this aged prelate, on the *ex parte* statement of their own advocate. Notwithstanding the low condition into which the House of Peers had fallen, there appeared some intention of rejecting this ordinance; and the popular leaders were again obliged to apply to the multitude, and to extinguish, by threats of new tumults, the small remains of liberty possessed by the upper house. Seven peers alone voted in this important question; the rest, either from shame or fear, took care to absent themselves. Laud, who had behaved during his trial with the spirit and vigour of genius, sunk not under the horrors of his execution; but, though he had usually professed himself apprehensive of a violent death, he found all his fears to be dissipated before that superior courage by which he was animated. "No one," said he, "can be more willing to send me out of life than I am desirous to go." He quietly laid his head on the block, and it was

severed from the body at one blow (January 10, 1645). Sincere he undoubtedly was, and, however misguided, actuated by pious motives in all his pursuits; and it is to be regretted that he had not entertained more enlarged views, and embraced principles more favourable to the general happiness of society.

§ 8. While the king's affairs declined in England, the numerous victories of the earl of Montrose in Scotland seemed to promise him a more prosperous issue of the quarrel. That young nobleman had entirely devoted himself to the king's service, and with the aid of a few adherents, and a small body of troops brought over from Ireland, achieved on a small scale a series of brilliant victories over the Covenanters in the north of Scotland. Meanwhile in England, Fairfax, or, more properly speaking, Cromwell, under his name, introduced at last the *New Model* into the army. From the same men new regiments and new companies were formed, different officers appointed, and the whole military force put into such hands as the Independents could rely on. At the same time a new and more exact discipline was introduced. Never surely was a more singular army assembled. To the greater number of the regiments chaplains were not appointed; the officers assumed the spiritual duty, and united it with their military functions. The private soldiers, seized with the same spirit, employed their vacant hours in prayer, in perusing the Holy Scriptures, and in spiritual conferences, where they compared the progress of their souls in grace, and mutually stimulated each other to further advances in the great work of their salvation. When they were marching to battle, the whole field resounded as well with psalms and spiritual songs, adapted to the occasion, as with the instruments of military music; and every man endeavoured to drown the sense of present danger in the prospect of that crown of glory which was set before him. The forces assembled by the king at Oxford, in the west, and in other places, were equal, if not superior, in number to their adversaries, but actuated by a very different spirit. That licence which had been introduced by want of pay had risen to a great height among them, and rendered them more formidable to their friends than to their enemies.

The English campaign of 1645 opened with some advantage to the royalists. In the west, the parliamentarians under Welden succeeded in relieving Taunton, but were afterwards shut up in that place by Granville. Further north the king in person gained more distinguished successes. After compelling the army of the parliament to raise the siege of Chester (May 15), he assaulted and took Leicester on his march back to Oxford. Meanwhile, Oxford, exposed by the king's absence, had been invested by

Fairfax ; but, alarmed at Charles's success, Fairfax abandoned the siege, and marched towards the king with an intention of offering him battle. The king was advancing towards Oxford in order to raise the siege, which he apprehended was now begun ; and both armies, ere they were aware, had advanced within six miles of each other. The boiling ardour of prince Rupert brought on an engagement ; and at Naseby, near Market Harborough, in Northamptonshire, was fought, with forces nearly equal, a decisive and well-disputed action between the king and the parliament (June 14). The main body of the royalists was commanded by the king himself, who displayed all the conduct of a prudent general and all the valour of a stout soldier. The battle was lost chiefly through a mistake of prince Rupert, who, having routed the enemy's left wing under Ireton, was so inconsiderate as to lose time in summoning and attacking the artillery of the enemy, which had been left with a good guard of infantry. In the interval the royalists were hard pressed by the valour and conduct of Fairfax and Cromwell ; and when Rupert rejoined the king he found the infantry totally discomfited. Charles exhorted this body of cavalry not to despair, and cried aloud to them, "One charge more, and we recover the day." But the disadvantages under which they laboured were too evident, and they could by no means be induced to renew the combat. Charles was obliged to quit the field, and leave the victory to the enemy. The parliament lost 1000 men ; Charles not above 800 ; but Fairfax made 500 officers prisoners, and 4000 private men, took all the king's artillery and ammunition, and totally dissipated his infantry : so that scarcely any victory could be more complete than that which he obtained. Among the spoils was seized the king's cabinet, with the copies of his letters to the queen, which were afterwards garbled and published by parliament.

After the battle, the king retreated with that body of horse which remained entire, first to Hereford, then to Abergavenny ; and remained some time in Wales, in the vain hope of raising a body of infantry in those harassed and exhausted quarters. In the beginning of the campaign he had sent the prince of Wales, then 15 years of age, to the west, with the title of general ; and had given orders that if he were pressed by the enemy, he should make his escape into a foreign country, and save one part of the royal family from the violence of the parliament. Prince Rupert had thrown himself into Bristol, with an intention of defending that important city ; whilst Goring was besieging Taunton. Thither Fairfax directed his march, on whose approach the royalists raised the siege, and retired to Langport, an open town in the county of Somerset. Fairfax, having beaten them from this post, and taken

successively Bridgewater, Bath, and Sherborne, laid siege to Bristol. Much was expected from the reputation of prince Rupert, but a poorer defence was not made by any town during the whole war. No sooner had the parliamentary forces entered the lines by storm than the prince capitulated, and surrendered the city to Fairfax (September 11). Charles, who was forming schemes and collecting forces for the relief of Bristol, was astonished at so unexpected an event, which was little less fatal to his cause than the defeat at Naseby. Full of indignation, he instantly recalled all prince Rupert's commissions, and sent him a pass to go beyond sea.

The king's affairs were now fast falling to ruin in all quarters. The Scots, having made themselves masters of Carlisle after an obstinate siege, marched southwards and laid siege to Hereford, but were obliged to raise it on the king's approach; and this was the last glimpse of success which attended his arms. Having marched to the relief of Chester, which was anew besieged by the parliamentary forces, he was defeated, with the loss of 600 slain and 1000 prisoners (September 24). The king, with the remains of his broken army, fled to Newark, and thence escaped to Oxford, where he shut himself up during the winter season (November 5). Before the expiration of the winter Fairfax reduced all the west, and completely dispersed the king's army in that quarter; while Cromwell brought all the midland counties of England to obedience under the parliament. The prince of Wales, in pursuance of the king's orders, retired to Scilly, and thence to Jersey, whence he joined the queen at Paris. News too arrived, that Montrose himself, after some more successes, had been at last routed by a superior force, under David Leslie, at Philiphaugh, near Selkirk (September 13). Montrose escaped, but the prisoners were butchered in cold blood; and some of the women, who were taken several days after the battle, were drowned by the direction of the presbyterian ministers. The only remaining hope of the royal party was now finally extinguished.

§ 9. The condition of the king during this whole winter was to the last degree disastrous and melancholy. The parliament designed not to make the least reply to several of his messages, in which he desired a passport for commissioners to treat of peace. At last, after reproaching him with the blood spilt during the war, they told him that they were preparing bills for him, and his passing them would be the best pledge of his inclination towards peace: in other words, he must yield at discretion. He desired a personal treaty, and offered to come to London, upon receiving a safe conduct for himself and his attendants: they absolutely refused him admittance, and issued orders for the guarding, that is the seizing,

of his person, in case he should attempt to visit them. A new incident which happened in Ireland served to inflame the minds of men. The king, being desirous of concluding a final peace with the Irish rebels and obtaining their assistance in England, authorized Ormond, the lord-lieutenant, to promise them an abrogation of all the penal laws enacted against catholics; but as the Irish might probably demand further concessions than could be openly granted them, the king gave private orders to Edward Somerset, earl of Glamorgan (1643), to levy men and to coin money, and employ the revenues of the crown for their support; and engaged to ratify any treaty he might make, on condition it was first communicated to Ormond. Neglecting these conditions, Glamorgan, a zealous catholic, concluded a peace with the rebels; and agreed, in the king's name, that they should enjoy all the churches of which they had ever been in possession since the commencement of their insurrection, on condition that they should assist the king in England with a body of 10,000 men. The articles of the treaty were found among the baggage of the titular archbishop of Tuam, who was killed by a sally of the garrison of Sligo, and were immediately published by parliament. The discovery tended much to render abortive the king's negotiations for an accommodation.

The king seemed to be now threatened with immediate destruction. Fairfax was approaching with a powerful and victorious army, and was taking the proper measures for laying siege to Oxford, which must infallibly fall into his hands. In this desperate extremity Charles began to entertain thoughts of leaving Oxford, and flying to the Scottish army, which at that time lay before Newark. He considered that the Scottish nation had been fully gratified in all their demands, and had no further concessions to exact from him; whilst, on the other hand, they were disgusted with the English parliament. The progress of the Independents gave them great alarm, and they were scandalized to hear their beloved Covenant spoken of every day with less regard and reverence. The king hoped, too, that in their present disposition the sight of their native prince flying to them in this extremity of distress would rouse some spark of generosity in their bosoms, and procure him their favour and protection. With these views he left Oxford in the night of April 26, 1646, accompanied by none but Dr. Hudson and Mr. Ashburnham, and went out at that gate which leads to London. He rode before a portmanteau, calling himself Ashburnham's servant, and arrived at the Scottish camp before Newark (May 5). The Scotch general and commissioners affected great surprise on the appearance of the king; and, though they paid him all the exterior respect due to his dignity, they in-

stantly set a guard upon him, under colour of protection, and made him in reality a prisoner. They informed the English parliament of this unexpected incident, and assured them that they had entered into no private treaty with the king (though they had, in fact, been negotiating with him through the French ambassador). Hearing that the parliament laid claim to the disposal of his person, they thought proper to retire northwards, and to fix their camp at Newcastle. Charles had little reason to be pleased with his situation. The Scots required him to issue orders to Oxford and all his other garrisons, commanding their surrender to the parliament; and, sensible that resistance was to very little purpose, he immediately complied. Ormond, having received like orders, delivered Dublin and other forts into the hands of the parliamentary officers.

The parliament and the Scots laid their proposals before the king, which were a little worse than what were insisted on before the battle of Naseby. The power of the sword, instead of 10 years, which the king now offered, was demanded for 20, together with a right to levy whatever money the parliament should think proper for the support of their armies. The other conditions were, in the main, the same with those which had formerly been offered to the king, and he was peremptorily required to give his consent or refusal in 10 days. The parliament now entered into negotiations with the Scots. The Scotch commissioners resolved to keep the king as a pledge for those arrears which they claimed from England. After many discussions it was at last agreed that, in lieu of all demands, they should accept of 400,000*l.*, one-half to be paid instantly, another in two subsequent payments. Great pains were taken by the Scots (and the English complied with their pretended delicacy) to make this estimation and payment of arrears appear a quite different transaction from that for the delivery of the king's person, but common sense requires that they should be regarded as one and the same. Thus the Scottish nation incurred the obloquy of selling their king and betraying their prince for money.

The king, delivered by the Scots to the English commissioners (January 30, 1647), was conducted under a strong guard to Holmby, in Northamptonshire. On his journey the whole country flocked to behold him, moved partly by curiosity, partly by compassion and affection.* The commissioners rendered his confinement at Holmby

* The people were convinced that though the king had been defeated, and had made "a long and bloody war," says the grim republican, Ludlow, "yet certainly he must be in the right . . . in a condition to give pardon, and not in need of receiving any; which made them flock

from all parts to see him, as he was brought from Newcastle to Holmby, falling down before him, bringing their sick to be touched by him, and courting him as only able to restore to them their peace and settlement."—*Memoirs*, p. 72.

very rigorous, dismissing his ancient servants, and cutting off all communication with his friends or family. The parliament, though earnestly applied to by the king, refused to allow his chaplains to attend him, because they had not taken the Covenant. During the time that the king remained in the Scottish army at Newcastle, died the earl of Essex, the discarded but still powerful and popular general of the parliament. The presbyterian or the moderate party among the commons found themselves considerably weakened by his death, and the small remains of authority which still adhered to the House of Peers were in a manner wholly extinguished.

§ 10. The dominion of the parliament was of short duration. No sooner had they subdued their sovereign, than their own servants rose against them and tumbled them from their slippery throne. They had rejected the king only to find a more imperious master. Soon after the retreat of the Scots, the presbyterians, seeing everything reduced to obedience, began to talk of diminishing the army; and, on pretence of easing the public burdens, they levelled a deadly blow at the opposite faction. They purposed to embark a strong detachment for the service of Ireland, and they openly declared their intention of making a great reduction of the remainder (March). Considerable arrears were due to the army; many of the private men, as well as officers, had nearly a twelvemonth's pay still owing them; and, as no plan was pointed out by the commons for the payment of arrears, the soldiers dreaded that, after they should be disbanded or embarked for Ireland (a most unpopular service), their enemies, who predominated in the two houses, would entirely defraud them of their right, and oppress them with impunity. On this ground or pretence did the first commotions begin in the army. Combinations were formed, and petitions handed about; and few could be found to enlist for Ireland. Their petition to the parliament bore a very imperious air: in a word, they felt their power, and resolved to be masters. The expedient which the parliament now made use of was the worst imaginable. They sent Skippon, Cromwell, Ireton, and Fleetwood to the head-quarters at Saffron Walden, in Essex; and empowered them to make offers to the army, and inquire into the cause of its *distempers*. These very generals, at least the last three, were suspected of secretly fomenting the disorders they pretended to appease. By their suggestion, a council of the principal officers was appointed after the model of the House of Peers, and a freer representation of the lower ranks was composed by the election of two private men or petty officers, under the title of *adjutators*, afterwards called agitators, from each troop or company. This terrible court, when assembled, having first declared that they found

no *distempers* in the army, but many *grievances* under which it laboured, voted the offers of the parliament unsatisfactory; and they presently struck a blow which at once decided the victory in their favour. A party of 400 horse appeared at Holmby, conducted by one Joyce, who had once been a tailor by profession, but was now advanced to the rank of cornet, and was an active agitator in the army (June 4). Joyce, armed with pistols, demanded to be instantly admitted into the king's presence. Charles appointed him the next morning. On acquainting the king with his commands for the king's removal, Charles desired the commissioners might be sent for. Joyce replied they were to return to parliament. Then the king said, "Give me a sight of your instructions." "That," said Joyce, "you shall see presently;" and drawing up his troop into the inner court, as near as he could to the king, "These, sir," said he, "are my instructions." Finding them proper men, well mounted and armed, Charles added, with a smile, that his instructions were in fair characters, and legible without spelling. He was conducted to the army, who were hastening to their rendezvous at Triplow Heath, near Cambridge. The parliament were thrown into the utmost consternation. Fairfax himself, to whom this bold measure had never been communicated, was no less surprised at the king's arrival. The parliamentary leaders, having discovered that the most active officers and agitators were entirely Cromwell's creatures, secretly resolved that next day, when he should come to the house, an accusation should be entered against him, and he should be sent to the Tower. Informed of this design, Cromwell hastened to the camp, where he was received with acclamation. Without further deliberation, he advanced the army upon the parliament, and arrived in a few days at St. Albans. But London still retained a strong attachment to presbyterianism; and its militia, which had by a late ordinance been put into hands in which the parliament could entirely confide, was now called out, and commanded to guard the lines which had been drawn round the city in order to secure it against the king. On further reflection, however, it was thought more prudent to submit (June 25). The declaration by which the military petitioners had been voted public enemies was crased from the journal-book. This was the first symptom which the parliament gave of submission, and the army rose every day in their demands. Having obtained the sequestration of eleven of the chief presbyterian members, the army, in order to save appearances, removed, at the desire of the parliament, to a greater distance from London, and fixed their headquarters at Reading. They carried the king along with them in all their marches, who now found himself in a better situation than at Holmby. All his friends had access to his presence. his corre-

spondence with the queen was not interrupted ; his chaplains were restored to him, and he was allowed the use of the liturgy. Cromwell, as well as the leaders of all parties, paid court to him ; and fortune, notwithstanding his calamities, seemed once again to smile on him.

§ 11. The impatience of the Londoners brought matters to a crisis between the parliament and army. At the instance of the latter the parliament had voted that the militia of London should be changed, the presbyterian commissioners displaced, and the command restored to those who had constantly exercised it, during the course of the war. A petition against this alteration was carried to Westminster, attended by the apprentices and a seditious multitude, who besieged the door of the commons. By their clamour, noise, and violence, they obliged the house to reverse the vote which they had passed so lately. No sooner was intelligence of this tumult conveyed to Reading than the army was put in motion, to vindicate, as they said, the invaded privileges of parliament, against the seditious citizens. In their way to London they were drawn up on Hounslow Heath—a formidable body 20,000 strong, and determined to pursue whatever measures their generals should dictate to them. Here the most favourable event happened to quicken and encourage their advance. The speakers of the two houses, Manchester and Lenthall, attended by eight peers and about 60 commoners, having secretly retired from the city, presented themselves, with their maces and all the ensigns of their dignity, and, complaining of the violence put upon them, applied to the army for defence and protection. They were received with shouts and acclamations ; respect was paid to them as to the parliament of England ; and the army, being provided with so plausible a pretence, advanced to chastise the rebellious city, and to reinstate the violated parliament. Without experiencing the least resistance, the army marched in triumph through the city, but preserved the greatest order, decency, and appearance of humility (August 6). They conducted to Westminster the two speakers, who took their seats as if nothing had happened. The eleven sequestered members were expelled ; seven peers were impeached ; the mayor, one sheriff, and three aldermen sent to the Tower ; several citizens and officers of the militia committed to prison ; every deed of the parliament was annulled, from the day of the tumult till the return of the speakers. The lines about the city were levelled ; the militia restored to the independents ; and, the parliament being reduced to servitude, a day of solemn thanksgiving was appointed for the restoration of its liberty.

The leaders of the army, having established their dominion over

the parliament and the city, ventured to bring the king to Hampton Court (August); and he lived for some time in that palace with an appearance of dignity and freedom. He entertained hopes that his negotiations with the generals would be crowned with success. Some think that Cromwell and Ireton desired to save the king, and submitted to him certain propositions for that purpose; but whether honestly or otherwise, it is impossible to determine. Probably at the outset Cromwell was swayed by purer motives; but a man of such great sagacity and penetration was not self-deceived, like many of his associates, though he may have assisted in their deception. Without being conscious of intentional insincerity, he must have found that power was more easily obtained by falling in with the prevalent humour of the times. If he outdid his contemporaries in military skill, in personal dash and valour, in political insight, he was quite resolved that none of his captains or his rivals for favour—and he had many—should ravish from him the advantages these qualities secured him; by pretending to a greater amount of religious inspiration or enthusiasm. He was as powerful in prayer as Nye, as fervid in preaching as Baxter or Owen. If Charles in his misfortunes found it needful to dissemble, he did not possess a monopoly of that accomplishment. Though, then, Cromwell ruled the army, his power depended on the skill and ability with which he ruled it; by adapting himself to the varying passions of the moment.

The army had become the receptacle of all the discontented, violent, and ambitious spirits of the time. In proportion as its success became more obvious, every adventurer that joined it perceived that his hopes of advancement and popularity were proportioned to the excess of his religious pretensions. At this time, a body of men, called *Levellers*, whose tenets are implied by their name, had obtained paramount influence. They advocated a republic of the wildest kind; they scorned any government in church or state, except it were the kingdom of Christ Jesus, which, like Vane, the most eminent of their leaders, they considered incompatible with the existence of any human form of government whatever. They spoke of the king as Ahab, and made no secret of requiring that his blood should be shed. It was impossible that such a set of men could acquiesce in any form of monarchy, even of the most restricted kind; or consent to replace the sceptre in the hand of Charles, even if Cromwell or Ireton had seriously proposed it. Nor can it be imagined that either of them, with their knowledge of such tendencies in their most enthusiastic and devoted adherents, ever really intended to restore the king. Charles, at least, did not think so, and if he temporized, it was necessary

for his personal safety. Persuaded that his life was in danger, the king secretly and suddenly left Hampton Court, attended only by three persons (November 12). His escape was not discovered till nearly an hour after, when those who entered his chamber found on the table some letters directed to the parliament, to the general, and to the officer who had attended him. Charles travelled all night through the forest, and arrived next day at Titchfield, a seat of the earl of Southampton's, where the countess-dowager resided, a woman of honour to whom the king knew he might safely intrust his person. As the ship he expected was not ready, he crossed the sea on the 13th, and took refuge with colonel Hammond, the governor of the Isle of Wight, who was nephew to doctor Hammond, the king's favourite chaplain. By Hammond he was conducted to Carisbrooke Castle, where, though received with great demonstrations of respect and duty, he was in reality a prisoner.

§ 12. Entirely master of the parliament and of the king, Cromwell now applied himself seriously to quell those disorders in the army which he himself had so artfully raised. To wean the soldiers from the licentious maxims of the *Levellers*, he issued orders for discontinuing the meetings of the agitators. But though he took efficient means to reduce them to obedience, he soon found that he himself fell under suspicion with the army, and he proceeded to make his peace with them. Accordingly, at the suggestion of Ireton, he secretly called, at Windsor, a council of the chief officers, in order to deliberate concerning the settlement of the nation, and the future disposal of the king's person.* In this conference, which commenced with devout prayers, poured forth by Cromwell himself and the other officers, the daring counsel was first opened of bringing the king to trial. Charles, by a message sent from Carisbrooke Castle, had offered the parliament to resign, during his own life, the power of the militia and the nomination to all the great offices, provided that, after his demise, these prerogatives should revert to the crown. Coerced by the independents and the army, parliament neglected this offer, and framed four proposals, which they sent to the king as preliminaries (December 24): 1. to invest the parliament with the military power for 20 years; 2. to recall all his proclamations and declarations against the parliament; 3. to annul all the acts, and void all patents of peerage, which had passed the great seal since it had been carried from London by lord-keeper Littleton, and renounce for the future the power of making peers without the consent of parliament; 4. to give the two houses power to adjourn as they thought proper. The king having refused these proposals, upon an offer of less

* Clarendon V 514.

onerous conditions from the Scots (December 28), it was voted by the parliament that no more addresses should be made to him, nor any letters or messages received from him; and that it should be treason for any one, without leave of the two houses, to hold any intercourse with him (January 3, 1648). By this vote of non-addresses (as it was called) the king was in reality dethroned, and the whole constitution formally overthrown; and it having been discovered that the king had attempted to escape from Carisbrooke Castle, Hammond, by orders from the army, removed all his servants, cut off his correspondence with his friends, and shut him up in close confinement.

§ 13. The Scots had been much displeased with the proceedings adopted towards the king, as well as with the contempt which the independents displayed for the Covenant, which was derisively called in the House of Commons "an almanack out of date." They sent commissioners to London to protest against the four propositions that had been offered to the king; and when they accompanied the English commissioners to the Isle of Wight, they secretly formed a treaty with the king, called *The Engagement*, for arming Scotland in his favour. The duke of Hamilton obtained a vote from the Scottish parliament to arm 40,000 men in the king's support, and to call over a considerable body under Monro, who commanded the Scottish forces in Ulster; and though he openly protested that the Covenant was the foundation of all his measures, he secretly entered into correspondence with the English royalists, sir Marmaduke Langdale and sir Philip Musgrave, who had levied considerable forces in the north of England. While the Scots were making preparations for the invasion of England, every part of that kingdom was agitated with tumults, insurrections, and conspiracies. The general spirit of discontent had seized the fleet. Six ships, lying in the mouth of the river, declared for the king; and putting their admiral ashore, sailed over to Holland, where the prince of Wales took the command of them (July, 1648).

Cromwell and the military council prepared themselves with vigour for defence, and the revolts which had broken out in various parts of England were soon either checked or subdued. A new fleet was manned and sent out, under the command of Warwick, to oppose the revolted ships. But while the forces were employed in all quarters, the parliament regained its liberty, and the presbyterian party recovered the ascendancy which it had formerly lost. The vote of non-addresses was repealed; and five peers and ten commoners were sent as commissioners to Newport, in the Isle of Wight, in order to treat with the king (September 18). When Charles presented himself to this company, a great and sensible

alteration was remarked in his aspect. The moment his servants had been removed, he had allowed his beard and hair to grow, and to hang dishevelled and neglected. His hair was become almost entirely grey; and his friends, perhaps even his enemies, beheld with compassion that "grey and discrowned head," as he himself terms it in a copy of verses, which the truth of the sentiment, more than any elegance of expression, renders very pathetic. In these negotiations, which continued from September 18 to November 27, the king agreed to most of the political conditions proposed; but he declined to take the Covenant or force it upon others, to abolish episcopacy, and to alienate in perpetuity the endowments of the church of England. Dissatisfied with what the parliament had done and were doing, the army carried off the king from Newport, and lodged him in Hurst Castle (November 30).

Hamilton, having entered England with a numerous though undisciplined army, durst not unite his forces with those of Langdale, because the English royalists had refused to take the Covenant; and the Scottish presbyterians, though engaged for the king, refused to join them on any other terms. Cromwell, though his forces were not half so numerous as those of the allies, attacked Langdale by surprise, near Preston, in Lancashire (August 17). Hamilton was next attacked, put to the rout, and pursued to Uttoxeter, where he surrendered himself prisoner (August 20). Cromwell followed his advantage; and, marching into Scotland with a considerable body, joined Argyle, who was also in arms; and having suppressed the moderate presbyterians, he placed the power entirely in the hands of the violent party. The ecclesiastical authority, exalted above the civil, exercised the severest vengeance on all who had a share in Hamilton's engagement, as it was called. Never in this island was known a more severe and arbitrary government than was generally exercised by the patrons of liberty in both kingdoms. The capture of Colchester by Fairfax (August 27), and the barbarous execution of sir Charles Lucas and sir George Lisle, who had bravely defended it, terminated the last struggle for the king.

§ 14. The catastrophe was now approaching. A remonstrance was drawn by the council of general officers, and sent to the parliament. They complained of the treaty with the king, demanded that he should be "proceeded against in the way of justice" for the blood spilt during the war, and required a dissolution of the present parliament. The foremost men in this measure were colonel Ludlow and Ireton. Fairfax disapproved of it, but had not the spirit to oppose it (November 30). The parliament lost not courage, notwithstanding the danger with which they were menaced. Holles, the present leader of the presbyterians, was

a man of unconquerable intrepidity, and was seconded by many others. It was proposed by them that the generals and principal officers should, for their disobedience and usurpations, be proclaimed traitors by the parliament. But the parliament was dealing with men who were not to be frightened by words, or retarded by any scrupulous delicacy. The generals, under the name of Fairfax (for he still allowed them to employ his name), marched the army to London, and surrounded the parliament with soldiers. The parliament, nevertheless, proceeded to close their treaty with the king; and after a violent debate of three days, it was carried, by a majority of 129 against 83, in the House of Commons, that the king's concessions were a sufficient foundation for the houses to proceed upon in the settlement of the kingdom. Next day (December 6), when the commons were to meet, colonel Pride, formerly a drayman, had environed the house with two regiments; and directed by lord Grey of Groby, he seized in the passage 47 members of the presbyterian party, and sent them to a low room which passed by the appellation of *hell*, whence they were afterwards carried to several inns. Ninety-six members were excluded; none were allowed to enter but the most determined of the independents, and these exceeded not the number of 50; "and thus, when the two parts of the house were ejected and imprisoned, this third part, composed of the Vanists, the independents, and other sects, with the democratical party, was left by Cromwell to do his business under the name of the parliament of England." Cromwell returned from Scotland to London the day after, and installed himself at Whitehall. The *Rump*, as it was called, instantly reversed the former proceedings of the house, and declared the king's concessions unsatisfactory. They renewed their former vote of non-addresses, and committed several presbyterians to prison (December 13).

These sudden and violent revolutions held the whole nation in terror and astonishment. To quiet the minds of men, the generals, in the name of the army, published a declaration in which they expressed their resolution of supporting law and justice; and the council of officers took into consideration a scheme called *the agreement of the people*, being the plan of a republic, to be substituted in the place of that government which they had so violently pulled in pieces. To effect this, nothing remained but the public trial and execution of the king. Having ordered a day of humiliation (December 22), on which Hugh Peters preached, the commons next day resolved to proceed capitally against the king; and on January 2 they sent up their vote to the lords, declaring it treason in a king to levy war against his parliament, and appointing a HIGH COURT OF JUSTICE to try Charles for this newly invented crime. The

House of Peers, which assembled to the number of 12, without one dissenting voice, and almost without deliberation, rejected the vote of the lower house, and adjourned for ten days, hoping that this delay would be able to retard the furious career of the commons; but the commons were not to be stopped by so small an obstacle. After they had declared *that the people are the origin of all just power*, that the commons of England are the supreme authority of the nation, and that whatever is enacted by them hath the force of law, without the consent of king or House of Peers (January 4), the ordinance for the trial of Charles Stuart, king of England (so they called him), was again read and unanimously assented to (January 6). During the proceedings, colonel Harrison, the most furious enthusiast in the army, had been sent with a strong party to conduct the king to London. He was brought to Windsor Castle (December 23). From thence he was transferred to St. James's, and finally to Whitehall (January 19, 1649).

Next day the high court of justice assembled in Westminster Hall. It consisted of 133 persons, as named by the commons, but there scarcely ever sat above 70. Cromwell, Ireton, Harrison, and the chief officers of the army, were members, together with some of the lower house, and some citizens of London. The judges were at first appointed in the number; but, as they had affirmed that it was contrary to law to try the king for treason; their names, and those of certain peers, were struck out. Bradshaw, a lawyer, was chosen president. Cook was appointed solicitor for the people of England. In calling over the court, when the crier pronounced the name of Fairfax, which had been inserted in the number, a voice came from one of the spectators, "He has more wit than to be here." When the charge was read against the king, "In the name of the people of England," the same voice exclaimed, "Not a tenth part of them." Axtell, the officer who guarded the court, giving orders to fire into the box whence these insolent speeches came, it was discovered that lady Fairfax was there, and that it was she who had had the courage to utter them.

The pomp, the dignity, the ceremony of this transaction, corresponded to the greatest conception that is suggested in the annals of history. The solicitor, in the name of the commons, represented that Charles Stuart, being admitted king of England, and intrusted with a limited power, yet nevertheless, from a wicked design to erect an unlimited and tyrannical government, had traitorously and maliciously levied war against the present parliament, and the people whom they represented; and was therefore impeached as a tyrant, traitor, murderer, and a public and implacable enemy to the commonwealth. The king was then called on for his answer.

Though long detained a prisoner, and now produced as a criminal, Charles sustained, by his magnanimous courage, the majesty of a monarch. With great temper and dignity he declined to submit to the jurisdiction of the court. Three times was he produced before the court, and as often declined its jurisdiction. On the fourth (January 25), the judges examined some witnesses, by whom it was proved that the king had appeared in arms against the forces commissioned by the parliament. Charles then demanded a conference with the two houses. This was refused, and judgment was pronounced upon him (Saturday, January 27).

It is confessed that the king's behaviour during this last scene of his life did honour to his memory; and that in all appearances before his judges he never forgot his part, either as a prince or as a man. The soldiers, instigated by their superiors, were brought, though with difficulty, to cry aloud for justice. "Poor souls!" said the king to one of his attendants, "they would do as much against their commanders, were the occasion given." One of the soldiers, as the king passed, exclaimed, "God bless you, sir!" whereupon one of his officers struck him on the head with his cane. "The punishment, methinks," said the king, "exceeds the offence."

The Scots protested against the proceedings; the Dutch interceded in the king's behalf; the prince of Wales sent a blank sheet of paper, subscribed with his name and sealed with his arms, on which his father's judges might write what conditions they pleased as the price of his life. But all solicitations were found fruitless with men whose resolutions were remorseless and irrevocable.

§ 15. Two days were allowed the king between his sentence and his execution. This interval he passed with great tranquillity, chiefly in reading and devotion. All his family that remained in England were allowed access to him. It consisted only of the princess Elizabeth and of prince Henry, afterwards duke of Gloucester, for the duke of York had made his escape. The palace of Whitehall was destined for his execution, to which place Charles was brought *on foot* from St. James's like a common criminal. The scaffold was erected in front of the central window of the banqueting-hall; and when Charles stepped out upon the scaffold, through a passage broken in the wall, he found it so surrounded with soldiers that he could not expect to be heard by any of the people. He addressed therefore his discourse to the few persons who were about him; justified his own innocence in the late fatal wars, though he acknowledged the equity of his execution in the eye of his Maker; and observed that an unjust sentence, which he had suffered to take effect, was now punished by an unjust sentence upon himself. When he was preparing himself for the block, bishop Juxon, who

had been allowed to attend him, called to him, "There is but one stage more. This stage is turbulent indeed and troublesome, but very short, and which in an instant will lead you a most long way, from earth to heaven, where you shall find great joy and solace." "I go," replied the king, "from a corruptible to an incorruptible crown, where can be no trouble, none at all." "You shall exchange," said Juxon, "a temporal crown for an eternal one; it is a good change." The king then said unto the executioner, "Is my hair as it should be?" Whereupon he put off his cloak, and his George, which he gave to Juxon, saying, "Remember!" At two in the afternoon his head was severed by one blow from his body. A man in a vizor performed the office of executioner; another, in a like disguise, held up to the spectators the head streaming with blood, and cried aloud, "This is the head of a traitor!" (January 30, 1649).

A deep groan burst from the multitude. The crowd swayed hither and thither. Many with a desire of dipping their handkerchiefs in the blood that flowed from the scaffold, were trampled on and driven back by the soldiers. An incident is recorded, during the execution, which might have graced the pages of Livy. A flight of wild ducks, hovering over the scaffold, could not be driven off by the swords of the soldiers. When the king's head was severed from his body, one of the number suddenly swooped down, dipped its beak in the blood, and immediately disappeared with its companions.

Charles was of a comely presence; of a sweet, but melancholy, aspect. His face was regular, handsome, and well-complexioned; his body strong, healthy, and justly proportioned; and being of a middle stature, he was capable of enduring the greatest fatigues. He excelled in horsemanship and other exercises; and he possessed all the exterior as well as many of the essential qualities which form an accomplished prince. His greatest misfortune was a distrust of his own judgment, and a habit of deferring to others of inferior capacity to his own. This often made him waver and change his resolution, not unfrequently for the worse, but always with the disadvantage of disappointing those who advised him, and of appearing insincere. But dissimulation in one form or another was the common vice of the age, "which the extreme hypocrisy of many among his adversaries," as Hallam remarks, might palliate in his case and in the difficulties of his position, though it could not excuse. At his trial he was not allowed council or assistance of any kind, and his funeral was indecently hurried on from the dread of a popular reaction.

In a few days the commons passed votes to abolish the House of Peers and the monarchy as useless parts of the constitution, and

they ordered a new great seal to be engraved, on which their house was represented, with this legend—ON THE FIRST YEAR OF FREEDOM, BY GOD'S BLESSING, RESTORED, 1648. The forms of all public business were changed from the king's name to that of the keepers of the liberties of England. It was declared high treason to proclaim, or any otherwise acknowledge, Charles Stuart, commonly called prince of Wales. The duke of Hamilton, as earl of Cambridge in England, lord Capel, and the earl of Holland, were condemned and executed some weeks after.

NOTES AND ILLUSTRATIONS.

ICON BASILIKÉ.

Shortly after the execution of Charles I. appeared a work entitled "Icon Basiliké (ἰκὼν βασιλική, *kingly image*), or a Portraiture of His Sacred Majesty in his Solitude and Sufferings." It consists of meditations or soliloquies on the king's calamities, and was generally believed at the time to be the composition of Charles himself. It made a great impression on the public, met with a great sale, and in the middle of last century it was computed that 47 editions, or 48,500 copies, had been issued (Jos. Ames, in *London Magazine* for 1756). In 1649 Milton, who was commissioned by the parliament to answer it, treated it as a genuine work. Lord Anglesey left a memorandum in his handwriting that he was told in 1675, both by Charles II. and by the duke of York, that the work was not written by their father, but by Dr. Gauden. Burnet was assured by James, in 1673, that the book was Gauden's composition. Yet both of these princes authorized the book to be published as the king's in the editions of their father's works. In a letter to chancellor Hyde, January 21, 1660, Gauden claims the authorship, and says he sent it to the king, who adopted it as his own. Clarendon, *late Papers*, iii. Sup. xxix. On the other hand the most important evidence is that of sir Thomas Herbert, who closely attended the king throughout his troubles.

"At this time it was (as is presumed) he composed his book, called *Suspiria Regalia*, published soon after his death, and entitled *The King's Pourtraicture in his Solitude*, etc., which MS. Mr. Herbert found amongst those books his Majesty was pleased to give him, those excepted which he bequeathed to his children. . . . In regard Mr. Herbert, though he did not see the king write that book, his Majesty being always private when he writ, yet comparing it with his handwriting in other things [he] found it so v. y. like, as induces his belief that it was his (the king's) own handwriting." Herbert's *Memoirs*, from which this extract is taken, appeared in 1678, 18 years after the publication of the "Icon Basiliké;" and if it had been written by Gauden, or a surreptitious copy been palmed upon the world, it is scarcely likely that Herbert, so faithful to his master's memory, would have omitted all notice of these circumstances. The probable solution is that Charles adopted and modified Gauden's MS. Evidences from style are worth little. Hallam thinks the book unworthy of the king, and attributes it from likeness of style to Gauden. Burnet thinks "that no man, from a likeness of style, would think him (Gauden) capable of writing so extraordinary a book." Dr. C. Wordsworth claims the authorship for king Charles. On the other side, see Hallam's *Constitutional History*, ii. 230.



Pattern for a crown of the protector Oliver Cromwell. Obv.: OLIVAR. D. G. R. P. ARG. SCO. HIS Æ PRO. Bust of protector to left. Rev.: FAX. QVÆRITVR. BELLO. Crowned shield with arms of England, Scotland, and Ireland, and the coat of Cromwell in an escutcheon of pretence: above, 1658.

CHAPTER XXIII.

THE COMMONWEALTH. 1649-1660.

§ 1. State of England, Scotland, and Ireland. § 2. Cromwell's campaign in Ireland. § 3. Charles II. in Scotland. Cromwell's campaign in Scotland. Battle of Dunbar. § 4. Charles crowned at Scone. He advances into England. Battle of Worcester. Flight and escape of Charles. § 5. Settlement of the Commonwealth. § 6. Dutch war. Blake and Tromp. § 7. Cromwell expels the parliament. § 8. Barebone's parliament. Cromwell protector. § 9. Defeat of the Dutch and peace with Holland. § 10. Cromwell's administration. His first parliament. Royalist insurrection. War with Spain. § 11. Blake's naval exploits. Jamaica conquered. Death of Blake. § 12. Cromwell's third parliament. He refuses the crown. The "humble petition and advice." § 13. Dunkirk taken. Discontents and insurrections. § 14. Cromwell's sickness, death, and character. § 15. His foreign policy. § 16. Richard Cromwell protector. § 17. Long parliament restored and expelled. Committee of safety. § 18. General Monk declares for the parliament. The parliament restored. Monk enters London. Long parliament dissolved. § 19. A new parliament. The Restoration.

§ 1. THE death of the king was followed by a dissolution of the constitution, both civil and ecclesiastical. Nominally, the Rump remained supreme, but every man had framed for himself the model of a republic; every man had adjusted his own system of religion. The millenarians, or fifth monarchy men, required that government itself should be abolished, and all human powers be laid in the dust, in order to pave the way for the dominion of Christ, whose second coming they suddenly expected. One party declaimed

against tithes and a hireling priesthood ; another inveighed against the law and its professors. The royalists, consisting of the nobles and more considerable gentry, were inflamed with the highest resentment and indignation against those ignoble adversaries who had reduced them to subjection. The presbyterians, whose credit at first supported the arms of the parliament, were enraged to find that, by the treachery or superior cunning of the sectaries and independents, the fruits of all their labours had been ravished from them. The young king, poor and neglected, living sometimes in Holland, sometimes in France, sometimes in Jersey, comforted himself amidst his present distresses with the hopes of better fortune.

The only solid support of the republican independent faction was an army of nearly 45,000 men. But this army, formidable from its discipline and courage, as well as its numbers, was actuated by a spirit that rendered it dangerous to the assembly which had assumed the command over it. Cromwell alone was able to guide and direct all these unsettled humours. But though he retained for a time all orders of men under a seeming obedience to the parliament, he was secretly paving the way to his own unlimited authority.

The Rump parliament, consisting of 50 members, began gradually to assume more the air of a legal power. It re-admitted a few of the excluded and absent members, but only on condition that they should sign an approbation of whatever had been done in their absence with regard to the king's trial. It issued writs for new elections, in places where it hoped to have interest enough to bring in its own friends and dependents ; and it named an executive council of state, 41 in number, of which Bradshaw was appointed the president, and Milton foreign secretary. As soon as it should have settled the nation, it professed its intention of restoring the power to the people, from whom it pretended all power was derived. The functions of this council embraced government at home, the army and navy, superintendence of trade and negotiations with foreign powers.

The situation of Scotland and Ireland alone gave any immediate disquietude to the new republic. After the successive defeats of Montrose and Hamilton, and the ruin of their parties, the whole authority in Scotland fell into the hands of Argyle. Invited by the English parliament to model their government into a republican form, the Scots resolved still to adhere to monarchy, which, by the express terms of their Covenant, they had engaged to defend. After the execution, therefore, of the king, they immediately proclaimed his son and successor Charles II. (February 5) ; but upon condition of his strict observance of the Covenant. The

affairs of Ireland demanded more immediate attention. When Charles I. was a prisoner among the Scots, he sent orders to Ormond, if he could not defend himself, rather to submit to the English than the Irish rebels; and accordingly, the lord-lieutenant, being reduced to extremities, delivered up Dublin, Drogheda, Dundalk, and other garrisons, to colonel Jones, who took possession of them in the name of the English parliament. Ormond himself went over to England, and after some time joined the queen and prince of Wales in France. Meanwhile the Irish catholics, disgusted with the indiscretion and insolence of Rinnucini, the papal nuncio, and dreading the power of the English parliament, saw no resource or safety but in giving support to the declining authority of the king. The earl of Clanricarde secretly formed a combination among the catholics. He sent to Paris a deputation, inviting Ormond to return and take possession of his government.

Ormond, on his arrival in March, had at first to contend with many difficulties. But in the distractions which attended the final struggle in England, the republican faction totally neglected Ireland; and allowed Jones, and the forces in Dublin, to remain in the utmost weakness and necessity. The lord-lieutenant, having at last assembled a considerable army, advanced upon the parliamentary garrisons. Dundalk, Drogheda, and several other towns surrendered or were taken. Dublin was threatened with a siege; and the affairs of the lieutenant appeared in so prosperous a condition, that the young king entertained thoughts of coming in person into Ireland.

When the English commonwealth was brought to some tolerable settlement, men turned their eyes towards the neighbouring island. After the execution of the king, Cromwell himself began to aspire to a command where so much glory, he saw, might be won, and so much authority acquired; and he was appointed by the parliament lieutenant and general of Ireland (June 22).

§ 2. He applied himself, with his wonted vigilance, to make preparations for his expedition. He sent a reinforcement of 4000 men to Jones, who unexpectedly attacked Ormond near Dublin; chased his army off the field; seized all their tents, baggage, ammunition; and returned victorious to Dublin, after killing 600 men, many in cold blood, and taking above 2000 prisoners (August 2). This loss, which threw some blemish on the military character of Ormond, was irreparable to the royal cause. Hearing of Jones's success, Cromwell soon after arrived with fresh forces in Dublin, where he was welcomed with shouts and rejoicings (August 15). He hastened to Drogheda, which, though well fortified, was taken by assault, Cromwell himself, along with Ireton, leading on his

men. A cruel slaughter was made of the garrison, orders having been issued to give no quarter (September 10). All priests and monks were put to death without distinction. Cromwell pretended to retaliate, by this severe execution, the cruelty of the Irish massacre; but he well knew that almost the whole garrison was English. "The enemy," as he stated in his letter to parliament, "were about 3000 strong. We refused them quarter. . . . I believe we put to the sword the whole number of the defendants. I do not think 30 of the whole number escaped with their lives; those that did are in safe custody for the Barbadoes"—that is, slavery in the West Indies. Parliament ordered a thanksgiving service for such a glorious victory. Wexford was taken (October 9), and the same severity exercised as at Drogheda, between 2000 and 3000 being put to the sword. Every town before which Cromwell presented himself now opened its gates without resistance. Next spring he made himself master of Kilkenny and Clonmel, the only places where he met with any vigorous resistance. Ormond soon after left the island, and delegated his authority to Clanricarde, who found affairs so desperate as to admit of no remedy. The Irish were glad to embrace banishment, and more than 40,000 sought refuge in foreign service.

§ 3. While Cromwell proceeded with such uninterrupted success in Ireland, which in the space of nine months he had almost entirely subdued, fortune was preparing for him a new scene of victory and triumph in Scotland. Charles, by the advice of his friends, who thought it ridiculous to refuse a kingdom merely from regard to episcopacy, had been induced to accept the crown of Scotland on the terms offered by the commissioners of the Covenanters. But what chiefly determined him to comply, was the account brought him of the fate of Montrose, which blasted all his hopes of recovering his inheritance by force. That gallant but unfortunate nobleman, having received assistance from some of the northern powers, had landed in the Orkneys with about 500 men, most of them Germans. He armed several of the inhabitants of the Orkneys, and carried them over with him to Caithness; but was disappointed in his hopes that affection to the king's service, and the fame of his former exploits, would make the Highlanders flock to his standard. Strahan, one of the generals of the Covenanters, fell unexpectedly on Montrose, who had no horse to bring him intelligence. The royalists were put to flight, all of them were either killed or taken prisoners, and Montrose himself, having put on the disguise of a peasant, was perfidiously delivered into the hands of his enemies by a friend, named Aston, to whom he had intrusted his person. In this disguise he was carried to Edinburgh,

amid the insults of his enemies; when he was tried and condemned by the parliament, and hanged with every circumstance of ignominy and cruelty (May 21, 1650).

In this extremity Charles set sail for Scotland; but before he was permitted to land he was required to sign the Covenant. Many sermons and lectures were made to him, exhorting him to persevere in that holy confederacy. He soon found that he was considered as a mere pageant of state, and that the few remains of royalty which he possessed served only to draw on him the greater indignities. He was constrained by the Covenanters to issue a declaration, wherein he desired to be deeply humbled and afflicted in spirit, because of his father's opposing the Covenant and shedding the blood of God's people throughout his dominions; he lamented the idolatry of his mother, and the toleration of it in his father's house; and professed that he would have no enemies but the enemies of the Covenant. Still the Covenanters and the clergy were diffident of his sincerity; and he found his authority entirely annihilated, as well as his character degraded. He was consulted in no public measure; and his favour was sufficient to discredit any pretender to office or advancement.

As soon as the English parliament found that the treaty between the king and the Scots would probably terminate in an accommodation, they made preparations for a war, which, they saw, would in the end prove inevitable. Cromwell, having broken the force and courage of the Irish, was sent for; and he left the command of Ireland to Ireton. It was expected that Fairfax, who still retained the name of general, would continue to act against Scotland. But he entertained insurmountable scruples against invading the Scots, whom he considered as united to England by the sacred bands of the Covenant. Accordingly, he resigned his commission, which was bestowed on Cromwell, who was declared captain-general of all the forces in England. Cromwell crossed the Tweed (July 16), and entered Scotland with an army of 16,000 men. Leslie, the Scotch general, entrenched himself in a fortified camp between Edinburgh and Leith, and took care to remove everything from the country which could serve for the subsistence of the English army. Cromwell, who had advanced to the Scottish camp, and vainly endeavoured to bring Leslie to a battle, began to be in want of provisions, which reached him only by sea. He therefore retired to Dunbar. Leslie followed him; and encamped on Down Hill, which overlooked that town. There lay many difficult passes between Dunbar and Berwick, and of these Leslie had taken possession. The English general was reduced to extremities. He had even embraced a resolution of sending by sea all his foot and

artillery to England, and of breaking through, at all hazards, with his cavalry. The madness of the Scottish ecclesiastics saved him from this loss and dishonour. Night and day the ministers had been wrestling with the Lord in prayer, as they termed it; and they fancied that the sectarian and heretical army, together with Agag, meaning Cromwell, was delivered into their hands. Upon the faith of these visions, they forced their general, in spite of his remonstrances, to descend into the plain, with the view of attacking the English in their retreat. Cromwell saw the Scots in motion, and their line widely and loosely extended: and exclaiming (as some say), "The Lord hath delivered them into our hands!" gave orders for the attack (September 3, 1650). Unable to close their ranks, the Scots, though double in number to the English, were totally defeated and pursued with great slaughter. No victory could have been more complete. About 3000 of the enemy were slain, and 9000 taken prisoners. Cromwell pursued his advantage, and took possession of Edinburgh and Leith. The remnant of the Scottish army fled to Stirling. The approach of the winter season, and an ague which seized Cromwell, kept him from pushing the victory further.

§ 4. This defeat of the Scots was not unacceptable to the royalists. Charles was crowned at Scone (January 1, 1651) with great pomp and solemnity. But amidst all this appearance of respect, Charles remained in the hands of the most rigid Covenanters, and was little better than a prisoner. As soon as the season would permit, the Scottish army was assembled under Hamilton and Leslie; and the king was allowed to join the camp before Stirling. Cromwell, having failed to bring the Scottish generals to an engagement, crossed the Forth, and took Perth, the seat of government (August 2).

Charles now embraced a resolution worthy of a young prince contending for empire. Having the way open, he resolved immediately to march into England, and persuaded most of the generals to enter into the same views. But Argyie obtained permission to retire to his own home. The army, to the number of 14,000 men, rose from their camp, and advanced by great journeys towards the south (July 31). Cromwell was surprised at this movement of the royal army; but he quickly repaired his oversight by his vigilance and activity, and, leaving Monk with 7000 men to complete the reduction of Scotland, he followed the king with all possible expedition.

Charles found himself disappointed in his expectations of increasing his army. The Scots, terrified at the prospect of so hazardous an enterprise, fell off in great numbers. The English presbyterians and royalists, having no warning given them of the king's approach,

were not prepared to join him. When he arrived at Worcester he found that his forces, extremely harassed by a hasty and fatiguing march, were not more numerous than when he rose from his camp at Stirling. With an army of about 30,000 men, Cromwell fell upon Worcester (August 28), and, attacking it on all sides, after a desperate resistance of four or five hours, broke in upon the disordered royalists (September 3). The streets of the city were strewn with dead. The whole Scottish army was either killed or taken prisoners. Fifteen hundred were sold for slaves. The country people, inflamed with national antipathy, put to death the few that escaped from the field of battle.

The king left Worcester at six o'clock in the afternoon, and, without halting, travelled about 26 miles, in company with 50 or 60 of his friends. To provide for his safety, he thought it best to separate himself from his companions; and he left them without communicating his intentions to any of them. By the earl of Derby's advice, he went to Boscobel, a lone house, on the borders of Staffordshire, inhabited by one Penderell, a farmer. To this man Charles intrusted himself. Though death was denounced against all who concealed the king, and a great reward promised to any one who should betray him, he maintained unshaken fidelity.* He took the assistance of his four brothers, equally honourable with himself; and, having clothed the king in a garb like their own, they led him to the neighbouring wood, put a bill into his hand, and pretended to employ themselves in cutting faggots. Some nights Charles lay upon straw in the house, and fed on such homely fare as it afforded. For better concealment, he mounted an oak, where he sheltered himself among the leaves and branches for 24 hours. He saw several soldiers pass by. All of them were intent on searching for the king; and some expressed, in his hearing, their earnest wishes of seizing him. This tree was afterwards denominated the *Royal Oak*, and for many years was regarded by the neighbourhood with great veneration. Charles passed through many other adventures, assumed different disguises, in every step was exposed to imminent perils, and received daily proofs of uncorrupted fidelity and attachment. The sagacity of a smith, who remarked that his horse's shoe had been made in the north, not in the west, as he pretended, once detected him, and he narrowly escaped. At Shoreham, in Sussex, a vessel was at last found, in which he embarked, and after 41 days' concealment he arrived safely at Fécamp in Normandy (October 17). No fewer than 40 men and women had, at different times, been privy to his concealment and escape.

* Two of the descendants of this family still receive pensions for their services on this occasion.

§ 5. Notwithstanding the late wars and bloodshed, and the present factions, the prowess of England had never, in any period, appeared more formidable to the neighbouring kingdoms than it did at this time. The right of peace and war was lodged in the same hands with the power of imposing taxes; a numerous and well-disciplined army was on foot; and excellent officers were found in every branch of service. The confusion into which all things had been thrown had given opportunity to men of low stations to break through their obscurity, and to raise themselves by their valour to commands which they were well qualified to exercise, but to which their birth could never have entitled them. Blake, a man of great courage and generous disposition, who had defended Lyme and Taunton with unshaken obstinacy against the late king, was made an admiral; and though he had hitherto been accustomed only to land-service, into which he had not entered till past 50 years of age, he soon raised the naval glory of the nation to a greater height than it had ever attained in any former period. A fleet was put under his command, with which he chased into the Tagus prince Rupert, to whom the king had intrusted that squadron which had deserted to him. The king of Portugal having refused Blake admittance and aided prince Rupert in making his escape, the English admiral made prize of 20 Portuguese ships richly laden; and he threatened still further vengeance. The king of Portugal, dreading so dangerous a foe to his newly acquired dominion, made all possible submission to the haughty republic, and was at last admitted to negotiate for a renewal of his alliance.*

All the settlements in America, except New England, which had been planted entirely by the puritans, adhered to the royal party, even after the settlement of the republic, but were soon subdued. With equal ease Jersey, Guernsey, Scilly, and the Isle of Man, were brought under subjection; and the sea, which had been much infested by privateers from these islands, was rendered safe to English commerce. The countess of Derby defended the Isle of Man, and with great reluctance yielded to unavoidable necessity (November, 1651). Ireton, the new deputy of Ireland, at the head of an army 30,000 strong, prosecuted the work of subduing the revolted Irish; and he defeated them in many encounters, which, though of themselves of no great moment, proved fatal to their declining cause. He died of the plague at Limerick, after he had captured that town (November, 1651). The command of the army in Ireland devolved on lieutenant-general Ludlow. The civil government of the island was intrusted to four commissioners,

* The fleet commanded by Blake had, for the most part, been built by Charles I. out of the ship-money.

whose chief concern was to dispossess the native Irish of their property, and confer it on English settlers. Thousands embraced voluntary exile; others, especially women and children, were shipped to the American plantations; those who remained were driven from the more fertile districts into Connaught, and their lands were distributed amongst the parliamentary soldiers.

The successes which attended Monk in Scotland were no less decisive. After taking Stirling Castle (whence the national records and regalia were conveyed to London), and gaining other advantages, he carried Dundee by assault; and, following the example of Cromwell, put all the inhabitants, consisting of 800, to the sword (September 1, 1651). Warned by this example, Aberdeen, St. Andrews, Inverness, and other towns and forts, yielded, of their own accord, to the enemy. Argyle made his submission to the English commonwealth; and Scotland, which had hitherto, by means of its situation, poverty, and valour, maintained its independence, was reduced to total subjection. The English parliament sent sir Harry Vane, St. John, and other commissioners, to settle that kingdom. Estates were confiscated, taxes imposed, the people disarmed, their preachers silenced; and, to carry out more completely this appearance of national humiliation, English judges were appointed to administer the laws.

§ 6. By the total reduction and pacification of the British dominions, the parliament had leisure to look abroad, and to exert their vigour in foreign enterprises. The Dutch were the first that felt the weight of their arms. After the death, in 1650, of William, prince of Orange, who had married Mary, daughter of Charles I., and whose policy had been favourable to the royal cause, the parliament thought that the time had arrived for cementing a closer confederacy with the Dutch republican party, which was now in the ascendant. St. John, chief justice, who was sent over to the Hague, had entertained the idea of forming a kind of coalition between the two republics; but the States offered only to renew the former alliances with England. The haughty St. John, disgusted with this disappointment, as well as incensed by many affronts which had been offered him with impunity by the retainers of the palatine and Orange families, and indeed by the populace in general, returned into England, and, by his influence over Cromwell, determined the parliament to change the proposed alliance into a furious war against the United Provinces. To cover these hostile intentions the parliament embraced such measures as they knew would give disgust to the States. They framed the famous act of navigation (October 9, 1651), by which all nations were prohibited from importing into England any goods, except

in English bottoms, or in the vessels of the country where the goods were produced. By this law the Dutch were principally affected, because they subsisted chiefly by being the general carriers and factors of Europe. Letters of reprisal were granted to several merchants, who complained of injuries, and above 80 Dutch ships were made prizes. Tromp, an admiral of great renown, with a fleet of 42 sail, being forced by stress of weather, as he alleged, to take shelter in the roads of Dover, there met with Blake, who commanded an English fleet much inferior in number. Who was the aggressor in the action which ensued between these two admirals, both of them men of such prompt and fiery dispositions, it is not easy to determine. Blake, though his squadron consisted only of 15 vessels, reinforced, after the battle began, by eight more under captain Bourne, maintained the fight with bravery for five hours, and sunk one ship of the enemy, and took another (May 19, 1652). Night parted the combatants, and the Dutch fleet retired toward the coast of Holland. The Dutch despatched their pensionary Pauw to conciliate matters; but the imperious parliament would hearken to no explanations or remonstrances. They demanded that, without any further delay or inquiry, reparation should be made for all the damages which the English had sustained. When this demand was not complied with, they despatched orders for commencing war against the United Provinces (July 8). Several naval engagements followed. Sir George Ayscue, though he commanded only 40 ships, engaged, near Plymouth, the famous De Ruyter, who had under him 50 ships of war, with 30 merchantmen (August 16). Night parted them in the greatest heat of the action. De Ruyter next day sailed off with his convoy. The English fleet had been so shattered in the fight, that it was not able to pursue. Near the coast of Kent, Blake, seconded by Bourne and Penn, met a Dutch squadron nearly equal in numbers, commanded by De Witt and De Ruyter (September 28). A battle was fought much to the disadvantage of the Dutch. Their rear-admiral's ship was boarded and taken. Two other vessels were sunk, and one blown up. The Dutch next day made sail towards Holland. On November 28, Tromp, seconded by De Ruyter, met, near the Goodwins, with Blake, whose fleet was inferior to the Dutch, but who resolved not to decline the combat. In this action the Dutch had the advantage, and Blake himself was wounded. After this victory, Tromp, in bravado, fixed a broom to his mainmast, as if he were resolved to sweep the sea entirely of all English vessels.

In order to wipe off this disgrace, great preparations were made in England. A gallant fleet of 80 sail was fitted out. Blake commanded, with Monk under him, who had been sent for from

Scotland. When the English lay off Portland (February 18, 1653), they descried, near break of day, a Dutch fleet of 78 vessels sailing up the Channel, along with a convoy of 800 merchantmen. Tromp, and under him De Ruyter, commanded the Dutch. This battle was the most furious that had yet been fought between these warlike and rival nations. Three days was the combat continued with the utmost rage and obstinacy; and Blake, who was victor, gained not more honour than Tromp, who was vanquished. The Dutch admiral made a skilful retreat, and saved all the merchant-ships except 30. He lost, however, 11 ships of war, had 2000 men slain, and near 1500 taken prisoners. The English, though many of their ships were extremely shattered, had but one sunk. Their slain were not much inferior in number to those of the enemy.

§ 7. Meanwhile the parliament, no longer apprehensive of domestic war, had proposed, at the close of 1651, to reduce the number of the army. In 1652 they attempted to carry this project into execution. Cromwell, perceiving that the parliament entertained a jealousy of his power and ambition, and was resolved to bring him to subordination under its authority, determined to prevent it. The same year he summoned a general council of officers, in which it was voted to frame a remonstrance to parliament (August 13). After complaining of the arrears due to the army, they desired the parliament to reflect how many years it had sat, and that it was now full time for it to give place to others. They therefore desired it to summon a new parliament, and establish that free and equal government which it had so long promised the people. The parliament took this remonstrance in ill part, and much altercation ensued (March, 1653). At last, Cromwell being informed that it had come to a resolution not to dissolve, but to fill up the house by new elections, immediately hastened thither, and carried with him a body of 800 soldiers. Some of them he placed at the door, some in the lobby, some on the stairs. He first addressed himself to his friend St. John, and told him that he had come with a purpose of doing what grieved him to the very soul, and what he had earnestly with tears besought the Lord not to impose upon him; but there was a necessity, in order to the glory of God and good of the nation. He then sat down for some time, and heard the debate. Presently he beckoned Harrison, and told him that he now judged the parliament ripe for dissolution. "Sir," said Harrison, "the work is very great and dangerous; I desire you seriously to consider, before you engage in it." "You say well," replied the general; and thereupon sat still about a quarter of an hour. When the question was ready to be put, he said again to Harrison, "This is the time: I must do it." And

suddenly starting up, he commenced in a tone of forced calmness, but ended in loading the parliament with the vilest reproaches, for their tyranny, oppression, and robbery. Then stamping with his foot, which was a signal for the soldiers to enter, "For shame," said he to the members, "get you gone; give place to honest men; to those who will more faithfully discharge their trust. You are no longer a parliament: I tell you, you are no longer a parliament. The Lord has done with you. He has chosen other instruments for carrying on His work." Sir Harry Vane exclaiming against this proceeding, he cried with a loud voice, "O sir Harry Vane, sir Harry Vane! The Lord deliver me from sir Harry Vane!" Taking hold of Martin by the cloak, "Thou art a whoremaster," said he. To another, "Thou art an adulterer." To a third, "Thou art a drunkard and a glutton;" "And thou an extortioner," to a fourth. He then commanded a soldier to seize the mace. "What shall we do with this fool's bauble? Here, take it away. It is you," said he, addressing himself to the house, "that have forced me upon this. I have sought the Lord night and day, that He would rather slay me than put me upon this work." Having commanded the soldiers to clear the hall, he himself went out the last, and, ordering the doors to be locked, departed to his lodgings in Whitehall (April 20, 1653). To such ignominy was the celebrated Long Parliament reduced.

As the Rump was hated, the indignation entertained by the people against this manifest usurpation was not so violent as might have been expected. Congratulatory addresses, the first of the kind, were made to Cromwell by the fleet, by the army, even by many of the chief corporations and counties of England; but especially by the several congregations of saints or independents dispersed throughout the kingdom.

§ 8. Cromwell, however, thought it requisite to establish something which might bear the face of a commonwealth; and without any more ceremony, he formed himself, with eight others of his officers and four civilians, into a council of state. By their advice he sent summonses to 128 persons of different towns and counties in England, to five of Scotland, and to six of Ireland (June 8). He pretended, by his sole act and deed, to devolve upon them the whole authority of the state. This legislative power they were to exercise during 15 months, and they were afterwards to choose the same number of persons who might succeed them in that high and important office. In this assembly, which voted themselves a parliament (July 4), were many persons of the rank of gentlemen; but the greater part were fifth monarchy men, anabaptists, and independents. They began with seeking God by prayer. They con-

templated some extraordinary schemes of legislation, but had not leisure to finish any, except that which established the legal solemnization of marriage by the civil magistrate alone. Among the fanatics of the house there was an active member, much noted for his long prayers, sermons, and harangues. He was a leather-seller in London, named *Praise-God Barebone*. This ridiculous name struck the fancy of the people, and they commonly called this assembly *Barebone's Parliament*, or the *Little Parliament*.

The parliament was obsequious enough. Besides the executive, it transferred the highest judicial powers to Cromwell and his council. It abrogated the high court of chancery (August 5). It constituted a new high commission court in the form of a high court of justice for trials of offenders against the commonwealth (August 10). It empowered the council of state to revise acts of treason. To put an end to this farce of government, it resolved (December 13) that, as its further sitting was no longer for the good of the commonwealth, it was requisite to deliver up to the lord-general, Cromwell, the powers it had received from him. This was formally proposed by Sydenham, an independent. Rous, the speaker, who was one of Sydenham's party, forthwith left the chair, followed by several members, and the few who remained in the house were ejected by colonel White, with a party of soldiers. Cromwell at first refused the offer; but the resignation of their powers being signed by the majority of the house, he accepted the trust, and a deed was drawn up, called the *Instrument of Government*, which received the approval of the council of officers. By this instrument Cromwell received the title of "His Highness the Lord Protector" (December 16), and a council was appointed of not more than 21, nor less than 13 persons, who were to enjoy their office during life or good behaviour. The legislative power was vested in the protector and a parliament. The protector was bound to summon a parliament every three years, and allow them to sit five months, without adjournment, prorogation, or dissolution. The bills which they passed were to be presented to the protector for his assent; but if within 20 days it were not obtained, they were to become laws by the authority of parliament alone. The number of members was determined at 400 for England, and 30 each for Scotland and Ireland. A standing army of 20,000 foot and 10,000 horse was established for Great Britain and Ireland, and funds were assigned for its support. The protector was to enjoy his office during life, to treat with foreign states, and make peace or war with the assent of his council. He had the disposal of the military and naval power, and the appointment of great officers of state, with

the consent of parliament. Finally, on his death the place was immediately to be supplied by the council. Thus, in fact, the sovereign authority of which parliament had deprived the king was transferred to the protector and the general of its armies. With such a power at his back, the authority of the protector was virtually and practically absolute, and the forms of the constitution depended solely on his will.

§ 9. In spite of these distracted scenes, the military prowess of England was exerted with vigour; and never did it appear more formidable to foreign nations. The English fleet gained several victories over the Dutch, in the last of which Tromp, while gallantly animating his men, was shot through the heart with a musket ball (July 31, 1653). Monk and Penn commanded in



Medal given for service in the action with the Dutch, July 31, 1653. Obv.: a naval battle: above, FOR EMINENT SERVICE IN SAVING Y TRIUMPH FIRED IN FIGHT W DUTCH IN IVLY 1653. Rev.: arms of the three kingdoms suspended on an anchor.

this engagement, Blake being ill on shore. The States, overwhelmed with the expense of the war, terrified by their losses and defeats, were extremely desirous of an accommodation; and a peace was at last signed by Cromwell (April 5, 1654). A defensive league was made between the two republics, and the honour of the flag was yielded to the English.

§ 10. The new parliament summoned by the protector met on September 3, 1654. The elections had been conducted agreeably to the instrument of government, and precautions were taken to form a house subservient to the wishes of the protector. All persons who had in any way assisted the king, presbyterians, episcopalians, or royalists, were declared incapable of serving. The smaller boroughs were deprived of the franchise. Of 400 members

which represented England, 250 were chosen by the counties; the rest were elected by London and the more considerable corporations. The lower populace, as easily guided or deceived, were excluded from the elections. An estate of 200*l.* value was necessary to entitle any one to a vote. Further, in imitation of the old regal practice, Cromwell and his officers nominated 144 of the members for the united kingdoms, including themselves.

But the protector soon found that he did not possess the confidence of this parliament. Having heard his speech, three hours long, and chosen Lenthall for their speaker, they immediately entered into a discussion of the pretended instrument of government, and of that authority which Cromwell, by the title of protector, had assumed over the nation. The greatest liberty was used in arraigning this new dignity; and even the personal character and conduct of Cromwell escaped not without censure. The protector was surprised and enraged at this refractory spirit. On September 12 he had the parliament doors locked and guarded, and sending for the members to the painted chamber, with an air of great authority inveighed against their conduct. He told them that he had received his office from God and the people, and none but God and the people should take it from him—unconsciously admitting that parliament, though mainly of his own choice, did not represent the people. It was not to be expected, he added, that when he assured them that they were a free parliament, they were free in any other sense than as they should act under that government. He was unwilling to violate their privileges, but necessity had no law. If he had studied to devise a justification for Charles I., it would have been impossible for him to have found words more significant or more appropriate. He then obliged the members to sign an agreement in recognition of his authority. A hundred of the members refused; the rest, after some hesitation, submitted; but retaining the same independent spirit which they had discovered in their first debates, Cromwell dissolved the house in a confused and angry harangue (January 22, 1655).

The discontent discovered by this parliament encouraged the royalists to attempt an insurrection, which was soon put down, and served only to strengthen Cromwell's government. He issued an edict (October, 1655), with the consent of his council, for exacting the tenth penny from the royalists, in order, as he pretended, to make them pay the expenses to which their mutinous disposition continually exposed the nation. To raise this imposition, which commonly passed by the name of decimation, the protector appointed 12 major-generals, and divided the whole kingdom of England into so many military jurisdictions. These men, assisted by com-

missioners, had power to subject whom they pleased to decimation, to levy all the taxes imposed by the protector and his council, and to imprison any person who should be exposed to their jealousy or suspicion; nor was there any appeal from them but to the protector himself and his council. In short, they acted as if absolute masters of the property and person of every subject.

Meanwhile the resentment displayed by the English parliament at the protection afforded by France to Charles, induced that court to change its measures. Anne of Austria had become regent of France, in the minority of her son Louis XIV., and cardinal Mazarin had succeeded Richelieu in the ministry. Charles was treated by them with so much neglect and indifference, that he thought it more decent to withdraw, and prevent the indignity of being desired to leave the kingdom. He went first to Spa, thence he retired to Cologne, where he lived two years on a small pension paid him by the court of France, and on some contributions sent him by his friends in England.

The French ministry deemed it still more necessary to pay deference to the protector when he assumed the reins of government. They were now at war with Spain, and wished to defeat the intrigues of that court, which, being reduced to greater distress than the French monarchy, had been still more forward in their advances to the prosperous parliament and protector. Cromwell resolved for several reasons to unite his arms to those of France. The extensive empire and yet extreme weakness of Spain in the West Indies, the vigorous courage and great naval power of England, made him hope that he might, by some gainful conquest, render for ever illustrious that dominion which he had assumed over his country. Should he fail of these durable acquisitions, the Indian treasures, which must every year cross the ocean to reach Spain, were, he thought, a sure prey to the English navy, and would support his military force, without his laying new burthens on the discontented people. These motives of policy were probably seconded by his religious principles; and as the Spaniards were more bigoted papists than the French, and had refused to mitigate on Cromwell's solicitation the rigours of the Inquisition, he hoped that a holy and meritorious war with such idolaters could not fail of protection from Heaven.

§ 11. Actuated by these motives, he concluded a treaty offensive with France (October 24), stipulating that neither Charles nor the duke of York should be suffered to remain in that kingdom. He equipped two considerable squadrons, one of which, consisting of 30 capital ships, was sent into the Mediterranean under Blake, whose fame was now spread over Europe. Blake sailed to Algiers, and

compelled the dey to restrain his piratical subjects from further violences on the English. He then presented himself before Tunis, where, incensed by the insolence of the dey, he destroyed the castles of Porto Farino and Goletta, sent a numerous detachment of sailors in their long-boats into the harbour, and burned every ship which lay there. This bold action filled all that part of the world with the renown of English valour.

The other squadron was not equally successful. It was commanded by Penn, and carried on board 4000 men, under the command of Venables. An attack upon St. Domingo was repulsed with loss and disgrace; but Jamaica surrendered to them without a blow (May, 1655). Penn and Venables returned to England, and were both of them sent to the Tower by the protector, who, though commonly master of his fiery temper, was thrown into a violent passion at this disappointment. He had, however, made a conquest of greater importance than he was himself at that time aware of; and Jamaica has ever since remained in the hands of the English.

As soon as the news of this expedition, which was an unwarrantable violation of treaty, arrived in Europe, the Spaniards declared war against England, and seized all the ships and goods of English merchants of which they could make themselves masters. Blake, with whom Montague was now joined in command, prepared himself for hostilities against the Spaniards, and lay some time off Cadiz in expectation of intercepting the treasure-fleet, but was at last obliged, for want of water, to make sail towards Portugal. Captain Stayner, however, whom he had left on the coast with a squadron of seven vessels, took two ships valued at nearly 2,000,000 of pieces of eight (September 9, 1656).

The next action against the Spaniards was more honourable, though less profitable, to the nation. Blake pursued a Spanish fleet of 16 ships to the Canaries, where he found them in the bay of Santa Cruz, defended by a strong castle and seven forts. Blake was rather animated than daunted with this appearance. The wind seconded his courage, and, blowing full into the bay, brought him in a moment among the thickest of his enemies. After a resistance of four hours, the Spaniards yielded to English valour, and abandoned their ships, which were set on fire, and consumed with all their treasure. The wind, suddenly shifting, carried the English out of the bay, where they left the Spaniards in astonishment at the happy temerity of their audacious visitors (April 20, 1657). This was the last and greatest action of Blake. He was worn out with dropsy and scurvy, and hastened home, that he might yield up his breath in his native country, but expired within sight of land. Never man, so zealous for a faction, was so much respected

and esteemed even by the opposite parties. He was by principle an inflexible republican; and the late usurpations, amidst all the trust and caresses which he received from the ruling powers, were thought to be very little grateful to him. "It is still our duty," he said to the seamen, "to fight for our country, into what hands soever the government may fall." The protector ordered him a pompous funeral at the public charge: but the tears of his countrymen were the most honourable panegyric on his memory.

§ 12. As the last parliament did not prove more compliant, notwithstanding all the precautions taken by the protector, he dismissed it, waiving all ceremony, with the announcement that its continuance was not for the good of the nation (January 22, 1655), and dispensed with so useless an encumbrance until September 17, 1656, when a deficit of 800,000*l.* made him anxious to obtain its assistance. In summoning this third parliament, he used every art in order to influence the elections, and fill the house with his own creatures; yet, notwithstanding all these precautions, he still found that the majority would not be favourable to him. Accordingly, on their assembling, he set guards at the door, who permitted none to enter but such as produced a warrant from his council; and the council rejected about 100, who either refused a recognition of the protector's government, or were on other accounts obnoxious to him. They protested against so egregious a violence, as subversive of all liberty; but every application for redress was disregarded. The majority, by means of these arts and violences, was friendly to the protector, who now began to aspire to the crown; and in order to pave the way to this advancement, he resolved to sacrifice his major-generals, whom he knew to be extremely odious to the nation. On the 19th of January, 1657, it was moved by one Aske "that his highness would be pleased to take upon him the government *according to the ancient constitution.*" The proposition was not received without murmurs. It was asked whether the house intended to set up again the kingly government it had been so zealous in putting down. But the design was too agreeable to Cromwell to be set aside. Colonel Jephson was employed to sound the inclinations of the house; and the result appearing favourable, a motion in form was made by alderman Pack, one of the city members, for investing the protector with the dignity of king (February 23). This motion excited great disorder, and divided the house. The chief opposition came from the usual adherents of the protector, the major-generals, and such officers as depended on them; and particularly from Lambert, a man of deep intrigue, and of great interest in the army, who had long entertained the ambition of succeeding Cromwell in the protectorship. The bill, entitled *an*

humble petition and advice, was voted by a majority of 123 against 62, and a committee was appointed to reason with the protector, and to overcome his scruples. The conference lasted several days. The difficulty consisted not in persuading Cromwell, whose inclination, as well as judgment, was entirely on the side of the committee. The opposition which Cromwell most dreaded was that which he met with in his own family, and from men who, by interest as well as inclination, were the most devoted to him. Fleetwood had married his daughter; Desborough, his sister: yet these men, actuated by principle alone, could by no persuasion, artifice, or entreaty, be induced to consent that he should be invested with regal dignity. Colonel Pride procured a petition against the office of king, signed by a majority of the officers who were in London and the neighbourhood. A sudden mutiny in the army was justly dreaded, and, after the agony and perplexity of long doubt, Cromwell was at last obliged to refuse the crown. The provisions, however, of the humble petition and advice were retained as the basis of the republican establishment, instead of the former instrument of government. By the new deed the protector had the power of nominating his successor; he had a perpetual revenue assigned him; and he had authority to name another house, who should enjoy their seats during life, and exercise some of the functions of the former house of peers (May 26, 1657). Cromwell, as if his power had just commenced from this popular consent, was inaugurated anew in Westminster Hall, after the most solemn and most pompous manner (June 26). Shortly after, Lambert was deprived of his post.

Richard, eldest son of the protector, was now brought to court, introduced into public business, and thenceforth regarded by many as his heir in the protectorship. Cromwell had two daughters unmarried: one of them he now gave in marriage to Mr. Rich, the grandson and heir of his great friend, the earl of Warwick, with whom he had, in every fortune, preserved an uninterrupted intimacy and good correspondence. The other he married to the viscount Faulconbridge, of a family formerly devoted to the royal party. The parliament assembled again on January 20, 1658, consisting, as in the times of monarchy, of two houses. Cromwell had summoned a House of Peers, which consisted of 60 members. They were composed of five peers of ancient date, of several gentlemen of fortune and distinction, and of some officers who had risen from the meanest stations. The proceedings of the houses were brought to a deadlock, the commons declining to allow the title of *the House of Lords*, and unable to determine by what appellation they should be called. But Cromwell soon found that, by bringing so great a number of his friends and adherents into the other house, he had lost the

majority among the national representatives. Dreading combinations between them and the malcontents in the army, he dissolved the parliament, telling them that he would not undertake the government *unless there might be some other persons (the lords) who might interpose between himself and the House of Commons, and prevent tumultuous and popular spirits* (February 4).

§ 13. He still pursued his war of conquest. In 1658 siege was laid to Dunkirk; and when the Spanish army advanced to relieve it, the combined armies of France and England marched out of their trenches, and fought the battle of the Dunes, where the Spaniards were totally defeated (June 4). Dunkirk was by agreement delivered to Cromwell.

But his situation at home kept him in perpetual inquietude. His military enterprises had exhausted his revenue, and involved him in considerable debt.* The royalists, he heard, had renewed their preparations for a general insurrection. Ormond had come over to England; sir William Waller and many heads of the presbyterians had secretly entered into the engagement, and Fairfax was expected to join. Even the army was infected with the general spirit of discontent; and some sudden and dangerous eruption was every moment to be dreaded. This conspiracy, however, was discovered, and promptly suppressed. Ormond was obliged to fly, and he deemed himself fortunate to have escaped so vigilant an administration. Great numbers were thrown into prison. A high court of justice was erected anew for the trial of those criminals whose guilt was most apparent, for the protector would not trust a common jury. Sir Henry Slingsby and doctor Hewitt were condemned and beheaded (June 8).

The conspiracy of the millenarians in the army struck Cromwell with still greater apprehensions, and he lived in continual dread of assassination. The death of Mrs. Claypole, his favourite daughter, a lady endued with many humane virtues and amiable accomplishments, depressed his mind and poisoned his enjoyments. All composure had now fled from him. Common fame reported that he never moved a step without strong guards attending him; that he wore armour under his clothes, and further secured himself by offensive weapons, which he always carried about him. He returned from no place by the direct road, or by the same way which he went. Every journey he performed with hurry and precipitation. Seldom he slept above two nights together in the same chamber: and he never let it be known beforehand in what chamber he intended to repose.

* His average revenue was 2,000,000*l.* a year; that of Charles I., less than 1,000,000*l.*; that of Charles II., 1,250,000*l.*

§ 14. His body began to be affected from the contagion of his mind, and his health sensibly declined. He was seized with a slow fever, which changed into a tertian ague. For the space of a week no dangerous symptoms appeared; and in the intervals of the fits he was able to walk abroad. At length the symptoms began to wear a more fatal aspect, and the physicians were obliged to break silence, and to declare that the protector could not survive the next fit with which he was threatened. The council was alarmed. A deputation was sent to know his will with regard to his successor. They asked him whether he did not mean that his eldest son, Richard, should succeed him in the protectorship. A simple affirmative was, or seemed to be, extorted from him. Soon after, on the 3rd of September (1658), the very day on which he had gained the victories of Dunbar and Worcester, he fell into a profound lethargy, at the close of which he uttered a deep sigh and expired, between three and four o'clock in the afternoon. A violent tempest, which immediately preceded his death, served as a subject of discourse to the vulgar—his partisans and his enemies endeavouring by forced inferences to interpret it as a confirmation of their particular prejudices.

If we survey the moral character of Cromwell with that indulgence which is due to the blindness and infirmities of the human species, we shall not be inclined to load his memory with such violent reproaches as those which his enemies have usually thrown upon it. In the murder of the king, the most atrocious of all his actions, he was too clear-sighted to be misled by those republican and religious illusions, which might induce his followers to believe it was a meritorious action. He had not intended or even anticipated it in the outset of his career. Nor, probably, if he could have chosen his own path, would he have ever consented to it. But he was led on step by step into a position from which he could not extricate himself or his party with safety except by putting Charles to death. His subsequent usurpations were the effect of necessity, as well as of ambition; nor is it easy to see how the various factions could at that time have been restrained without a mixture of military and arbitrary authority. But such are the evils of a civil war.

§ 15. His conduct in foreign affairs was full of vigour and enterprise. It was his boast that he would render the name of an Englishman as much feared and revered as ever was that of a Roman; and as his countrymen found some reality in these pretensions, the gratification of their national vanity made them bear with more patience the indignities and calamities under which they laboured. The protestant zeal which animated the presbyterians and independents was gratified by the manner in which Cromwell supported the Vaudois against the duke of Savoy.

In his general behaviour he maintained the dignity of his station without either affectation or ostentation, and supported before strangers that high idea with which his great exploits and prodigious fortune had impressed them. At times he would indulge in actions that bordered on buffoonery, even with his officers of state, either to conceal his true feelings or relax that tension of mind which was habitual with him. The manners of his court were serious and regular, but strongly infected with the puritanical tone of his age. He would gladly have rid himself of many of the turbulent spirits to whose unrestrained enthusiasm he owed his exaltation. But he had none to support him in this design, or to fill their places. The nobility held aloof; the ancient gentry were attached to the king and the church of England, whilst the main body of the presbyterians hated him bitterly.

Cromwell was in the 60th year of his age when he died. He was of a robust frame, of a manly, though not of an agreeable, aspect. He left only two sons, Richard and Henry; and three daughters. His father died when he was very young. His mother lived till after he was protector, and, contrary to her wish, he buried her with great pomp in Westminster Abbey. To educate her numerous family she had been obliged to set up a brewery at Huntingdon, which she managed to good advantage. Hence Cromwell, in the invectives of that age, is often stigmatized with the name of the brewer. She was of a good family, of the name of Stuart, remotely allied, as is supposed by some, to the royal family.

§ 16. Cromwell left the nation in the utmost embarrassment and disorder. Never in the worst period of the Stuarts had government assumed a more arbitrary shape. His rule was regarded with aversion by presbyterians and royalists, with good reason. But even his own officers, and especially the anabaptists, considered him as a traitor to his former and their present principles. Men like sir Harry Vane held him forth to reprobation as a greater obstacle to real liberty and the reign of righteousness than Charles had ever been. His favourite officers rallied round his dying bed, caballing and intriguing among themselves; waiting until the last gasp should leave his body, before they grasped at the sceptre which was falling from his dying hand. Richard, his eldest son, born 1626, was a young man of no experience. He was given to field sports, was indolent, incapable, and irresolute. The council, however, recognized his succession. Fleetwood, in whose favour it was supposed Cromwell had formerly made a will, professed to renounce all claim to the protectorship. Henry, Richard's brother, who governed Ireland with popularity, insured him the obedience of that kingdom.

Monk, whose authority was well established in Scotland, proclaimed the new protector. The army and the fleet acknowledged his title; and above 90 addresses, from the counties and most considerable corporations, congratulated him on his accession, in all the terms of dutiful allegiance. A new parliament (January 27, 1659) proceeded to examine the humble petition and advice; and, after great opposition and many vehement debates, it was at length, with much difficulty, carried by the court party. On the other hand, the most influential officers of the army, and even Fleetwood, brother-in-law to the protector, were caballing against him; and were joined by the whole republican party among the soldiers, which was still considerable. Above all, the intrigues of Lambert inflamed those dangerous humours, and threatened the nation with some great convulsion. Richard was prevailed upon to give an unguarded consent for calling a general council of officers, who proposed that the whole military power should be intrusted to some person in whom they might all confide.

The parliament, not less alarmed than the protector, voted that there should be no meeting or general council of officers, except with the protector's consent, or by his orders. This vote brought affairs immediately to a rupture. The officers hastened to Richard and demanded of him the dissolution of the parliament. Desborough threatened him if he refused. The protector wanted resolution to deny, or ability to resist. The parliament was dissolved (April 22). And though Richard remained nominally protector a few weeks longer, all his real authority was gone.

§ 17. The council of officers now resolved, after much debate, on restoring what remained of the Long Parliament. Its numbers were small; but being all of them men of violent ambition, some of them men of experience and capacity, they were resolved, since they enjoyed the title of the supreme authority, not to act a subordinate part to those who acknowledged themselves as their servants. They voted that all commissions should be received from the speaker, and be assigned by him in the name of the house. These precautions gave great disgust.

Encouraged by these dissensions, the royalists determined on a rising in several counties; but their plans were betrayed, and the only project which took effect was that of sir George Booth for the seizing of Chester. He was, however, soon routed and taken prisoner by Lambert (August 19), and the parliament had no further occupation than to fill the jails with their open or secret enemies. This success hastened the ruin of the parliament. Alarmed at the proceedings of Lambert and his faction, they voted that they would have no more general officers. On this Lambert

and the other officers expelled the Rump (October 13), and elected a committee of 23 persons, whom they invested with sovereign authority, under the name of a *committee of safety*. Throughout the three kingdoms there prevailed nothing but melancholy fears; among the nobility and gentry, of a bloody massacre and extermination; for the rest of the people, a perpetual servitude beneath military despotism of the worst kind; whilst the condition of Charles seemed totally desperate. But amidst all these gloomy prospects, fortune, by a surprising revolution, was now paving the way for the king to mount in peace and triumph the throne of his ancestors.

§ 18. General Monk still held the supreme military command in Scotland. After the army had expelled the parliament, he protested against the violence, and resolved, as he proposed, to vindicate their invaded privileges. Deeper projects, either in the king's favour or his own, were from the beginning suspected to be the motive of his actions. How early he entertained designs for the king's restoration is not certainly known. It is likely that as soon as Richard was deposed he foresaw that, without such an expedient, it would be impossible ever to bring the nation to a regular settlement. But his conduct was full of dissimulation, and no less was requisite for effecting the difficult work which he had undertaken. All the officers in his army, of whom he entertained any suspicion, he immediately cashiered; and, hearing that Lambert was marching northwards with a large body of forces, he amused the committee with offers of negotiation.

Meanwhile these military sovereigns found themselves surrounded on all hands with inextricable difficulties. The city established a kind of separate government, and assumed the supreme authority within itself. While Lambert's forces were assembling at Newcastle, Hazelrig and Morley took possession of Portsmouth, and declared for the parliament. Admiral Lawson, with his squadron, came into the river, and followed their example. Hearing of this important event, Hazelrig and Morley left Portsmouth and advanced towards London. The city regiments, solicited by their own officers, who had been cashiered by the committee of safety, revolted again to the parliament. Lenthall, the speaker, invited by the officers, again assumed authority, and summoned together the parliament, which twice before had been expelled with so much reproach and ignominy (December 26). Monk now advanced into England with his army. In all counties through which he passed the gentry flocked to him with addresses, expressing their earnest desire that he would be instrumental in restoring the nation to peace and tranquillity. He entered London without opposition (February 3, 1660), was introduced to the house, and thanks were given him by Lenthall

for the eminent services which he had rendered his country. Monk's conduct was at first ambiguous. He appeared ready to obey all the commands of the parliament, and marched into the city to seize several leading citizens who had refused obedience to the orders of the house; but two days afterwards he wrote a letter to the parliament, requiring them, in the name of the citizens, soldiers, and whole commonwealth, to issue writs within a week for filling their house, and to fix the time for their own dissolution and the assembling of a new parliament. The excluded members, upon the general's invitation, returned to the house, and immediately appeared to be the majority; most of the independents left the place (February 21). The restored members renewed the general's commission, and enlarged his powers; and, after passing some other measures for the present settlement of the kingdom, they dissolved themselves, and issued writs for the immediate assembling of a new parliament. A council of state was appointed, consisting of men of character and moderation, who conferred on Montague, a royalist, in conjunction with Monk, the command of the fleet; and secured the naval as well as military forces in hands favourable to the public settlement (March 3). Notwithstanding all these steps, Monk still maintained the appearance of zeal for a commonwealth, and had hitherto allowed no channel of correspondence between himself and the king to be opened; but he now sent a verbal message by sir John Grenville, assuring the king of his services, giving advice for his conduct, and exhorting him instantly to leave the Spanish territories and retire into Holland. He was apprehensive lest Spain might detain him as a pledge for the recovery of Dunkirk and Jamaica. Charles, who was at Brussels, followed these directions, and very narrowly escaped to Breda. Had he delayed his journey, he had certainly, under pretence of honour and respect, been arrested by the Spaniards. (Supplement, Note VI.)

§ 19. The elections for the new parliament went everywhere in favour of the king's party. The presbyterians and the royalists, being united, formed the voice of the nation, which, without noise, but with infinite ardour, called for the king's restoration. When the parliament met (April 25)—which, from its not being regularly summoned, was called the Convention Parliament—they chose sir Harbottle Grimstone as speaker. On the 27th April a motion for the restoration of the king was made by colonel King, a presbyterian, and Mr. Finch. On the 1st of May, Monk gave directions to Annesley, president of the council, to inform the house that sir John Grenville, a servant of the king's, had been sent over by his majesty, and was now at the door with a letter to the commons. The loudest acclamations were excited by this intelligence. Grenville was

called in ; the letter, accompanied with a declaration, was greedily read. Without one moment's delay, and without a contradictory vote, a committee was appointed to prepare an answer ; and, in order to spread the same satisfaction throughout the kingdom, it was voted that the letter and declaration should be published immediately. It offered a general amnesty, within 40 days, without any exceptions but such as should afterwards be made by parliament ; it promised liberty to tender consciences in matters of religion which did not disturb the peace of the kingdom ; it submitted to the arbitration of the same assembly the inquiry into all grants, purchases, and alienations ; and it assured the soldiers of all their arrears, and promised them for the future the same pay which they then enjoyed. Such was the celebrated Declaration of Breda.

The lords, perceiving the spirit by which the kingdom, as well as the commons, was animated, had hastened to reinstate themselves in their ancient authority, and to take their share in the settlement of the nation. Soon afterwards the two houses attended, while the king was proclaimed with great solemnity, in Palace-yard, at Whitehall, and at Temple Bar (May 8, 1660). A committee of lords and commons was then despatched to invite his majesty to return and take possession of the government. Charles embarked at Scheveling on board a fleet commanded by the duke of York. At Dover he was met by Monk, whom he cordially embraced. The king entered London on the 29th of May, which was also his birthday. The fond imaginations of men interpreted as a happy omen the concurrence of two such joyful periods.



Medal of Charles II. and Catherine of Braganza, probably relating to the queen's dowry. Obv.: CAROLVS ET CATHARINA REX ET REGINA. Busts of king and queen to right. Rev.: DIFFVSVS IN ORBE BRITANNVS. 1670. A globe.

CHAPTER XXIV.

CHARLES II., b. 1630; r. 1660–1685, OR FROM 1649, ACCORDING TO LEGAL RECKONING. FROM THE RESTORATION TO THE PEACE OF NIMEGUEN, A.D. 1660–1678.

§ 1. Character of Charles II. The ministry. Act of Indemnity. Trial of the regicides. Disbanding of the army. § 2. Chancellor Clarendon. Prelacy restored. Affairs of Scotland. § 3. Conference at the Savoy. Act of Uniformity. § 4. Charles marries Catharine of Portugal. Trial and execution of Vane. § 5. Presbyterian clergy ejected. Dunkirk sold. Declaration of Indulgence. § 6. Triennial Act repealed. War with Holland. Naval victory. Plague of London. Five-mile Act. § 7. Great sea fight. Fire of London. Disgrace at Chatham. Peace of Breda. § 8. Fall of Clarendon. § 9. The Cabal. The triple alliance. Secret treaty of Dover. § 10. Blood's crimes. The duke of York declares himself a papist. § 11. The bankers' funds in the exchequer seized. War with Holland. Battle of Southwold Bay. Successes of Louis XIV. Massacre of the De Witts. Prince of Orange stadtholder. § 12. The Test Act. Peace with Holland. § 13. Earl of Danby prime minister. His policy. Parliamentary struggles. § 14. The continental war. Marriage of the prince of Orange and princess Mary. Peace of Nimeguen.

§ 1. WHEN Charles II. ascended the throne of his ancestors, he was thirty years of age. He possessed a vigorous constitution, a fine shape, a manly figure, a graceful air; and though his features were harsh, yet was his countenance in the main lively and engaging. To a ready wit and quick comprehension he united a just understanding and a keen observation both of men and things. The easiest manners, the most unaffected politeness, the most engaging

gaiety, accompanied his conversation and address. Accustomed during his exile to live among his courtiers rather like a companion than a monarch, he retained, even while on the throne, that openness and affability which were capable of reconciling the most determined republicans to his royal dignity.

Into his council were admitted the most eminent men of the nation, without regard to former distinctions. The presbyterians, equally with the royalists, shared his favours. The earl of Manchester, the former friend of Cromwell, was appointed lord chamberlain, and lord Say privy seal; Calamy and Baxter, presbyterian clergymen, were even made chaplains to the king. Admiral Montague, created earl of Sandwich,* was entitled, from his recent services, to great favour, and he obtained it. Monk, created duke of Albemarle,† had performed such signal services, that, according to a vulgar and malignant observation, he ought rather to have expected hatred and ingratitude; yet was he ever treated by the king with great marks of distinction. But the king's principal ministers and favourites were chosen from his ancient friends and supporters. Sir Edward Hyde, created earl of Clarendon, was chancellor and primo minister; the marquis, created duke, of Ormonde was steward of the household; the earl of Southampton, high treasurer; sir Edward Nicholas, secretary of state. Agreeable to the present prosperity of public affairs was the universal joy and festivity diffused throughout the nation. The melancholy austerity of the puritans fell into discredit, together with their principles. The royalists, who had ever affected a contrary disposition, found in their recent success new motives for mirth and gaiety; and it now belonged to them to give repute and fashion to their manners.

One of the king's first acts was a declaration of general pardon to all who chose to accept it within forty days, "excepting only such persons as shall hereafter be excepted by parliament." On May 14 an order was made by the convention parliament that the late king's judges should be secured, colonel Tomlinson excepted. Nineteen surrendered themselves, and their lives were spared. Some were taken in their flight; others escaped beyond sea. Those who had an immediate hand in the late king's death were excepted from the act of indemnity: Cromwell, Ireton, Bradshaw, and others now dead, were attainted, and their estates forfeited. Twenty in all, with Vane and Lambert, though none of the regicides, were at first excepted; but the commons, in compliance with popular demand,

* He was the ancestor of the present earl of Sandwich.

† This title became extinct upon the death of the second duke in 1688. The

present earl of Albemarle is a descendant of Keppel, created earl of Albemarle in 1696.

continued to augment the list. All who had sat in any illegal high court of justice were disabled from bearing offices.

The parliament voted that the settled revenue of the crown, for all charges, should be 1,200,000*l.* a year. They abolished the feudal tenure of knights' service and its incidents, as marriage, relief, and wardship, and also purveyance, and in lieu thereof settled upon the king an hereditary excise duty.* Indeed, it would have been impossible to restore these onerous burdens after their disuse during the time of the commonwealth. Tonnage and poundage were granted to the king during life.

Before the parliament adjourned (September 13), it resolved on the punishment of the regicides. They were arraigned before 34 commissioners appointed for that purpose. Twenty-nine were tried and condemned, but only six of the late king's judges were executed. These were Harrison, Scot, Caraw, Clement, Jones, and Scroop. Axtel, who had guarded the high court of justice; Hacker, who commanded on the day of the king's execution; Cook, the solicitor for the people of England; and Hugh Peters, the fanatical preacher, who had inflamed the army, were tried, condemned, and suffered by order of the house at the same time (October 19). At their desire, on the anniversary of Charles I.'s execution, the bodies of Cromwell, Ireton, and Bradshaw were disinterred, hanged on the gallows at Tyburn, then decapitated, and their heads fixed on Westminster Hall.

After a recess of nearly two months the parliament met; and having despatched the necessary business, the king, in a speech full of the most gracious expressions, thought proper to dissolve them (December 29, 1660). By the advice of Clarendon the army was disbanded. No more troops were retained than a few guards and garrisons, about 1000 horse and 4000 foot. The church of England was restored. Eight bishops still remained alive, and were replaced in their sees; the ejected clergy recovered their livings; the liturgy was again admitted into the churches; but at the same time a declaration, containing a promise of some reforms, was issued, in order to give contentment to the presbyterians and preserve an air of moderation and neutrality.

§ 2. Affairs in Scotland hastened with still quicker steps than those in England towards a settlement and a compliance with the king. The Scotch parliament met January 1, 1661. It rescinded all the statutes passed in 1640 and subsequently. By this act legislation returned to the state in which it was left in 1639. The Covenant was renounced; the king's supremacy was asserted in all cases, civil

* The principal excise duties were upon | clisable article, but did not yield much to
 Liquors and beer. Tea was also an ex- | the revenue in the reign of Charles II.

or ecclesiastical. The lords of articles were reinstated and episcopacy restored. James Sharp, who had been commissioned by the presbyterians in Scotland to manage their interest with the king, was persuaded to abandon that party; and, as a reward for his compliance, was created archbishop of St. Andrews. The parliament now resolved to single out as victims of their severity the marquis of Argyle, and one Guthrie, a preacher, who had urged the execution of Montrose, both of whom seemed to be more deeply implicated than others in the late rebellion. But, as the acts of indemnity passed by the late king in 1641, and by the present in 1651, seemed obstacles to the punishment of Argyle, he was tried for his compliance with the usurpation. Some letters of his to Monk were produced, which could not, by any equitable construction, imply the crime of treason. The parliament, however, scrupled not to pass sentence upon him, and he died with great constancy and courage (May 27).

§ 3. Meanwhile, in England, a conference was held in the Savoy (April 15—July 25, 1661), between 12 bishops and 12 leaders among the presbyterian ministers, with an intention of bringing about an accommodation between the two parties; but the result was unsuccessful, and each party separated more confirmed than ever in their several opinions. The temper of the new parliament, which assembled in May, 1661, hastened the decision of the question. Not more than 56 members of the presbyterian party had obtained seats in the lower house, and they were not able either to oppose or retard the measures of the majority. The Covenant, together with the acts for erecting the high court of justice, for subscribing the engagement, and for declaring England a commonwealth, were ordered to be burnt by the hands of the hangman. The bishops were restored to their seats in parliament. The command of the militia was declared to be solely vested in the crown. The preamble to this statute went so far as to renounce all right even of *defensive* arms against the king. By passing the CORPORATION ACT in this session, parliament compelled all corporate bodies to receive the sacrament according to the rites of the church of England, to renounce the Covenant, and to take the oath of *Non-Resistance*; * following, in this and its other religious acts, the example set by the Long Parliament in respect to the Solemn League and Covenant.

In the next year (1662) the ACT OF UNIFORMITY was passed. Among other of its clauses, it was enacted that no person should hold preferment in the church of England, or administer the sacrament of the Lord's Supper, unless he had been episcopally ordained in the form and manner enjoined by the Book of Common Prayer.

* For further details see Notes and Illustrations (A).

He was also to declare his assent to the said book; to take the oath of canonical obedience; abjure the Solemn League and Covenant; and renounce the right of taking arms, on any pretence whatsoever, against the king. This act, which received the royal assent on May 19, and was to come into operation on St. Bartholomew's Day (August 24), reinstated the church in the same condition in which it stood before the commencement of the civil wars. It has been urged that some such act was necessary if the church of England was to continue and preserve uniformity in its teaching and ministrations. Its benefices had been usurped, in the late troubles, and freely given away to men who were most acceptable to those in power, for the violence of their denunciations against its doctrines and its discipline. Innumerable heresies had sprung up, partly the result of ignorance, partly in the absence of all authority, and were freely disseminated from the pulpit. Such, at that time, was the judgment of the nation as represented by parliament, and there is no reason to suppose that it was represented falsely.

§ 4. On the king's restoration proposals were received from Portugal for renewal of the alliance which the protector had made with that country. To bind the friendship closer, an offer was made of the Portuguese princess, Catharine of Braganza, and a portion of 500,000*l.*, together with two fortresses, Tangier in Africa, and Bombay in the East Indies. The marriage was solemnized by bishop Sheldon (May 20, 1662). But though Catharine was a princess of virtue, she was never able, either by the graces of her person or her mind, to render herself agreeable to the king. Pursuant to an address of the Commons, Lambert and Vane were now brought to trial. The indictment of Vane did not comprehend any of his actions during the life of the late king: it extended only to his behaviour after the late king's death, as member of the council of state, and secretary of the navy. Vane wanted neither courage nor capacity to avail himself of this advantage. He pleaded the famous statute of Henry VII., in which it was enacted that no man should be questioned for his obedience to the king *de facto*. He urged that, whether the established government were a monarchy or a commonwealth, the reason of the thing was still the same; and maintained that the commons were the root and foundation of all lawful authority. But the zeal he had displayed in bringing Strafford to his death, steeled men's hearts against him. His courage deserted him not upon his condemnation. Lest pity for his sufferings should make an impression on the populace, drummers were placed under the scaffold, whose noise, as he began to launch out in reflections on the government, drowned his voice (June 14). Lambert, though also condemned,

was reprieved at the bar; and the judges declared that, if Vane's behaviour had been equally dutiful and submissive, he would have experienced like lenity from the king. Lambert survived his condemnation thirty years. He was confined to the isle of Guernsey, where he amused himself with painting and botany. He died a Roman catholic.

§ 5. The fatal St. Bartholomew approached (August 24), the day when the clergy were obliged, by the late law, either to relinquish their livings or to sign the articles required of them. A large number relinquished their cures, and sacrificed their interest to their religious convictions. Bishopsrics were offered to Calamy, Baxter, and Reynolds, leaders among the presbyterians; but the last only could be prevailed on to accept promotion.

In June, 1663, archbishop Juxon died, and was succeeded by Sheldon, bishop of London. This year, for the last time, the clergy granted four subsidies to the crown; for from this date, though never formally relinquishing their ancient right of taxing themselves, they were taxed with the laity by their representatives in parliament. With a view of mitigating the rigours of the act of uniformity, a declaration was issued by the king on the 26th of December, 1662, in which he mentioned the promises of liberty of conscience contained in the declaration of Breda; and he expressed his intention of making it his special care to incline the parliament to concur with him in some such act for that purpose as might enable him to exercise, with a more universal satisfaction, that power of dispensing with the penalties of the law, in case of dissenters, which he conceived to be inherent in him.* In conformity with this design, at the meeting of parliament (February 18, 1663), the king made a speech intimating his desire of granting some indulgence to dissenters. But the commons were not inclined to concede it. They petitioned against it (February 18), and on the 1st of April followed up their opposition by an address, that all popish priests and Jesuits might be banished the kingdom. Whether they began to suspect the king of an inclination to Romanism, and were even then aware that his brother, the Duke of York, had embraced that faith, is uncertain.†

Notwithstanding the supplies voted to Charles, his treasury was

* The *Dispensing and Suspending Powers*, as they are called, were claimed both by Charles II and James II. The *Dispensing Power* consists in the exemption of particular persons, under special circumstances, from the operation of penal laws; the *Suspending Power* in nullifying the entire operation of any statute or any

number of statutes. (Amos, *The English Constitution in the Reign of Charles II.* p. 19, seq.) Charles II. made a second attempt in 1672 to suspend the penal laws against nonconformists. See below, p. 468.

† The duke did not avow his conversion until 1669.

still very empty and very much indebted. The forces sent over to Portugal, and the fleets maintained in order to defend it, had already cost the king nearly double the money which had been paid as the queen's portion. The time fixed for payment of his sister's portion to the duke of Orleans was approaching. Tangier had become an additional burden to the crown, and Dunkirk cost 120,000*l.* a year. Clarendon advised the accepting of a sum of money in lieu of a place which he thought the king, from the narrow state of his revenue, was no longer able to retain; and a bargain was at length concluded with France for 400,000*l.* (November, 1662). The artillery and stores were valued at a fifth of the sum. The act was unpopular, but the impolicy of the sale consisted only in its having been made to France. (Supplement, Note VII.)

§ 6. Next session the parliament (March, 1664) brought in a bill for repealing the triennial act; and in lieu of the former securities passed a bill "for assembling and holding of parliaments once in three years at least." By the act of uniformity, every clergyman who should officiate without being properly qualified was punishable by fine and imprisonment. To give effect to this act, a statute was passed for "preventing and suppressing seditious conventicles." It provided that, wherever five persons above those of the same household should assemble in a religious congregation, every one of them should be liable, for the first offence, to be imprisoned three months, or pay 5*l.*; for the second, to be imprisoned six months, or pay 10*l.*; and for the third, to be transported seven years, or pay 100*l.* A second conventicle act, passed six years later (1670), reduced the penalties on hearers, but inflicted a fine on preachers and those who lent their houses for this purpose. The commons likewise presented an address to the king, complaining of the wrongs offered to the English trade by the Dutch, and promising to assist the king with their lives and fortunes in asserting the rights of his crown against all opposition whatsoever. This was the first open step towards the Dutch war. The rivalry of commerce had produced among the English a violent enmity against the neighbouring republic. The English merchants had the mortification to find that all attempts to extend their trade were still turned by the vigilance of their rivals to their loss and dishonour, and their indignation increased when they considered the superior naval power of England. The duke of York was eagerly in favour of the war with Holland, and desired an opportunity of distinguishing himself. The trade of the new African company was checked by the settlements of the Dutch.* The king yielded to the wishes of the nation; war was

* Guinea was now first coined in England of the gold brought from the settlement of that name.



Medal of James duke of York, afterwards James II., commemorating the Naval Victory over the Dutch, June 3, 1665.

Obverse: IACOBUS . DVX . EBOR . ET . ALBAN . DOM . MAGN . ADMIRALLVS . ANGLIÆ . &c.
Bust to right.

declared with the Dutch (February 22, 1665). To support it parliament voted two millions and a half, the largest supply that had ever yet been given to any king of England.

The English fleet, consisting of 98 sail, was commanded by the duke of York, and under him by prince Rupert and the earl of Sandwich. Opdam was admiral of the Dutch navy, of nearly equal force. A battle was fought in Solebay off the coast of Suffolk (June 3). In the heat of action, when engaged in close fight with the duke of York, Opdam's ship blew up. This accident much discouraged the Dutch, who fled towards their own coast. The vanquished had 19 ships sunk and taken; the victors lost only one. In this war the method of fighting in line was first introduced into naval tactics by the duke of York. The French monarch, alarmed lest the English should establish an uncontrollable dominion over the sea and over commerce, resolved to support the Dutch in the unequal contest in which they were engaged, and declared war



Reverse: *NEC MINOR IN TERRIS*. A Naval Engagement: in front the Admiral's ship; beneath, *MDCCLXV* 1665.

against England. (January 16, 1666). He was joined by the king of Denmark.

In this year the plague broke out in London with great violence. In July the weekly deaths were 1100; they increased to 10,000 a week in September; and not less than 100,000 persons were computed to have perished in the course of the year. In consequence of the plague, the king summoned the parliament to Oxford; and they voted him 1,250,000*l.*, to be levied in two years by monthly assessments. In the same session was passed the *FIVE-MILE ACT*, by which it was enacted that any dissenting teacher who had not subscribed the declaration required by the act of uniformity, and refused to subscribe the oath of non-resistance, should not, except in travelling, come within five miles of any corporate town sending members to parliament, or of any place where he had formerly preached. The penalty was a fine of 40*l.*, and six months' imprisonment. Many of the nonconformists after their ejection obtained a living by keeping schools, but this resource was denied

them, under colour of removing them from places where their influence might be dangerous.

§ 7. After France had declared war, England was evidently over-matched in force. Louis had given orders to the duke of Beaufort, his admiral, to sail from Toulon with 40 sail. Monk, now duke of Albemarle, and prince Rupert commanded the English fleet, which exceeded not 74 sail. Albemarle detached prince Rupert with 20 ships in order to oppose the duke of Beaufort. It had been reported that the Dutch fleet was not ready for sea; but Albemarle, to his great surprise, descried off the North Foreland the Dutch fleet of more than 80 sail, under De Ruyter and Tromp, son of the famous admiral. Nevertheless he gave orders to attack. The battle that ensued is one of the most memorable that we read of in story, whether we consider its long duration or the desperate courage with which it was fought (June 1-4, 1666). Albemarle made here some atonement by his valour for the rashness of the attempt. On the first day darkness parted the combatants before any decided result had been achieved. On the second day 16 fresh ships joined the Dutch fleet during the action; and the English were so shattered that their fighting ships were reduced to 28, and they found themselves obliged to retreat towards their own coast. Next morning the English were compelled to continue their retreat. About two o'clock the Dutch had come up and were ready to renew the fight, when a new fleet was descried from the south, crowding all sail to reach the scene of action. It was prince Rupert's fleet; and Albemarle, who had received intelligence of the prince's approach, bent his course towards him. Unhappily the *Prince Royal*, a ship of 100 guns, the largest in the fleet, ran on the Galloper sands, and was obliged to strike. Next morning the battle began afresh, with more equal force than ever, and with equal valour. After long cannonading, the fleets came to a close combat, which was continued with great violence till they were parted by a mist. The English retired first into their harbours, and victory remained uncertain. It was the conjunction alone of the French that could give a decisive superiority to the Dutch. In order to facilitate this conjunction, De Ruyter, having repaired his fleet, posted himself at the mouth of the Thames. The English, under prince Rupert and Albemarle, were not long in coming to the attack (July 25). The numbers of each fleet amounted to about 80 sail; and the valour and experience of the commanders, as well as of the seamen, rendered the engagement fierce and obstinate. The battle ended in the defeat of the Dutch; and De Ruyter, full of indignation at yielding the superiority to the enemy, frequently exclaimed, "My God! what a wretch am I! Among so many thousand bullets, is there not one to put an end to

my miserable life?" All that night and next day the English pressed upon the rear of the Dutch, and it was only by the redoubled efforts of De Ruyter that the latter saved themselves in their harbours. The English now rode incontestable masters of the sea, and insulted the Dutch in their havens.

During this war a calamity happened in London which threw the people into great consternation. A fire, breaking out in a baker's house near the bridge, spread itself on all sides with such rapidity that no efforts could extinguish it till it had laid in ashes a considerable part of the city. Four days and nights did the fire advance (September 2-5), and it was only by the blowing up of houses that it was at last extinguished. The king and the duke used their utmost endeavours to stop the progress of the flames, but all their efforts were unsuccessful. About 400 streets and 13,000 houses were reduced to ashes. The causes of this calamity were evident. The narrowness of the streets of London, where the houses were almost entirely built of wood, the dryness of the season, and a violent east wind: these were so many concurring circumstances which rendered it easy to divine the reason of the destruction. But the multitude was not satisfied with this obvious account. As the papists were the chief objects of public detestation, the rumour which threw the guilt on them was favourably received by the people. No proof, however, or even presumption, after the strictest inquiry by a committee of parliament, ever appeared to authorize such a calumny; yet, in order to give countenance to the popular prejudice, the inscription engraved by authority on the Monument ascribed this calamity to that hated sect. Though the ruins of the city extended over 436 acres, the fire proved in the issue beneficial. Care was taken to make the streets wider and more regular than before, and London became much more healthy. The plague, which used to break out with great fury twice or thrice every century, and indeed was always lurking in some corner or other of the city, has never appeared since that calamity. In this fire old St. Paul's was destroyed, and as the books published during that year were stored under its vaults, they perished in the flames.

The fruitless and destructive nature of the war, combined with the plague and fire, disposed the English cabinet to make advances for a peace. Conferences were opened at Breda in May, 1667. Money was scarce in consequence of the embarrassments occasioned by the plague and the fire, and the large ships were laid up in the hopes of peace. De Witt, who governed the Dutch republic at this time, saw that it was a favourable opportunity for striking a blow which might at once restore to the Dutch the honour lost during the war, and severely revenge those injuries which he ascribed to the wanton

ambition and injustice of the English. Instigated also by the English refugees in Holland, he refused an armistice, protracting the negotiations at Breda, whilst he hastened the naval preparations. The Dutch fleet appeared in the Thames under the command of De Ruyter. The new fort of Sheerness, built to replace the strong castle of Queenborough, foolishly dismantled by the commonwealth, was destroyed (June 11). Taking the advantage of a spring tide and an easterly wind, the Dutch pressed on and broke the chain which had been drawn across the Medway, though the passage had been obstructed by sunken vessels. Three ships which guarded the chain were destroyed; several more were damaged, others were burned at Chatham (June 13). The Dutch fell down the Medway without receiving any considerable damage; and it was apprehended that they might next tide sail up the Thames, and extend their hostilities even to London bridge. Thirteen ships were sunk at Woolwich, four at Blackwall; platforms were raised in many places, furnished with artillery; the trained bands were called out; and every place was in a violent agitation. The Dutch sailed next to Portsmouth, where they made a fruitless attempt; they met with no better success at Plymouth; they insulted Harwich; they sailed again up the Thames as far as Tilbury, where they were repulsed. The whole coast was in alarm; and had the French thought proper at this time to join the Dutch fleet and to invade England, consequences the most fatal might justly have been apprehended. But Louis had no intention to push the victory to such extremities: his interest required that a balance should be kept between the two maritime powers, not that an uncontrolled superiority should be given to either.

The second Dutch war was ended by the treaty of Breda (July 21, 1667). The acquisition of New York, formerly *New Amsterdam*, captured by sir Robert Holmes (August 27, 1664), was one of the chief advantages the English reaped from the war. By the same treaty Nova Scotia was given up to France in return for Antigua, Monserrat, and St. Kitts.

§ 8. On the 11th of August the great seal was taken from the earl of Clarendon, who had always been the king's most trusty adviser, and was given to sir Orlando Bridgman. On the 15th of October both houses returned the king thanks for Clarendon's dismissal. Although the duke of York exerted his utmost interest in behalf of his father-in-law, these proceedings against the disgraced minister were followed up by an impeachment against him, opened in the House of Commons by Mr. Edward Seymour (November 12). He was accused, amongst other offences, of venality and cruelty in his office as chancellor, of acquiring enormous wealth,

and selling Dunkirk to the French. Most of the charges were false or frivolous; but some could not so easily be disproved; and the minds of men were so much irritated against him that they were ready to condemn him on very insufficient evidence. During his administration he had offended both parties; by cavaliers and presbyterians he was equally disliked; and his severe and unbending manners unfitted him to mix in a gay and licentious court. The marriage of his daughter, Anne Hyde, with the duke of York, the heir presumptive to the throne, did not tend to render Clarendon less austere and inflexible, or to conciliate adversaries. At the suggestion of Charles, the earl withdrew to the continent (December 1). From Calais he addressed a petition to the lords, which was voted scandalous by both houses, as reproaching the king and impugning the justice of the nation. It was condemned to be burned by the hands of the hangman. Both houses then passed upon him sentence of banishment, and this act received the royal assent (December 19). He survived his sentence seven years, living first at Montpellier, afterwards at Rouen; and he employed his leisure chiefly in reducing into order his celebrated "*History of the Civil Wars*," for which he had collected ample materials.

§ 9. The ministry formed after the dismissal of Clarendon, called the "*King's Cabal*," from the initial letters of the names of its five principal members, consisted of sir Thomas Clifford, afterwards lord Clifford; lord Ashley, afterwards earl of Shaftesbury; the duke of Buckingham; lord Arlington, previously sir Henry Bennett; and the earl of Lauderdale. But the word itself is of much earlier origin. The ignominious close of the Dutch war, the fall of Clarendon, and the discontents of parliament, convinced the new ministry of the necessity of conciliating popular feeling; and the policy which they now adopted equally surprised and delighted the nation.

Louis XIV., who now filled the throne of France, surpassed all contemporary monarchs, as in grandeur, so likewise in fame and glory. His ambition, regulated by prudence, not by justice, carefully provided every means of conquest; and before he put himself in motion he seemed to have absolutely insured success. The sudden decline and almost total fall of the Spanish monarchy opened an inviting field to so enterprising a prince. Setting up a claim to the Spanish Netherlands in right of his wife Louis invaded the country with a powerful army; Lisle, Courtray, and several other cities were immediately taken; and it was visible that no force in the Netherlands was able to stop or retard the progress of the French arms. Sir William Temple, the British resident at Brussels, urged upon his government the importance of forming a league with

Holland in order to save the Netherlands, and he received instructions to go secretly to the Hague, and enter into negotiations with the States. He found in De Witt, then the chief minister of the republic, a man of generous and enlarged sentiments; and in five days' time an alliance was formed between England and Holland to check the ambitious schemes of Louis. This league was joined by Sweden, and hence is known by the name of the TRIPLE ALLIANCE (January 13, 1668). Louis was obliged to give way; the plenipotentiaries of all the powers met shortly afterwards at Aix-la-Chapelle; and a treaty was concluded upon the terms agreed upon by Temple and De Witt, by which it was arranged that Spain should resign to France all the towns conquered by the French in the last campaign, but should be guaranteed in the possession of the rest of Flanders.

But the triple alliance was not popular with Charles. He had no liking for the Dutch, who were republicans, still less for the party of De Witt. Many of the bitterest opponents to the monarchy, who still hoped for the restoration of the *good old cause*, as they termed the commonwealth, had found refuge and favour in Holland. From Holland their political and religious emissaries passed over to England, to sow disaffection and foment insurrections. However ostensibly submissive, parliament had resolved to keep the reins in its own hands; and Charles did not trust parliament, nor had he much reason for trusting it. He was a keen observer of mankind, and it did not require much keenness of observation to see that those very men who were now loudest in their professions of loyalty had once been as loud in their denunciation of monarchy. But to secure independence, he must court the alliance of Louis. Accordingly, soon after the conclusion of the triple alliance, he entered into negotiations with Louis through his sister, the duchess of Orleans, by whose means a secret treaty between England and France was concluded at Dover (May 22, 1670). By this treaty Charles was, *at a convenient time*, to make a public profession of the Roman catholic religion, and also assist Louis against Holland. Louis, in return, agreed to pay Charles 200,000*l.* a year for the support of the fleet so long as the war lasted, and to aid him with an army of 6000 men in the event of an insurrection in England.

The treaty was signed by *all* the members of the "Cabal;" but the article relating to *religion* was divulged only to Clifford and Arlington, both of whom were catholics. The treaty was disgraceful; but it is probable that neither of the principal contrahents ever seriously intended to carry out his part of the treaty. Louis was not to advance the money until Charles found it convenient to turn catholic; and Charles, on his part, never found it

convenient to turn catholic, because he never could be sure, if he did, that Louis would advance the money.

§ 10. About this time Blood made himself memorable by his daring and his crimes. He was a disbanded officer of the protector's, and having been attainted for an insurrection in Ireland, he meditated revenge upon Ormond, the lord-lieutenant. Having by artifice drawn off the duke's footmen, he attacked his coach in the night time, as it drove along St. James's street in London, and made himself master of the duke's person. He might have accomplished his crime on the spot had he not meditated refinements in his vengeance. He was resolved to hang the duke at Tyburn, and for that purpose bound him, and mounted him on horseback behind one of his companions. They were advanced a good way into the fields, when the duke, making efforts for his liberty, threw himself to the ground, and brought down with him the assassin to whom he was fastened. As they were struggling together in the mire, Ormond's servants, roused by the alarm, came up to the rescue. Blood and his companions, firing their pistols in a hurry at the duke, rode off, and saved themselves by means of the darkness (December 6, 1670). Buckingham was at first, with some appearances of reason, suspected to be the author of this attempt; and Ossory, Ormond's son, told him in the king's presence, that, if his father came to a violent end, he would pistol him, though he stood behind the king's chair. Shortly after, Blood nearly succeeded in carrying off the regalia from the Tower (May 9, 1671). He had wounded Edwards, the keeper of the jewel-office, and had got out of the Tower with his plunder, when he was overtaken and seized, with some of his associates. One of them was known to have been concerned in the attempt upon Ormond, and Blood was immediately concluded to be the ringleader. When questioned, he frankly avowed the enterprise, but refused to name his accomplices. "The fear of death," he said, "should never engage him either to deny guilt or betray a friend." These extraordinary circumstances made him the general subject of conversation; and the king was moved, by an idle curiosity, to see and speak with a person so noted for his courage and his crimes. Blood might now esteem himself secure of pardon, and he wanted not address to improve the opportunity. He told Charles that he had been engaged with others in a design to kill him with a carabine above Battersea, where his majesty often went to bathe; that when he had taken his stand among the reeds, full of these bloody resolutions, he found his heart checked with an awe of majesty; and he not only relented himself, but diverted his associates from their purpose. He warned the king of the danger which might attend

his execution, saying that his associates had bound themselves by the strictest oaths to revenge the death of any of their confederates. Charles not only pardoned Blood, but conferred on him an estate of 500*l.* a year in Ireland. Eventually he died in prison.

§ 11. Though peace had been concluded with the Dutch in 1667, and was apparently more strongly cemented by the triple alliance in the next year, their relations with England were far from satisfactory. Continual disputes took place between the Dutch and English fishermen, and the honour of the flag was a fertile source of discontent and bickering. At the close of 1671, Temple, who was sent ambassador to Holland (January, 1669), was recalled; and sir George Downing was sent over in his stead to demand satisfaction. But before declaring war it was necessary to raise a large sum of money. The supplies lately voted by the commons were nearly exhausted; and neither Charles nor his ministers ventured as yet upon levying money without consent of parliament. In this difficulty either Clifford or Ashley suggested the shameful expedient of seizing all the money which the bankers had intrusted to the exchequer. It had been usual for the bankers to lend large sums of money to the government, upon the security of the taxes, and they were repaid with interest as the latter came in. There were now about 1,300,000*l.* thus advanced to the exchequer; and it was suddenly announced that the government did not intend to repay for twelve months the principal, but only the interest, to the depositors (January 2, 1672). The ruin of many followed this open violation of public credit. Many of the bankers stopped payment, and the commercial credit of the nation was shaken. About the same time Charles adopted other arbitrary measures, though some of them were not objectionable in themselves. Of these the most important was a proclamation, which he issued by virtue of his supreme power in ecclesiastical matters, suspending the penal laws enacted against all nonconformists or recusants whatsoever, and granting to the protestant dissenters the public exercise of their religion, to the catholics the exercise of theirs in private houses (March 15).

England and France declared war against Holland, March 17, 1672. The Dutch fleet, under the command of De Ruyter, sailed against the combined English and French fleets, which lay in Southwold Bay, on the coast of Suffolk. The English fleet was commanded by the duke of York. A desperate action ensued. The French kept aloof; but both the English and Dutch fleets suffered severely. The earl of Sandwich, who led the English van, was killed. The fight continued till night, when the Dutch retired (May 28). On land Louis at first carried everything before him.

He crossed the Rhine at the head of an irresistible army; city after city opened its gates to him, and three of the United Provinces were overrun by his arms. The small army of the republic was commanded by William, prince of Orange (afterwards William III. of England), then in the 22nd year of his age.* He gave strong indications of those great qualities by which his life was afterwards so much distinguished. Unable to stem the torrent, he retired into the province of Holland, where he expected, from the natural strength of the country, since all human art and courage failed, to be able to make some resistance. Amsterdam alone seemed to retain some courage; and the sluices being opened, the neighbouring country, without regard to the damage sustained, was laid under water. All the provinces followed the example, and scrupled not, in this extremity, to restore to the sea those fertile fields which with great art and expense had been won from it. In these unfortunate circumstances, the Dutch, with the exception of Amsterdam, were prepared to make enormous sacrifices; and ambassadors were despatched to implore the pity of the two combined monarchs. In answer to their request, Charles sent the duke of Buckingham, the earl of Arlington, and lord Halifax to Holland. When the duke represented to William the impossibility of successful resistance, and asked him whether he did not see that the commonwealth was ruined, "There is one certain means," replied the prince, "by which I can be sure never to see my country's ruin—I will die in the last ditch." The terms proposed by each were the hardest; both united, they appeared absolutely intolerable, and reduced the Dutch, who saw no means of defence, to despair. What extremely augmented their distress were the violent internal factions with which they were agitated. De Witt still persevered in opposing the repeal of the perpetual edict by which the prince of Orange was excluded from the stadtholdership, and from all share in the civil administration. The people rose in insurrection at Dort, and by force constrained their burgomasters to sign the repeal so much demanded. This proved a signal for a general revolt throughout all the provinces. At Amsterdam, the Hague, Middlebourg, Rotterdam, the people flew to arms, and, trampling under foot the authority of their magistrates, obliged them to submit. This movement was followed by the massacre of the brothers De Witt by the populace (August 4, 1672), who exercised on the dead bodies of those virtuous citizens indignities too shocking to be recited. But the

* His father had been stadtholder of the provinces, but upon his death in 1650, eight days before the birth of his son, the dignity remained in abeyance. Great

jealousy was felt of the young prince, and the chief opponent of his party was De Witt, the grand pensionary of the province of Holland.

republic, now firmly united under one leader, began to collect the remains of its pristine vigour. William, worthy of that heroic family from which he sprang, adopted sentiments becoming the head of a brave and free people. The intolerable conditions demanded by their enemies he exhorted the States to reject with scorn; and by his advice they put an end to negotiations which served only to break the courage of their fellow-citizens and delay the assistance of their allies. The spirit of the young prince infused itself into his hearers. Those who lately entertained thoughts of yielding now bravely determined to resist, and defend those last remains of their native soil, of which neither the irruptions of Louis, nor the inundation of waters, had as yet bereaved them. In event of failure, they were resolved to take refuge in the Indies, and erect a new empire in those remote regions. Louis, finding that his enemies gathered courage behind their inundations, and that no further success was likely for the present to attend his arms, retired to Versailles.

§ 12. In February, 1673, the English parliament met, after prorogations continued for nearly two years. They chose for their speaker sir John Charleton, who was displaced on account of illness to make way for Edward Seymour. The king declared to both houses the necessity of the war with the Dutch, desiring supplies. His indulgence to dissenters, he told them, had produced a good effect, and he was resolved to abide by it. He was followed by lord Shaftesbury, the chancellor, who made use of a remarkable expression in his speech, much noticed at the time—*Delenda est Carthago*; meaning that the Dutch must be extirpated, for “they were England’s eternal enemy by interest and inclination.” On taking the king’s speech into consideration, the commons resolved, by 168 to 116, “that the penal statutes against dissenters could not be suspended except by act of parliament,” and resolved to address his majesty to that effect. After a short resistance Charles gave way; on March 8th he cancelled his declaration for suspension of the penal laws, and received the thanks of both houses. A motion had been rejected in the commons for declaring dissenters incapable of holding seats in parliament; but a few days after a law was passed, known as the *Test Act*, which continued in force till the reign of George IV.* By this act all persons holding any public office were compelled to take the oaths of allegiance and supremacy, to receive the sacrament according to the rites of the church of England, and abjure the doctrine of transubstantiation. In consequence of this act, the duke of York resigned his commands, and was succeeded in the fleet by prince Rupert. He fought several battles with the

* For further particulars see Notes and Illustrations (A).

Dutch this summer, but the victory was generally doubtful. The French alliance, and the war against Holland, became more and more unpopular; and when the parliament met in the autumn they discovered great symptoms of ill humour (October 20). They expressed great indignation at the marriage of the duke of York with a princess of the house of Modena, who was not of the Protestant religion. They voted the standing army a grievance, and declared that they would grant no more supplies, unless it appeared that the Dutch were so obstinate as to refuse all reasonable conditions of peace (November 4). To cut short these disagreeable attacks, the king prorogued the parliament to January 7.

The "Cabal" ministry was now at an end. Lord Shaftesbury, disgusted with the king's compliance on the subject of indulgence, deserted the court, and became chief leader of the opposition (March). Directly after the prorogation he was dismissed from the office of chancellor (November 9), to which he had been elevated in the preceding year. The great seal was given to sir Heneage Finch, afterwards earl of Nottingham. The test had incapacitated Clifford, and the white staff was conferred on sir Thomas Osborne, soon after created earl of Danby,* a minister of some abilities, who had risen by his parliamentary talents. Parliament met at the day appointed (January 7, 1674), when the king desired that they would grant supplies for the war, and discharge his debts to the goldsmiths. But the opposition, reinforced and guided by the counsels and activity of Shaftesbury, proceeded to attack the king's ministers. Buckingham and Arlington were examined by the commons, and the latter was impeached. On the 7th of February they indirectly attacked the king. They resolved that the maintaining any standing forces, other than the militia, was a grievance to the nation; that the king ought not to retain any guards, for it was impossible to deliver the nation from a standing army until the guards were "pulled up by the roots." The king plainly saw that he could expect no supply from the commons for carrying on the war, and concluded a separate treaty with the Dutch (February 9, 1674). The honour of the flag was yielded to the English: all possessions were restored to the same condition as before the war: and the States agreed to pay to the king nearly 300,000*l*. Charles, though obliged to make a separate peace, still kept up his connections with the French monarch. He apologized for deserting his ally, by representing to him the difficulties under which he laboured. On February 24 Parliament was prorogued till November 10.

* He was created by William III. | duke of Leeds in 1694, and from him the
marquess of Carmarthen in 1699, and | present duke is lineally descended.

§ 13. Considerable alterations were made about this time in the English ministry. Buckingham, who had long, by his wit and entertaining humour, possessed the king's favour, was dismissed; and he now, like Shaftesbury, became a leader of the opposition. The earl of Danby, the lord-treasurer, obtained the chief direction of public affairs. He was a declared enemy to the French alliance. But, while he scorned the idea of making the king absolute by the assistance of a foreign court, he had the highest notions of the king's prerogative, and endeavoured to augment the power of the crown. Accordingly, in April, 1675, he introduced a bill into the House of Lords, by which all members of either house, and all who possessed any office, were required to swear that it was not lawful, under any pretence whatsoever, to take arms against the king; that they abhorred the traitorous position of taking arms by his authority against his person; and that they would not at any time endeavour to alter the protestant religion, or the established government either in church or state. Great opposition was made to this bill. For 17 days the debates were carried on with much zeal, and it was passed by two voices only in the House of Peers. During this year great heats arose on a question of privilege between the two houses, and all other business was suspended. To put an end to this unseemly altercation Charles, on June 9, prorogued the commons until October 13. But as differences still continued, when the houses met again in the autumn, the commons were further prorogued, on November 22, to February 15, 1677. When the parliament met on that day, Buckingham took exception to its legality on the ground that, by a prorogation extending over 15 months, it was virtually dissolved. The question was debated at great length, and ended in the committal of the duke and his supporters, Shaftesbury, Salisbury, and Wharton, to the Tower, for contempt of parliament.

§ 14. Meantime the war continued on the continent. The prince of Orange, supported by the emperor and the German states, continued manfully the struggle against Louis. The earl of Danby and the nation urged Charles to join the Dutch, and put an effectual curb upon the ambition of the French monarch; and the commons promised suitable supplies. Accordingly, on the 16th of April, 1677, the royal assent was given to a bill for raising money to recruit the fleet. But on the 25th of May when the king had shown them the necessity of supply before he ventured on a rupture with France, the commons declared they would grant nothing until the king had entered into an alliance offensive and defensive with Holland against France. The king stood upon his prerogative. He refused to be dictated to in matters of peace

or war, or that the commons should prescribe what alliances he should make. He had already, the year before (February 17), concluded a secret treaty with Louis XIV., by which, on receipt of a considerable pension, he had agreed to enter into no engagements with foreign powers without the consent of France. But Charles was distrusted by Louis as well as by his own subjects. The French ambassador entered into secret negotiations with the popular party, and bribed the most eminent of the popular leaders to resist the war against France. Charles, however, was sincerely anxious for peace; for he was sensible that so long as the war continued abroad he should never enjoy peace at home. As a means to this end, he was persuaded by the earl of Danby and sir William Temple to entertain proposals for marrying the princess Mary, the elder daughter of the duke of York, to the prince of Orange, who came over to England at the close of the campaign of 1677. The marriage was celebrated, November 4, and gave general satisfaction; but it occasioned no alteration in the policy of Charles, except that he exerted himself more vigorously in arranging the terms of a peace. In the following year (1678) peace was signed at Nimeguen, between France and Holland (August 10). Louis resigned the city of Maestricht to the Dutch, but retained possession of Franche-Comté, together with Valenciennes, Cambray, and other towns in the Low Countries. The French king thus obtained considerable accession of territory at the expense of Spain. The king of Spain and the emperor were indignant at this treaty, but were obliged to accept the terms prescribed to them.

NOTES AND ILLUSTRATIONS.

A. TEST AND CORPORATION ACTS.

The *Corporation Act* was passed in 1661. In it a religious test was combined with a political test. All Corporate Officers were required to have taken the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper, "according to the rites of the Church of England," within one year before their elections, and, upon being elected, to take the oaths of allegiance and of supremacy, and the following oath: "I, A. B., do declare and believe that it is not lawful, upon any pretence whatsoever, to take arms against the King, and that I do abhor that traitorous position of taking

arms by his authority against his person, or against those that are commissioned by him;" besides subscribing a Declaration against the Solemn League and Covenant. The Corporation Oath of *Non-resistance* was abolished, not indeed at the Revolution, though it most probably became a dead letter at that epoch, but at the accession of the House of Brunswick, by the "Act for quietning and establishing Corporations." (5 Geo. 1. c. 6, s. 2.)

The *Test Act* was passed in 1673, with the object of preventing political power being placed in the hands of Papists or dissenters. Its title is, "An Act for preventing dangers which may happen from

Popish Recusants." Under the provisions of the Act, all persons holding any office or place of trust, civil or military, or admitted of the King's or Duke of York's household, were to receive the Sacrament according to the usage of the Church of England, and to make and subscribe the following declaration: "I, A. B., do declare that I believe there is not any transubstantiation in the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper, or in the elements of bread and wine, at or after the consecration thereof by any person whatsoever." The Dissenters entertained such fears of the Papists that they actively supported the passing of this Act, though it included them not less than Papists, by reason of the requisition of taking the Sacrament according to the rites of the Church of England.

The *Parliamentary Test* was imposed in the year 1678, five years after the first test. In this interval, the alarm in the country of the designs of Papists had been greatly increased by the discovery of the supposed Popish Plot. The title of the Act is, "An Act for the more effectual preserving the King's person and government, by disabling Papists from sitting in either House of Parliament." Under the provisions of the Act, "No Peer or Member of the House of Commons shall sit or vote without taking the oaths of allegiance and supremacy, and a Declaration repudiating the doctrine of transubstantiation, the adoration of the Virgin, and the sacrifice of the Mass. Peers and Members offending are to be deemed and adjudged *Popish Recusants convict*, and are to forfeit 500*l.*," besides suffering numerous disabilities. These Acts were repealed in the reign of George IV.—See Amos, *The English Constitution in the Reign of Charles II.*, p. 135, seq.

B. THE ACT OF UNIFORMITY.

This Act is entitled "An Act for Uniformity of Public Prayers, and administration of Sacraments and other rites and ceremonies; and for establishing the form of making, ordaining, and consecrating bishops, priests, and deacons in the Church of England." In treating of the Act it will be convenient to notice, I., those clauses which have been repealed; and II., those clauses touching assent and consent to the Book of Common

Prayer and Episcopal Ordination, which continue in force in the present day.

I. By the 34th section, all former statutes relating to the uniformity of prayer, and administration of the Sacraments, were re-enacted. The Act of Uniformity in force previously to the Statute of Charles II. was the 1st of Elizabeth, c. 2, which incorporates, by reference, penal clauses in the earlier Uniformity Act of 5th and 6th Edward VI., c. 1, which, again, incorporates, by reference, similar clauses in the Uniformity Act of the 2nd and 3rd Edward VI., c. 1. These obscure references will be found to include "the declaring or speaking anything in the derogation, depraving, or despising of the Book of Common Prayer, or of anything therein contained, or any part thereof, the punishment of which, for the third offence, is forfeiture of goods and chattels and imprisonment for life. Among other clauses included, by reference, in the Uniformity Act of Charles II., are the compelling attendance at parish churches, and the offence of whoever shall "willingly and wittingly hear or be present at any other manner or form of Common Prayer than is mentioned and set forth in the Book of Common Prayer," provisions which have been repealed by statutes of Victoria (7 and 8 Vict. c. 102; 9 and 10 Vict. c. 59).

By the 14th section of the Act, it is enacted, "that no person shall presume to administer the holy Sacrament of the Lord's Supper, before such time as he shall be ordained Priest, according to the form and manner in and by the said Book prescribed, unless he have formerly been made Priest by episcopal ordination, upon pain to forfeit for the said offence the sum of 100*l.*" The 100*l.* penalty was repealed by the Toleration Act of William and Mary.

The 9th section of the Act contained the following declaration: "I, A. B., do declare that it is not lawful on any pretence whatsoever to take arms against the King; and that I do abhor that traitorous position of taking arms by his authority against his person, or against those that are commissioned by him; and that I will conform to the liturgy of the Church of England as it is now by law established." This declaration was required to be subscribed not only by

every person in holy orders, but also by public and private schoolmasters, who were likewise required to take out a license from the bishop of the diocese, under penalty of three months' imprisonment. The Declaration, so far as it relates to non-resistance, was abrogated at the Revolution (1 Will. and Mary c. 8). The licenses of private tutors continued, though latterly a dead letter, till it was abolished by a statute of Victoria (9 and 10 Vict. c. 59).

A Declaration, repudiating the Solemn League and Covenant, was, by the Act of Uniformity, to be taken until the 25th of March, 1682, a period allowed for the extinction of Covenanters by the course of nature.

II. With respect to the *permanent clauses* of the Act of Uniformity: these are, 1st, the Declaration of *assent* and *consent* to the Book of Common Prayer; and 2nd, a provision requiring *Episcopal Ordination*.—Amos, *ibid.*, p. 87, seq.

C. IMMUNITY OF JURIES.

Previous to the year 1670, juries were frequently fined if they gave a verdict contrary to the dictation of the judge. But in that year, this pernicious practice was finally abolished by the decision of Vaughan, chief justice of the Common Pleas. The Recorder of London had set a fine of 40 marks upon each of the jury

who had acquitted the quakers Penn and Mead, on an indictment for an unlawful assembly. Bushell, the foreman, refused to pay, and being committed to prison, obtained his writ of Habeas Corpus from the Court of Common Pleas; and on the return made, that he had been committed for finding a verdict against full and manifest evidence, and against the direction of the court, chief justice Vaughan held the ground to be insufficient, and discharged the prisoner. Erskine, in his famous speech for the dean of St. Asaph, observed that the country was almost as much indebted to Bushell, as to Hampden in resisting ship-money.

In earlier times, when juries were also witnesses (see p. 156), they were liable to be punished by the terrible writ of *Attainet*,* if a second jury, consisting of 24 jurors, found them guilty of giving a false verdict. The ancient punishment was, in such a case, that the jurors should be deprived of all their property, be imprisoned, and become for ever infamous; and that the plaintiff should be restored to all he had lost by reason of the unjust verdict. This odious proceeding, though obsolete even in the time of Elizabeth, was not abolished till the 5th of George IV. See Hallam's *Constitutional History*, iii. p. 9; Amos, *The English Constitution in the Reign of Charles II.*, p. 279, seq.; Kerr's *Blackstone*, iii. p. 433.

* *Attinatus*, stained or blackened.



Medal relating to the Rye-house plot. Obv.: PRÆSENT FULMINE ICTV 1683. The king as Hercules menaced by a hydra-like monster, having seven human heads, which represented those of the supposed conspirators: above, a hand in the clouds holding a thunderbolt.

CHAPTER XXV.

CHARLES II. CONTINUED. FROM THE PEACE OF NIMEGUEN TO THE DEATH OF THE KING, A.D. 1678-1685.

§ 1. The popish plot. Oates's narrative. Godfrey's murder. § 2. Zeal of the parliament. Bedloe's narrative. Bill for a new test. § 3. Accusation of Danby. Dissolution of parliament. § 4. Trial and execution of Coleman and others. The duke of Monmouth. § 5. A new parliament. Danby's impeachment. New council. § 6. The Exclusion Bill. Habeas Corpus Act. § 7. Prosecutions of papists. Affairs of Scotland. Murder of archbishop Sharpe. § 8. Meal-tub plot. Whig and Tory. § 9. Violence of the new parliament. Exclusion Bill rejected in the lords. Trial and execution of lord Stafford. Parliament dissolved. § 10. The new parliament dissolved. Turn of the popular feeling. Court prosecutions. § 11. Trial of Shaftesbury London and other cities deprived of their charters. § 12. Rye-house plot. Trial and execution of lord Russell and Algernon Sidney. § 13. State of the nation. Monmouth banished. § 14. Marriage of prince George of Denmark and the princess Anne. Death and character of Charles II.

§ 1. JEALOUSY of Romanism was no novel thing in this country. It had prevailed with greater or less degree of force from the reign of Elizabeth. The terrors engendered by the gunpowder plot had produced an indelible impression on the mind of the nation, and the dread of it, even when unfounded, had often been employed by politicians to work out their own purposes. It was in vain that the Stuart sovereigns wished to ameliorate the restrictions imposed



REV. : DEVS NOBIS HÆC OTIA PECT. A shepherd, the king, keeping his flock, in the midst of which two wolves hanging : in the distance a view of London.

upon their Roman catholic subjects. All such efforts were resented by the commons, and exposed the authors of them to the ungenerous suspicion of encouraging popery. The fanaticism of the Long Parliament, which found an outlet for its vengeance in persecuting and suppressing the church of England, was not yet extinguished, but now had a solitary victim in the Roman catholics. The fire of London, as we have seen, was ascribed to their machinations, and though this might be only a popular delusion, an error suitable to the vulgar, the House of Commons had maintained its influence over the minds of men by a succession of anti-popery cries and remonstrances, which culminated in the Test Act. Popular apprehension was at this era augmented by the marriage of the duke of York, the heir presumptive to the throne, with a Roman catholic princess ; by the duke's avowal of the same faith ; by the successes of Louis XIV. ; by rumours of the true character of the treaty of Dover, of which it was impossible that either Shaftesbury or Buckingham, both violent opponents of the court, both fomenters of these disgraceful plots, could be ignorant ; by dark rumours spread in coffee-houses, which the government had attempted in vain to regulate ; by the reports of secret emissaries, chiefly sent over from Holland. The nation was agitated by some vague and uncertain apprehension, which only required an unscrupulous agent to give it form and consistency. That agent was found in Titus Oates. On the 12th of August, 1678, as the king was walking in the park, he was accosted by one Kirby, a chemist. "Sir," said he, "keep within the company : your enemies have a design upon your life ; and you may be shot in this very walk."

Being asked the reason of these strange speeches, he said that two men, called Grove and Pickering, were engaged to shoot the king, and sir George Wakeman, the queen's physician, to poison him. This intelligence, Kirby added, had been communicated to him by Dr. Tonge, whom he proposed to introduce to his majesty. Tonge was rector of St. Michael's, Wood-street; active, restless, full of projects, void of understanding. He brought certain papers to the king, which contained information of a plot, and were digested into 43 articles. Tonge said that they had been secretly thrust under his door, and that, though he suspected, he did not know certainly, who was the author. The king gave no credit to the story; but the duke of York, hearing that priests and Jesuits, and even his own confessor, had been accused, was desirous that a thorough inquiry should be made by the council into the intended conspiracy. Kirby and Tonge were found to be living in close connection with Titus Oates, the person who was said to have conveyed the first intelligence to Tonge. Oates was a man of infamous character. He had been originally an anabaptist, had become a clergyman of the established church at the Restoration, and subsequently went abroad, pretending to be a convert to Romanism. He had been expelled from the English college at St. Omer, where he had become acquainted with the names of the leading Romanists. As this man expected more encouragement from the public than from the king and his ministers, he thought proper, before he was presented to the council, to go with his two companions to sir Edmondbury Godfrey, a noted and active justice of peace, and to give evidence before him of the conspiracy. The main articles of this wonderful intelligence were, that the pope had delegated the sovereignty of Great Britain to the Jesuits, who had proceeded to name a government and fill up the dignities of the church; that the king, whom they named "the Black Bastard," was to be put to death as an heretic; that Père la Chaise, the celebrated confessor of Louis XIV., had remitted 10,000*l.* to London, as a reward of the king's assassination, and other foreign ecclesiastics had offered further sums; that London was to be fired in several places by means of fire-balls, which they called Tewkesbury mustard-pills; that the protestants were to be massacred all over the kingdom: the crown to be offered to the duke on condition of his receiving it as a gift from the pope, and utterly extirpating the protestant religion: if he refused these conditions, he himself was immediately to be poisoned or assassinated. *To pot James must go*—according to the expression ascribed by Oates to the Jesuits.

Oates, when examined before the council, contradicted himself in many particulars (August 13). While in Spain, he had been carried, he said, to Don John, who promised great assistance to the execution

of the catholic designs. The king asked him what sort of a man Don John was : he answered, a tall lean man—directly contrary to truth, as the king well knew. He totally mistook the situation of the Jesuits' college at Paris, and failed to identify persons whom he pretended to know.

Notwithstanding these objections, the violent animosity which had been excited against the catholics in general made the public swallow the grossest absurdities: the more diabolical any contrivance appeared, the better it suited the tremendous idea entertained of the Jesuits. Danby, likewise, who opposed the French and catholic interest at court, was willing to encourage every story which might serve to discredit that party. By his suggestion a warrant was signed for arresting Coleman, who had been secretary to the late duchess of York, and whom Oates had implicated in his evidence. Coleman's papers were seized, among them copies of letters to Père la Chaise and other eminent foreign catholics. These did indeed betray a scheme for the conversion of the nation to popery ; but instead of the king being murdered, he was to be bribed by the king of France, and the design was altogether different from Oates's pretended discovery. Yet his plot and Coleman's were universally confounded together ; and the evidence of the latter being unquestionable, the belief of the former, aided by the passions of hatred and of terror, took possession of the people. The murder of sir Edmondbury Godfrey completed the general delusion. The body of this magistrate was found lying in a ditch at Primrose Hill (October 17) : marks of strangling were thought to appear about his neck, and some contusions on his breast : his own sword was sticking in his body : he had rings on his fingers, and money in his pocket : it was therefore inferred that he had not fallen into the hands of robbers. Without further reasoning, the cry rose that he had been assassinated by the papists, on account of his taking Oates's evidence. The dead body of Godfrey was carried into the city, attended by vast multitudes. The funeral was celebrated with great parade. Yet the murder of Godfrey, in all likelihood, had no connection, one way or other, with the popish plot ; and, as he was a melancholy man, there is some reason to suspect, notwithstanding the pretended appearances to the contrary, that he fell by his own hands.

§ 2. When the parliament met (October 21), Danby, who hated the catholics and courted popularity, opened the matter in the House of Peers. The king was extremely displeased with this tamerity, and told his minister that he had given the parliament a handle to ruin himself, and that he would surely live to repent it. Danby had afterwards sufficient reason to applaud the sagacity of

his master. The cry of the plot was immediately echoed from one house to the other. The authority of parliament gave sanction to that fury with which the people were already agitated. A solemn fast was appointed: addresses were voted for the removal of popish recusants from London, and for appointing the trained bands of London and Westminster to be in readiness. The catholic lords Powys, Stafford, Arundel, Petre, and Bellasis, were committed to the Tower, and were soon after impeached of high treason. Both houses, after hearing Oates's evidence, voted that there had been, and still was, a damnable and hellish plot, carried on by popish recusants. Oates, though an infamous villain, was by every one applauded, caressed, and called the saviour of the nation; was recommended by the parliament to the king; was lodged in Whitehall, protected by guards, and encouraged by a pension of 1200*l.* a year. It was not long before such bountiful encouragement brought forth a new witness, William Bedloe, formerly a stable-boy to lord Bellasis, and a man, if possible, more infamous than Oates. When he appeared before the council, he gave intelligence of Godfrey's murder only, which, he said, had been perpetrated in Somerset House, where the queen lived, by papists, some of them servants in her family. He at first pretended ignorance of Oates's plot; but afterwards gave a narrative of it, making it to tally, as well as he could, with that of Oates, which had been published. But that he might make himself acceptable by new matter, he added some absurd circumstances of vast invasions projected by France and Spain. Lord Carrington and lord Brudenel, with all the other persons mentioned by Bedloe, as concerned in the conspiracy, were immediately committed to custody by the parliament.

The king, though he scrupled not, wherever he could speak freely, to throw ridicule on the plot, and on all who believed it, yet found it necessary to adopt the popular opinion. In his speech to both houses, he told them that, provided the right of succession were preserved, he would consent to any laws for restraining a popish successor; exhorted them to think of effectual means for the conviction of popish recusants; and highly praised the duty and loyalty of all his subjects who had discovered such anxious concern for his safety (November 9, 1678).

An act for *disabling papists*, aimed by Shaftesbury, Russell, and their party, at the duke of York, passed the commons without much opposition; but in the upper house the duke of York moved that an exception might be admitted in his favour. With great earnestness, and even with tears in his eyes, he told them, that he was now to cast himself on their kindness, in the greatest concern which he could have in the world; and he protested that, whatever his

religion might be, it should only be a private thing between God and his own soul, and never should appear in his public conduct. Notwithstanding this strong effort, in so important a point, he prevailed only by two voices. By this bill no peer or member of the House of Commons could sit or vote without making a declaration repudiating the doctrine of transubstantiation, the adoration of the Virgin, and the sacrifice of the Mass. Thus all Roman catholics were excluded from both houses of parliament till the repeal of this act in the reign of George IV.*

Encouraged by the general fury, Oates and Bedloe were now so audacious as to accuse the queen herself of entering into the design against the life of her husband. The commons, in an address to the king, gave countenance to this scandalous accusation; but the lords could not be prevailed on to join in the address. Charles had sufficient generosity to protect his injured consort. "They think," said he, "I have a mind to a new wife; but, for all that, I will not see an innocent woman abused."

§ 3. The present ferment and credulity of the nation engaged even persons of rank and condition to become informers. Montague, the king's ambassador at Paris, without obtaining or asking the king's leave, suddenly came over to England. Charles, suspecting his intention, ordered his papers to be seized; but Montague had taken care to secrete two papers, which he laid before the House of Commons. One of these was a letter from the treasurer Danby, written during the negotiations at Nimeguen. Montague was there directed to demand money from France; in other words, to pledge the king's good offices to Louis, contrary to the general interests of his confederates. Unwilling to engage personally in this negotiation, the king, to satisfy Danby, subjoined, with his own hand, these words: "This letter is writ by my order, C. R." The commons were inflamed with this intelligence against Danby, and immediately voted an impeachment of high treason against him (December 21). Danby made it appear to the lords, not only that Montague had all along promoted the money negotiations with France, but that he himself was ever extremely averse to the interests of that crown, which he esteemed pernicious to his master and to his country. The peers plainly saw that Danby's crime fell not under the statute of Edward III., and could not subject him to the penalties annexed to treason. They refused, therefore, to commit him. The commons insisted on their demand; and a great contest was likely to arise, when the king first prorogued, and then dissolved, the parliament (January 24; 1679). Thus came to an end the parliament which had sat during the whole course of

* See Notes and Illustrations, p. 474.

this reign. Being elected during the joy and festivity of the Restoration, it consisted mainly of royalists, who were disposed to support the crown by all the liberality which the habits of that age would permit. Alarmed by the alliance with France, they gradually withdrew their confidence from the king; and, finding him still to persevere in a foreign interest, they proceeded to discover symptoms of the most refractory and most jealous disposition. The popish plot pushed them beyond all bounds of moderation; and before their dissolution they seemed to be treading fast in the footsteps of the last long parliament, on whose conduct they threw at first such violent blame.

§ 4. During the sitting of the parliament, and after its prorogation and dissolution, the trials of the pretended criminals were carried on, and the courts of judicature, places which, if possible, ought to be kept more pure from injustice than even national assemblies themselves, were strongly infected with the same party rage and bigoted prejudices. Coleman, the most obnoxious of the conspirators, was first brought to his trial. His letters were produced. Oates and Bedloe deposed against him, and he was condemned and executed, persisting to the last in the strongest pretestations of innocence (December 3). The same fate attended Grove, Pickering, and father Ireland, who, it was pretended, had signed, together with 50 Jesuits, the great resolution of murdering the king. All these men, before their arraignment, were condemned in the opinion of the judges, jury, and spectators; and to be a Jesuit, or even a catholic, was of itself a sufficient proof of guilt.

Bedloe still remained a single evidence against the persons accused of Godfrey's murder; but at last means were found to complete the legal evidence. One France, a silversmith and a catholic, had been accused by Bedloe of being an accomplice in the murder; and upon his denial, being thrown into prison, loaded with heavy irons, and confined to the condemned hole, a place cold, dark, and full of nastiness, was at length wrought upon, by terrors and sufferings, to make a confession. Upon his evidence three servants of the queen were condemned and executed for the murder (February 21, 1679). All through the year the ferment continued. By a proclamation from the king, all catholics, not being householders, were commanded to quit London. Posts and chains were provided in the city for securing the streets; 50,000 men were kept continually under arms; batteries were planted; patrols paraded, and the great gates were kept constantly closed.

As the army could neither be kept up, nor disbanded, without money, the king found himself obliged to summon a new parliament (March 6, 1679). The popish plot had a great influence upon

the elections, and, in spite of the exertions of the government, all the zealots of the former parliament were rechosen: fresh ones were added: and it was apprehended that the new representatives would, if possible, exceed the old in their refractory opposition to the court, and their furious persecution of the catholics. The king was alarmed, when he saw so dreadful a tempest arise from such small and unaccountable beginnings. To appease the parliament, he desired the duke to withdraw beyond sea, that no further suspicion might remain of the influence of popish counsels. The duke retired to Brussels; but first required an order, signed by the king, lest his absenting himself should be interpreted as a proof of fear or of guilt. He also desired that his brother should satisfy him, as well as the public, by a declaration of the illegitimacy of the duke of Monmouth. That person was the king's natural son by Lucy Walters, and born about ten years before the Restoration. He possessed all the qualities which could engage the affections of the populace; a distinguished valour, an affable address, a thoughtless generosity, a graceful person. But his capacity was mean; his temper pliant; so that, notwithstanding his great popularity, he would never have been dangerous, had he not implicitly resigned himself to the guidance of Shaftesbury, a man of restless temper, subtle wit, and abandoned principles. That daring politician had flattered Monmouth with the hopes of succeeding to the crown. The story of a contract of marriage passed between the king and Monmouth's mother, and secretly kept in a certain *black box*, had been industriously spread abroad, and was greedily received by Monmouth's adherents.

§ 5. In the new parliament the refractory humour of the lower house appeared in its first step. In the election of their speaker, it had ever been usual for the commons to consult the inclinations of the sovereign, although the Long Parliament in 1641 had thought proper to depart from the established custom. The king now desired that the choice should fall on sir Thomas Meres; but Seymour, speaker to the last parliament, was instantly called to the chair by a vote which seemed unanimous. When Seymour was presented for his approbation, the king rejected him, and ordered the commons to proceed to a new choice. A great contest ensued, till by way of compromise it was agreed to set aside both candidates. William Gregory, a lawyer, was chosen; and the election was ratified by the king. It has ever since been understood that the choice of the speaker lies in the house, but that the king retains the power of rejecting any person disagreeable to him. The impeachment of Danby was revived. The king had beforehand taken the precaution to grant a pardon to Danby; and, in order to screen the chancellor from all

attacks of the commons, he had taken the great seal into his own hands, and had himself affixed it to the parchment. But the commons maintained that no pardon of the crown could be pleaded in bar of an impeachment, though the prerogative of mercy had hitherto been understood to be altogether unlimited in the king; and James had remitted the sentence on lord Bacon. On the other hand, if such a principle were allowed, there was an end of the supposed responsibility of the advisers of the crown, and any minister might set parliament at defiance.* The commons persisted, and the peers ordered Danby to be taken into custody. Danby absconded; but a bill having been passed for his attainder in default of his appearance, he surrendered, and was immediately committed to the Tower (April 16).

In order to allay the jealousy displayed by the parliament and people, the king, by the advice of sir William Temple, laid the plan of a new privy council, without whose advice he declared himself determined for the future to take no measure of importance (April 20). This council was to consist of 30 persons; 15 of the chief officers of the crown were to be continued; the other half was to be composed, either of men of character, detached from the court, or of those who possessed credit with both houses. The earl of Essex, a nobleman of the popular party, was created treasurer in the room of Danby; the earl of Sunderland, a man of intrigue and capacity, was made secretary of state; viscount Halifax, a fine genius, possessed of learning, eloquence, industry, but restless and ambitious, was admitted into the council. These three, together with Temple, who often joined them, though he kept himself more detached from public business, formed a kind of cabinet council, in which all affairs received their first digestion. Shaftesbury was made president of the council, contrary to the advice of Temple, who foretold the consequence of admitting a man of so dangerous a character into any part of the public administration.

§ 6. As Temple foresaw, it happened. Shaftesbury, finding that he possessed no more than the appearance of court favour, was resolved still to adhere to the popular party, by whose attachment he enjoyed an undisputed superiority in the lower house, and possessed great influence in the other. By his advice the celebrated Exclusion Bill was brought into parliament, the object of which was to exclude the duke of York from the succession to the throne. It was carried by a majority of 79 votes in the House of Commons, but its further progress was stopped by the dissolution of parlia-

* This question was not finally decided till the Act of Settlement in 1701 (13 Will. III. c. 2), which provides that no pardon

under the great seal can be pleaded in bar of an impeachment of the commons.—Hallam, *Const. Hist.*, ii. 417.

ment (May 27). Before its dissolution, the king had, though reluctantly, given his consent to the *Habeas Corpus* Act, for the enactment of which this parliament is entitled to the gratitude of posterity. The Great Charter had provided against arbitrary imprisonment, and the Petition of Right had renewed and extended the principle; but some provisions were still wanting to render it complete, and prevent all evasion or delay by ministers and judges. By the act of *Habeas Corpus* it is prohibited to send any one to a prison beyond sea; no judge, under severe penalties, must refuse to any prisoner a writ of *habeas corpus*, by which the prisoner is directed to produce in court the body of the prisoner (whence the writ had its name), and to certify the cause of his detainer and imprisonment; every prisoner must be indicted the first term after his commitment, and brought to trial in the subsequent term; and no man, after being enlarged by order of court, can be recommitted for the same offence.*

§ 7. But, whether parliament was sitting or was not sitting, the prosecution of the catholics continued with the same unrelenting severity. Whitbread, provincial of the Jesuits, and four others of the same order, were condemned and executed (June 20). Langhorne, an eminent lawyer, by whom all the affairs of the Jesuits were managed, was the next victim. Oates and Bedloe, as in the former cases, were the chief witnesses against him. When the verdict was given, the spectators expressed their savage joy by loud acclamations. So high indeed had the popular rage mounted, that the witnesses for this unhappy man, on approaching the court, were nearly torn in pieces by the rabble. The first check, which the informers received was on the trial of sir George Wakeman, the queen's physician, whom they accused of an intention to poison the king. Oates, on his examination before the council, had said that he knew nothing against sir George; yet, on the trial, he positively deposed to his guilt. The chief justice, Scroggs, who had hitherto countenanced the witnesses, gave a favourable charge to the jury; for which Oates and Bedloe had the assurance to attack him to his face, and even to accuse him of partiality before the council (July 18).

During these transactions, serious disturbances occurred in Scotland. Lauderdale had ruled that country with great severity, and an incident at last happened which brought on an insurrection. The Covenanters were much enraged against Sharpe, the primate, whom they considered as an apostate from their principles, and found an unrelenting persecutor of all those who dissented from the established worship. A body of them falling in with him by

* For further details, see Notes and Illustrations, p. 497.

accident on the road near St. Andrews, dragged him from his coach; tore him from the arms of his daughter, who interposed with cries and tears; and piercing him with redoubled wounds, left him dead on the spot, and immediately dispersed (May 8). The assassins retired towards Glasgow; obtaining reinforcements, they appeared in arms at Rutherglen (May 29), and defeated a small body of cavalry under Graham of Claverhouse, at Drumclog, near Loudon Hill (June 3). Pushing on to Glasgow, they made themselves masters of the city, dispossessed the established clergy, and issued proclamations, in which they declared they fought against the king's supremacy, against popery and prelacy, and a popish successor. But though they succeeded in raising an army of 8000 men, they were soon dispersed by Monmouth, whom the king had sent against them, at the battle of Bothwell Bridge (June 22).

In consequence of an illness of the king, the duke of York returned to England, and shortly afterwards was sent to Scotland as lord high commissioner. He is accused of using the Covenanters with great cruelty, but the evidence on which the accusation rests is doubtful.

§ 8. The plan of government recommended by Temple was soon abandoned. Shaftesbury was dismissed from the presidency of the council, and became more violent than ever in his opposition to the court (October 15). Essex also quitted the ministry, and joined the opposition. Temple withdrew to his books and his gardens. Monmouth was sent to Holland. But Halifax and Sunderland still continued in office; and the ministry was recruited by two new men who afterwards played a conspicuous part in public life. These were Lawrence Hyde, the second son of the chancellor Clarendon, who succeeded Essex at the treasury, and Sidney Godolphin.

It was the favour and countenance of the parliament which had chiefly encouraged the rumour of plots; but the nation had got so much into that vein of credulity, and every necessitous villain was so much incited by the success of Oates and Bedloe, that even during the prorogation the people were not allowed to remain in tranquillity. There was one Dangerfield, a fellow who had been burned in the hand for crimes, transported, whipped, pilloried four times, fined for cheats, outlawed for felony, convicted of coining, and exposed to all the public infamy which the laws could inflict on the basest and most shameful enormities. The credulity of the people, and the humour of the times, enabled even this man to become a person of consequence. He was the author of a new incident called the *Meal-tub Plot*, from the place where some papers relating to it were found. Under pretence of betraying the conspiracies of the presbyterians, he had been countenanced by some

catholics of condition, and had even been admitted to the duke's presence and the king's; and, under pretence of revealing new popish plots, he had obtained access to Shaftesbury and some of the popular leaders. Which side he intended to cheat is uncertain, or whether he did not rather mean to cheat both; but he soon found that the belief of the nation was more open to a popish than a presbyterian plot, and he resolved to strike in with the prevailing humour.

The dismissal of Shaftesbury had only made him more violent. He got up in the metropolis an immense anti-popery demonstration, attended by 200,000 persons, on November 17, queen Elizabeth's accession, in which the effigies of the pope and the devil, sir George Jeffreys, and others who had provoked his displeasure, were carried in procession and burnt at Temple Bar. He sought to win popular favour in behalf of Monmouth's pretensions to the throne, as the only security against French invaders and popish rebels. To overawe the court, he employed emissaries throughout the country to solicit subscriptions to petitions or *addresses* praying the king for the speedy meeting of parliament, in order to resist the ascendancy of popery and the establishment of despotism. No man understood better the arts of inflaming the vilest passions of the multitude, and no one was more unscrupulous in using them. Charles was greatly angered. The intolerable factiousness of the earl, who trusted too much to the king's easiness or indolence, had at last the effect of rousing him into resistance. Unlike his father, Charles II. had no mind to sacrifice his ease to his principles, or to provoke opposition, if he could possibly avoid it. Now his father's fate seemed looming over his own head. He swore though the whigs might "knock out his brains," they should "never cut off *his* head." He issued a proclamation to every magistrate, threatening with punishment all those who should subscribe petitions contrary to the laws of the land. A reaction followed. The friends of the court came forward with addresses expressing their abhorrence of any undue interference with the royal prerogative. Thus the two parties obtained the appellations of *addressors* and *abhorrrers*. These names were soon forgotten. The court party reproached their antagonists with their affinity to the fanatical conventiclers in Scotland, who were known by the name of *Whigs* (sour whey); the country party found a resemblance between the courtiers and the popish banditti in Ireland, to whom the appellation of *Tory* was affixed; and thus these terms came into general use. (Supplement, Note VIII.)

In order to keep alive the ferment against popery, Shaftesbury appeared in Westminster Hall, attended by several persons of distinction, and presented to the grand jury of Middlesex the duke of

York, who had returned from Scotland in February, 1680, as a popish recusant (June 26). While the jury were deliberating, the chief justice sent for them, and suddenly dismissed them. Shaftesbury, however, obtained his end by showing his followers the desperate resolution he had embraced, never to admit of any accommodation with the duke, who returned to Scotland (October 20).

§ 9. The king opened his fourth parliament (October 21, 1680) with a speech containing many mollifying expressions, offering to give them any satisfaction for the security of the protestant religion; but the commons displayed the most violent and refractory disposition. Great numbers of the abhorrrers, from all parts of England, were seized by their order; and they renewed the vote of the former parliament, which affirmed the reality of the horrid popish plot. The whole tribe of informers were applauded and rewarded; and their testimony, however frivolous or absurd, met with a favourable reception. The king was applied to in their behalf for pensions and pardons; and doctor Tonge was recommended for the first considerable church preferment which should become vacant. So much were the popular leaders determined to carry matters to extremities, that, in less than a week after the commencement of the session, a motion was made for again bringing in the Exclusion Bill, and a committee was appointed for that purpose. Shaftesbury and many considerable men of the party had rendered themselves irreconcilable with the duke, and could find their safety no way but in his ruin. Monmouth's friends hoped that the exclusion of that prince would make way for their patron; and the country party expected that the king would at last be obliged to yield to their demand. Though he had withdrawn his countenance from Monmouth, he was known secretly to retain a great affection for him. On no occasion had he ever been found to persist obstinately against difficulties and importunity; and as his beloved mistress, the duchess of Portsmouth, had been engaged to unite herself with the popular party, this incident was regarded as a favourable prognostic of their success. Sunderland, secretary of state, who had linked his interest with that of the duchess, had concurred in the same measure. The debates were carried on with great violence on both sides. In the House of Commons the bill passed by a great majority (November 11). In the House of Peers the contest was violent. Shaftesbury, Sunderland, and Essex argued for it; Halifax chiefly conducted the debate against it, and displayed an extent of capacity, and a force of eloquence, which had never been surpassed in that assembly. The king was present during the whole debate, which was prolonged till eleven at night. The bill was thrown out by a considerable majority. The commons discovered much

ill humour at this disappointment. The impeachment of the catholic lords in the Tower was revived; and as viscount Stafford, from his age, infirmities, and narrow capacity, was deemed the least capable of defending himself, it was determined to make him the first victim, that his condemnation might pave the way for a sentence against the rest. The witnesses produced against the prisoner were Oates, Dugdale, and Turberville. The prisoner made a better defence than was expected either by his friends or his enemies. With a simplicity and tenderness more persuasive than the greatest oratory, he still made protestations of his innocence, and could not forbear, every moment, expressing the most lively surprise and indignation at the audacious impudence of the witnesses. The peers, after a solemn trial of six days, gave sentence against him by a majority of 24. Stafford received with resignation the fatal verdict. "God's holy name be praised!" was the only exclamation which he uttered.* On the day of his execution (December 29), the populace, who had exulted at Stafford's trial and condemnation, were melted into tears at the sight of that tender fortitude which shone forth in each feature, motion, and accent of this aged noble. Their profound silence was only interrupted by sighs and groans. With difficulty they found speech to assent to those protestations of innocence which he frequently repeated. "We believe you, my lord!" "God bless you, my lord!" These expressions flowed from them with a faltering accent. The executioner himself was touched with sympathy. Twice he lifted up the axe, with an intent to strike the fatal blow, and as often felt his resolution to fail him. A deep sigh was heard to accompany his last effort, which laid Stafford for ever at rest. All the spectators seemed to feel the blow; and when the head was held up to them with the usual cry, "This is the head of a traitor!" no clamour of assent was uttered. Pity, remorse, and astonishment had taken possession of every heart, and displayed itself in every countenance. This was the last blood which was shed on account of the popish plot. The execution of Stafford gratified the prejudices of the country party, but it contributed nothing to their power and security; on the contrary, by exciting commiseration, it tended still further to increase that disbelief of the whole plot which now began to prevail.

§ 10. The violence of the commons continued. On January 5, 1681, they drew up articles of impeachment against the lord chief justice, Scroggs, for discharging the grand jury when the duke of York was presented for recusancy. They refused all supplies until

* It adds to the infamy of these proceedings that his near relations among the peers voted against him. "He was

not a man beloved, especially of his own family," says Evelyn.

the bill of exclusion should be passed. On the 10th they resolved that whoever should advise his majesty to prorogue the parliament should be adjudged a traitor. Finding them in this humour, the king prorogued them on the 10th, and dissolved them nine days after. His fifth parliament met at Oxford (March 21, 1681). The leaders of the exclusionists came, attended not only by their servants but by numerous bands of armed partisans. The four city members in particular were followed by great multitudes, wearing ribbons, in which were woven these words, *No popery! no slavery!* The king had his guards regularly mustered: his party likewise endeavoured to make a show of their strength: and, on the whole, the assembly at Oxford rather bore the appearance of a tumultuous Polish diet, than of a regular English parliament.

The king, in his speech, offered to adopt any expedients the commons might propose to allay their fears of a popish successor, without altering the succession, and for keeping the administration in protestant hands. But the commons turned a deaf ear, and fell instantly into the same measures as their predecessors had done—the impeachment of Danby, the enquiry into the popish plot, and the bill of exclusion. So violent were they on this last article, that, though one of the king's ministers proposed that the duke of York should be banished, during life, 500 miles from England, and that on the king's demise the next heir should be constituted regent with regal power, even this expedient, which left the duke only the bare title of king, could not command the assent of the house. No method but their own of excluding the duke could give them any satisfaction. As there were no hopes of a compromise, Charles again dissolved the parliament, after it had sat only seven days. This rigorous measure, though it might have been foreseen, excited such astonishment in the country party as deprived them of all spirit and reduced them to despair. They were sensible, though too late, that the king had finally taken his resolution, and was determined to endure any extremity rather than submit to the terms which they had resolved to impose upon him. They found that he had patiently waited till affairs should come to full maturity; and, having now engaged a national party on his side, had boldly set his enemies at defiance. The violences of the exclusionists were everywhere exclaimed against and aggravated, and even the reality of the plot, that great engine of their authority, was now openly called in question. The reaction was not a little assisted by a declaration published by the king, assigning his reasons for dissolving parliament. He insisted on its entire neglect of the public interest, and on its factious proceedings; its arbitrary violation of the laws, in taking his subjects into custody when its privileges were not com-

cerned; its declaring many persons enemies to the king, without process of law or hearing their defence; its pertinacious efforts to render him contemptible in the eyes of his subjects, by reducing him to the most helpless condition. This declaration was received with enthusiasm; loyal addresses poured in, congratulating the king on his deliverance from the republicans, and offering support. The celebrated political satire of Dryden, called "Absalom and Achitophel," holding up to unsparing ridicule the characters and pretensions of the whig leaders, helped still further to turn the scale; and, instead of being assailed, the king was now in a condition to become the aggressor. The gang of spies, witnesses, and informers, who had so long been supported and encouraged by the leading patriots, finding now that the king was entirely master, turned short upon their old patrons, the whigs, and offered their services to the ministers. One College, a London joiner, who had become extremely noted for his zeal against popery, and who had been in Oxford, armed with sword and pistol, during the sitting of the parliament, was indicted for conspiracy. The witnesses produced against him were Dugdale, Turberville, and others who had before given evidence against the catholics. College was condemned, and the verdict was received with shouts of applause (August 17).



Medal struck in commemoration of the acquittal of the earl of Shaftesbury. Obv. ANTONIO COMITI DE SHAFTESBURY. Bust to right. Rev.: LETAMVR; a view of London, with the sun appearing from behind a cloud; below, 24 NOV. 1681.

§ 11. The court now aimed their next blow at Shaftesbury; and Turberville, Smith, and others, gave information of high treason against their former patron. There was found in his possession a manifesto against the duke of York, and indications of a design (as it was said) to compel the king to submit to the terms imposed upon him by the whigs. He was committed to prison, and his indictment was presented to the grand jury; but the sheriffs of

London were engaged deeply to the country party, and they took care to name a jury devoted to the same cause. As far as swearing could go, the treason was proved against Shaftesbury. That veteran leader of a party, inured from his early youth to faction and intrigue, to cabals and conspiracies, was represented as betraying without reserve his treasonable intentions, and throwing out outrageous reproaches upon the king, such as none but men of low education could be supposed to employ. The grand jury rejected the indictment. The people in court testified their joy by their acclamations, which were echoed throughout the city (November 24, 1681).

In March, 1682, the duke of York left Scotland to visit the king at Newmarket, and so great was the change in the feelings of the city, that the mayor and corporation thought good to congratulate the king, at his return, on the safe arrival of the duke. Shortly before, the duke had held a parliament in Scotland, in which a test act had been framed, binding all persons from attempting any alteration in church and state. When the earl of Argyll was summoned to take the test, he attempted to make distinctions, which the crown lawyers there interpreted into a capital offence. He was imprisoned and condemned, but made his escape into Holland, and his estate was confiscated. The duke on his return to Scotland was shipwrecked (May 5). The frigate struck upon a rock; among the few survivors was Churchill, afterwards the famous duke of Marlborough, who owed his safety mainly to the efforts of the duke. Having constituted the Scotch council, the duke returned to England (May 27), was met by the king, congratulated by the citizens, and bonfires were lighted in honour of his safe return. Charles, however, still countenanced the duke's opponent, Halifax, whom he created a marquess, and made privy seal. Halifax maintained a species of neutrality between the parties, and was esteemed the head of that small body known by the denomination of *Trimmers*. Sunderland, more of a *trimmer* even than Halifax, who had promoted the Exclusion Bill, and had been displaced on that account, was, with the duke's consent, again brought into the administration. Hyde, created earl of Rochester, was first commissioner of the treasury, and was entirely in the duke's interests. As the power of the whigs was greatest in the corporate towns, it was resolved to proceed against them by a writ of *quo warranto*, which would lead to a strict inquiry by what warrant they claimed their rights and privileges. The attack began upon London. After lengthy proceedings, it was declared to have forfeited its charter by imposing an illegal tax, and by circulating a libel upon the king, charging him with interfering with the liberties of his subjects by

the prorogation of parliament. The common council petitioned and obtained a restoration of their former franchises; the king retaining a veto, which is still exercised, on the appointment of the lord mayor, the sheriffs, the recorder, and other influential officers. These reforms were advantageous and honourable to the city, whatever opinion may be formed as to the means by which they were introduced. A similar course was taken, for the next five years, with other corporations, and procured both power and profit to the crown.

§ 12. In the spring of 1681, when the king was seized with a fit of sickness at Windsor, the duke of Monmouth, lord William Russell, and others, instigated by the restless Shaftesbury, had agreed, in case it should prove mortal, to rise in arms and to oppose the succession of the duke. Charles recovered, but these dangerous projects were not laid aside. Shaftesbury's imprisonment and trial put an end for some time to these machinations; and it was not till the new sheriffs of London were chosen, after much dispute, that they were revived. Monmouth made a sort of triumphal progress through the country, doubtless at the suggestion of Shaftesbury. The gentry and nobility in several counties of England were solicited to rise in arms. The whole train was ready to take fire, but was prevented by the caution of lord Russell, who induced Monmouth to delay the enterprise. Shaftesbury left his house and secretly lurked in the city. Enraged at perpetual cautions and delays in an enterprise which he thought nothing but courage and celerity could render effectual, he retired into Holland (October 19, 1682), where he died next year (January 22).

After Shaftesbury's flight, the conspirators with some difficulty renewed their correspondence with the city malcontents, and a regular project of an insurrection was again formed. A council of six was erected, consisting of Monmouth, Russell, Essex,* lord Howard of Escrick, Algernon Sidney, and John Hampden, grandson of the great parliamentary leader. These men entered into an agreement with Argyle and the Scottish malcontents, and insurrections were anew projected in Cheshire and the west, as well as in the city. The conspirators differed extremely in their views. Sidney and Essex were for a commonwealth. Monmouth entertained hopes of acquiring the crown. Russell, as well as Hampden, intended only the exclusion of the duke and the redress of grievances. Lord Howard was ready to embrace any party or design recommended by his immediate interest. While these

* The title of earl of Essex became extinct on the death of the parliamentary general in 1646. The earl of Essex mentioned in the text was the son of lord

Capel, beheaded in 1649 for his loyalty to Charles I. He was created earl of Essex in 1661, and was the ancestor of the present earl.

schemes were concerted among the leaders, there was an inferior order of conspirators who carried on a project of their own. Rumbold, an old republican officer, was a maltster, and possessed a farm called the Rye-house, which lay on the road to Newmarket, whither Charles commonly went once a year for the diversion of the races. A plan was formed by overturning a cart to stop the king's coach at that place, while they might fire upon him from the hedges, and be enabled afterwards, through by-lanes and across the fields, to make their escape. The scheme was disconcerted by the king leaving Newmarket eight days sooner than he intended (March 26, 1683), in consequence of a fire. Some of the conspirators betrayed the plot; and colonel Rumsey, who was acquainted with the conspiracy of Monmouth and the others, informed the government that the latter had been accustomed to hold their meetings at the house of Shepherd, an eminent wine merchant in the city. Shepherd was immediately apprehended, and had not courage to maintain fidelity to his confederates (July). Upon his information, orders were issued for arresting the noblemen engaged in the conspiracy. Monmouth absconded; Russell was sent to the Tower; Howard was taken, while he concealed himself in a chimney, and scrupled not, in hopes of pardon, to reveal the whole conspiracy. Essex, Sidney, and Hampden were immediately apprehended upon his evidence. Several of the conspirators in the Rye-house plot were condemned and executed. From their trial and confession it was sufficiently apparent that the plan of an insurrection had been regularly formed, and that even the assassination had been often talked of, not without the approbation of many of their confederates.

Lord Russell was next brought to trial. The witnesses produced against him were Rumsey, Shepherd, and lord Howard. On the whole, it was undoubtedly proved that the insurrection had been deliberated on by the prisoner, and fully resolved; a surprisal of the guards deliberated on, but not fully resolved; but Howard, the principal witness, stopped short of accusing him of any design upon the king's life. Russell contented himself with protesting that he had never been guilty of any such intention; but his veracity would not allow him to deny the conspiracy for an insurrection. The jury were men of fair and reputable characters, but zealous royalists; after a short deliberation, they brought in the prisoner guilty. Applications were made to the king for a pardon. It is said that money to the amount of 50,000*l.* was offered to the duchess of Portsmouth by the old earl of Bedford, father to Russell. The king was inexorable, and would go no further than remitting the more ignominious part of the sentence, which the law requires to be pronounced against traitors. Russell's consort, a woman of virtue,

daughter and heiress of the good earl of Southampton, threw herself at the king's feet, and pleaded with many tears the merits and loyalty of her father as an atonement for those errors, into which honest, however mistaken, principles had seduced her husband. But finding all applications vain, she collected courage, and not only fortified herself against the fatal blow, but endeavoured by her example to strengthen the resolution of her unfortunate lord. With a tender and decent composure they took leave of each other on the day of his execution. "The bitterness of death is now past," said he, when he turned from her. The scaffold was erected in Lincoln's Inn Fields. Without the least change of countenance, he laid his head on the block, and at two strokes it was severed from his body (July 21, 1683).

On the day that lord Russell was tried, Essex was found in the Tower with his throat cut. The coroner's jury brought in a verdict of self-murder. Essex was subject to fits of deep melancholy; yet the murder was unscrupulously ascribed to the king and the duke, who happened that morning to pay a visit to the Tower.

Algernon Sidney was next brought to his trial. This gallant person, son of the earl of Leicester, was in principle a republican, and had entered deeply into the war against the late king. He had been named on the high court of justice which tried and condemned that monarch, but he thought not proper to take his seat among the judges, and had opposed Cromwell's usurpation with zeal and courage. After the Restoration he went into voluntary banishment; but in 1677, having obtained the king's pardon, he returned to England. When the factions arising from the popish plot began to run high, Sidney, full of those ideas of liberty which he had imbibed from the great examples of antiquity, joined the popular party; but his temper was sullen and morose, his conduct deficient in practical good sense, and his fame tarnished by acceptance of bribes from the French king. The only witness who deposed against Sidney was lord Howard; but as the law required two witnesses, the deficiency was supplied by producing some of his papers, in which he maintained the lawfulness of resisting tyrants, and the preference of liberty to the government of a single person. Sir George Jeffreys, who had been created lord chief justice (September 23), presided at the trial, and the jury was easily prevailed on to give a verdict against Sidney. His execution followed a few days after (December 7); but he had too much greatness of mind to deny those conspiracies with Monmouth and Russell in which he had been an accomplice. He rather gloried that he now suffered "for that *good old cause* in which he had been engaged," as he said, "from his earliest youth."

Howard was also the sole evidence against Hampden. He was convicted only of misdemeanour, but the fine imposed upon him was no less than 40,000*l*.

§ 13. Some other memorable causes were tried about this time. Oates, convicted of having called the duke a popish traitor, was condemned in damages to the amount of 100,000*l*. (June 18, 1684). Sir Samuel Barnardiston was fined 10,000*l*. because, in some private letters, which had been intercepted, he had reflected on the government, asserting that the plot for which Russell and Sidney were condemned was a sham (February 14).

Monmouth had absconded on the first discovery of the conspiracy; but Halifax, having discovered his retreat, prevailed on him to write two letters to the king full of the tenderest and most submissive expressions. The king's fondness revived; he permitted Monmouth to come to court on condition of his making a confession of his offences. He obtained his pardon in due form; but finding that by taking this step he was entirely disgraced with his party, he instructed his emissaries to deny that he had ever made any such confession as that which was imputed to him, asserting it was an imposture of the court. Provoked at this conduct, the king banished Monmouth from his presence, and afterwards ordered him to quit the kingdom.

§ 14. The duke of York now exercised great influence. Through his mediation Danby and the popish lords who had so long been confined in the Tower were admitted to bail—a measure just in itself, but deemed a great encroachment on the privileges of parliament. The duke, who had been specially exempted from the Test Act, was restored to the office of high-admiral. But James's hasty counsels gave the king uneasiness. He was one day overheard to say, "Brother, I am too old to go again on my travels; you may if you choose it."

On the 2nd February, 1685, the king was seized with a sudden fit, which resembled an apoplexy; and though he recovered from it by bleeding, he languished only a few days, and expired on the 6th, in the 55th year of his age and the 25th of his reign. He was so happy in a good constitution of body, and had ever been so remarkably careful of his health, that his death struck as great a surprise into his subjects as if he had been cut off in the flower of his youth. At the solicitation of the duke of York, he received the rites of the Romish church in his last illness. In society, Charles II. was the most amiable and engaging of men. This, indeed, is the most shining part of his character; and he seems to have been sensible of it, for he was fond of dropping the formality of state, and of relapsing every moment into the companion. In his

relations with the other sex he was loose and immoral. Yet he was a friendly brother, an indulgent father, and a good-natured master. As a sovereign his character was dangerous to his people, and dishonourable to himself. Negligent of the true interests of the nation, he was sparing only of its blood. It was remarked to Charles that he never said a foolish thing, nor ever did a wise one; which he admitted, observing that his words were his own, but his actions were his ministers'.

* His favourite son, the duke of Monmouth, by Lucy Walters, was beheaded in the following reign, and left no issue. By the duchess of Cleveland (Barbara Villiers) he had three sons, the duke of Southampton, the duke of Grafton (ancestor of the present duke), and the duke

of Northumberland. The duke of Richmond (the ancestor of the present duke) was his son by the duchess of Portsmouth (Louise de Querouaille); and the duke of St. Albans (also the ancestor of the present duke) was his son by Eleanor Gwynn.

NOTES AND ILLUSTRATIONS.

HABEAS CORPUS ACT.

31 CAR. II. c. 2 (A.D. 1679).

This celebrated statute did not introduce any new principle, but only confirmed and rendered more available a remedy which had long existed. "The writ of *Habeas Corpus*, requiring a return of the body imprisoned and the cause of his detention, and hence anciently called *corpus cum causa*, was in familiar use between subject and subject in the reign of Henry VI. Its use by a subject against the crown has not been traced during the time of the Plantagenet dynasty; the earliest precedents known being of the date of Henry VII." (See Amos, *The English Constitution in the Reign of Charles II.*, p. 171, and the authorities there quoted.) The privilege of *Habeas Corpus* was twice solemnly confirmed in the reign of Charles I., first by the Petition of Right (1628), and secondly by the statute abolishing the Star Chamber and other arbitrary courts (1640), which contained a clause that any person imprisoned by orders of the abolished courts, or by command or warrant of the king or any of his council, should be entitled to a writ of *Habeas Corpus* from the courts of King's Bench or Common Pleas, without delay upon any pretence whatsoever. But as Charles II. and his ministers still

found means to evade these enactments, the celebrated statute was passed in 1679, known as the *Habeas Corpus Act*. Its principal author was lord Shaftesbury, and it was for many years called "Lord Shaftesbury's Act." It enacts:—

"1. That on complaint and request in writing by or on behalf of any person committed and charged with any crime (unless committed for treason or felony expressed in the warrant; or as accessory or on suspicion of being accessory before the fact to any petit treason or felony; or upon suspicion of such petit treason or felony plainly expressed in the warrant; or unless he is convicted or charged in execution by legal process), the lord chancellor, or any of the judges in vacation, upon viewing a copy of the warrant or affidavit that a copy is denied, shall (unless the party has neglected for two terms to apply to any court for his enlargement) award a *habeas corpus* for such prisoner, returnable immediately before himself or any other of the judges; and upon the return made shall discharge the party, if bailable, upon giving security to appear and answer to the accusation in the proper court of judicature. 2. That such writs shall be indorsed as granted in pursuance of this act, and signed by the person awarding them. 3. That the writ shall be returned and the prisoner brought

up within a limited time according to the distance, not exceeding in any case twenty days. 4. That officers and keepers neglecting to make due returns, or not delivering to the prisoner or his agent within six hours after demand a copy of the warrant of commitment, or shifting the custody of the prisoner from one to another without sufficient reason or authority (specified in the act), shall for the first offence forfeit 100*l.*, and for the second offence 200*l.*, to the party grieved, and be disabled to hold his office. 5. That no person once delivered by *habeas corpus* shall be recommitted for the same offence, on penalty of 500*l.* 6. That every person committed for treason or felony shall, if he requires it, the first week of the next term, or the first day of the next session of *oyer and terminer*, be indicted in that term or session, or else admitted to bail, unless the king's witnesses cannot be produced at that time; and if acquitted, or not indicted and tried in the second term or session, he shall be discharged from his imprisonment for such imputed offence; but that no person, after the assizes shall be open for the county in which he is detained, shall be removed by *habeas corpus* till after the assizes are ended, but shall be left to the justice of the judges of assize. 7. That any such prisoner may move for and obtain his *habeas corpus* as well out of

the Chancery or Exchequer as out of the King's Bench or Common Pleas; and the lord chancellor or judges denying the same on sight of the warrant or oath that the same is refused, forfeits severally to the party grieved the sum of 500*l.* 8. That this writ of *habeas corpus* shall run into the counties palatine, cinque ports, and other privileged places, and the islands of Jersey and Guernsey. 9. That no inhabitant of England (except persons contracting or convicts praying to be transported, or having committed some capital offence in the place to which they are sent) shall be sent prisoner to Scotland, Ireland, Jersey, Guernsey, or any places beyond the seas within or without the king's dominions, on pain that the party committing, his advisers, aldermen, and assistants, shall forfeit to the party aggrieved a sum not less than 500*l.*, to be recovered with treble costs; shall be disabled to bear any office of trust or profit; shall incur the penalties of *praemunire*; and shall be incapable of the king's pardon."

The Habeas Corpus Act was confined to criminal cases, but by the 56 Geo. III. c. 100, it was extended not only to cases of illegal restraint by subject on subject, but also to those in which the crown has an interest, as in instances of imprisonment or smuggling.—See Kerr's *Blackstones*. iii. 137; Amos, p. 201.



Obverse of medal of James II. and Mary of Modena. IACOBVS . II . ET . MARIA . D . G .
MAG . BRI . FRAN . ET . HIB . REX . ET . REGINA. Busts of king and queen to right.

CHAPTER XXVI.

JAMES II., *b.* A.D. 1633; *r.* 1685–1688; *ob.* 1701.

§ 1. Accession of James. His arbitrary proceedings. Conviction and punishment of Titus Oates. § 2. Invasion and execution of Argyle. Monmouth's invasion, defeat, and execution. § 3. Cruelties of Kirke and Jeffreys. § 4. A parliament. Popish measures. § 5. Court of High Commission revived. Sentence against the bishop of London. Penal laws suspended. Embassy to Rome. § 6. The king's violent proceedings with corporations. Affair of Magdalen college. Imprisonment and trial of the seven bishops. § 7. Birth of the prince of Wales. Conduct of the prince of Orange. § 8. Coalition of parties in his favour. The king retracts his measures. § 9. The prince of Orange lands at Torbay. The king deserted by the army and by his family. § 10. The king's flight. His character. § 11. Convention summoned. Debates. Settlement of the crown. § 12. Review of the Stuart dynasty. Principles of government. § 13. Foreign affairs. § 14. Internal state of England. § 15. Revenue. Army and navy. § 16. Colonies and commerce. § 17. Manners, literature, art, etc.

§ 1. THE first act of James's reign was to summon the privy council, where, after some praises bestowed on the memory of his predecessor, "I shall make it my endeavour," he said, "to preserve the government, both in church and state, as it is now by law established." But the first exercise of his authority seemed little in harmony with these professions. Before parliament could be as-

sembled, he issued a proclamation, ordering the customs and excise to be collected as usual. He excused this act by stating that the necessities of trade required it, and that the forthcoming parliament would settle, without doubt, a sufficient revenue on the crown for the service of government. He went openly, and in royal state, to mass, and liberated from prison, on his own authority, Romanists and nonconformists. The earl of Danby and the Roman catholic lords committed to the Tower on the charge of Titus Oates were brought to the bar of the House of Lords and discharged. Nevertheless all the chief offices of the crown continued still in the hands of protestants. Rochester was made treasurer; his brother Clarendon lord privy seal; Godolphin chamberlain to the queen; Sunderland secretary of state; Halifax president of the council. On the 23rd of April James and his queen were crowned by archbishop Sancroft in Westminster Abbey. The communion and a few minor ceremonies only were omitted. Parliament assembled on May 19. Many of the new House of Commons were strongly biased in favour of the crown, but it also contained no small number of the king's former enemies, the exclusionists. On the 22nd the king repeated the declaration he had already made, adding that he desired the continuance of his revenues as they were granted to his predecessor. To this the commons unanimously assented, proposing to assist him with their lives and fortunes against the earl of Argyle, who had broken out into rebellion.

Three days before the meeting of parliament Oates was convicted of perjury on two indictments, was fined 1000 marks on each, and sentenced to be whipped on two different days from Aldgate to Newgate, and from Newgate to Tyburn, to be imprisoned during life, and to stand in the pillory five times every year. Oates survived this terrible sentence. At the Revolution he was sought out by William III., received from the king a pension, and died in 1705.

§ 2. Monmouth, when ordered to depart the kingdom during the late reign, had retired to Holland, where he was well received by the prince of Orange. Pushed on by his followers, and especially by the earl of Argyle, contrary to his judgment as well as inclination, he made a rash and premature descent upon England. The fate of Argyle, however, was decided before that of Monmouth. Having landed in Argyleshire in May, 1685, he collected and armed a body of about 2500 men; but his small and still decreasing army, after wandering about for a little time, was at last dissipated without a battle. Argyle himself, in attempting to escape, was seized and carried to Edinburgh, where, after enduring many indignities with a gallant spirit, he was publicly executed (June 30).

Meanwhile Monmouth, leaving Holland in three ships, with a small force of 150 men, but with equipments for an army, had landed at Lyme in Dorsetshire (June 11). So popular was his name, that in four days he had assembled above 2000 horse and foot. Most of them were the lowest of the people; and the declaration which he published was chiefly calculated to suit the prejudices of the vulgar, or the most bigoted of the whig party. He called the king, duke of York; and denominated him a traitor, a tyrant, an assassin, and a popish usurper. He imputed to him the fire of London, the murder of Godfrey and of Essex, nay, the poisoning of the late king; and he invited all the people to join in opposition to his tyranny.

At Taunton, where twenty-six young maids presented him with a pair of colours, their handiwork, together with a copy of the Bible, Monmouth took upon himself the title of king. His numbers had now increased to 5000; and he was obliged every day, for want of arms, to dismiss many who crowded to his standard. He entered Bridgewater, Wells, Frome, and was proclaimed in all these places; but forgetting that such desperate enterprises can only be rendered successful by the most adventurous courage, he allowed the expectations of the people to languish, without attempting any considerable undertaking.

The king's forces, under the command of Feversham and Churchill, now advanced against him; and Monmouth, observing that no considerable persons joined him, finding that an insurrection which was projected in the city had not taken place, and hearing that Argyle, his confederate, was already defeated and taken, sunk into despondency. He had resolved to withdraw, and leave his unhappy followers to their fate; but was encouraged, by the negligent disposition made by Feversham, to attack the king's army at Sedgemoor, near Bridgewater, and might have obtained a victory had not his own misconduct and the cowardice of lord Grey, who commanded his cavalry, prevented it. After a combat of three hours the rebels gave way, and were pursued with great slaughter (July 6). Monmouth fled from the field of battle above 20 miles, till his horse sank under him. He then changed clothes with a peasant in order to conceal himself. The peasant was discovered by the pursuers, who now redoubled the diligence of their search. At last the unhappy Monmouth was found lying at the bottom of a ditch, covered with fern, in Cranborn Chase; his body depressed with fatigue and hunger; his mind, by the memory of past misfortunes, and by the prospect of future disasters (July 8). He burst into tears when seized by his enemies, and he seemed still to indulge the fond hope and desire of life. He wrote to James a most submissive letter, conjuring him to spare the issue of a

brother who had always been strongly attached to his interest. He had a secret, he said, to reveal, of the utmost importance to the king's safety. Brought to London five days after, he stood before the king with his hands free and his arms tied behind him. Twice he fell on his knees and begged his life with the most abject entreaties. But James remained inexorable. Either Monmouth had no secret to reveal or on reflection altered his mind. "Is there no hope for me, sire?" said the unhappy prisoner. James made no reply. The same day the duke was attainted in parliament. He prepared himself for death, with a spirit better suited to his rank and character. He appeared on the scaffold, on Tower Hill, in a long peruke and a grey suit lined with black. He warned the executioner not to fall into the error which he had committed in beheading Russell, where it had been necessary to repeat the blow. The precaution served only to dismay the executioner. He struck a feeble blow on Monmouth, who raised his head from the block and looked him in the face, as if reproaching him for his failure. He then laid down his head a second time, and the executioner struck him again, to no purpose. Throwing aside the axe, he cried out that he was incapable of finishing the bloody office. The sheriff obliged him to renew the attempt, and at two blows more the head was severed from the body, amidst the tears of the spectators (July 15, 1685).

§ 3. When Monmouth fled, the peasants and miners fought bravely, and 800 of the royal troops fell dead on the field. Feversham pursued the fugitives, and hanged 20 prisoners without trial; but he was outdone by Colonel Kirke, a soldier of fortune, who had long served at Tangier, and had contracted, from his intercourse with the Moors, an inhumanity less known in European and in free countries. At his entry into Bridgewater, three days after the battle, he executed nine of the insurgents for high treason, without any trial. Other barbarous actions are related of him and his soldiers, whom, by way of pleasantry, he used to call *his lambs*, from the device which they bore on their colours, an appellation long remembered with horror in the west of England.*

To punish those who had taken part in the rebellion, the lord chief justice, Jeffreys, was sent into the west, with four other judges, to try the rebel prisoners (August 26). He opened his

* This was the ensign they had adopted in their wars with the Moors to signify that they were Christians. Coarse, however, and brutal as Kirke and Jeffreys might be, these and similar stories must not be implicitly accepted. Many of them were gross exaggerations; many

were fabrications to serve the purposes of the Revolution, and render the reign of James more odious by the contrast. It was in Somersetshire, and at Taunton in particular, that James II. found his warmest adherents in 1682.

court at Winchester with the trial of Mrs. Alico Lisle, the widow of one of king Charles's judges. She was convicted of harbouring two of the rebels, and, with great barbarity, was sentenced to be burnt. Through the influence of the clergy she obtained a respite, but only to suffer death by beheading (September 2). The commission passed through the tainted districts, complying strictly with the legal forms, but with indecent haste, and marking all their proceedings with merciless severity. Women as well as men were condemned and executed for harbouring those who had taken part in the rebellion; and, according to the barbarous usage of the times, in the case of treason, their mangled limbs were exposed in the streets, the highways, and on public buildings, to strike the passers-by with the greater terror. Besides Mrs. Lisle, the burning of Mrs. Gaunt, for a similar offence, was especially cruel and unjust.* In this way, it has been computed that more than 200 persons suffered. Even those who received pardon were obliged to atone for their guilt by fines which reduced them to beggary; or, where their former poverty made them incapable of paying, were condemned to cruel whippings or severe imprisonments. Jeffreys was soon after created chancellor (September 28). The insurrection in Scotland was quelled with little bloodshed. The Scotch parliament showed entire subserviency to the government.

§ 4. On November 9, at the opening of parliament, James avowed his gratitude to many catholic officers who had distinguished themselves in his service, and his determination to protect them. The declaration struck terror into the church, which had hitherto been the chief support of monarchy; and it even disgusted the army. At the same time the revocation by Louis XIV. of the edict of Nantes, granted by Henry IV. in favour of his protestant subjects, tended mightily to excite the animosity of the nation against the Roman catholics. Above 500,000 of the most useful and industrious subjects deserted France; and exported, together with immense sums of money, those arts and manufactures which had chiefly tended to enrich that kingdom. Nearly 50,000 refugees passed over into England; and all men were disposed, from their representations, to entertain the utmost horror of the projects which they apprehended to be formed by the king for the abolition of the protestant religion. The smallest approach towards the introduction of popery, in the present disposition of the people, afforded reason for jealousy. Yet the king was resolute; and, having failed to convince the parliament, he made an attempt, with more success, for establishing his dispensing power by a verdict of the judges (December). A feigned action was instituted. Sir

* She was condemned by eight of the judges, but Jeffreys was not of the number.

Edward Hales, a new proselyte, had accepted a commission of colonel; and directions were given to his coachman to prosecute him for the penalty of 500*l.* which the Test Act had granted to informers (June 16, 1686). Before the cause was tried, four of the judges—Jones, Montague, Charlton, and Nevil—were displaced (April 21). Sir Edward Herbert, the chief justice, declared that there was nothing with which the king might not dispense; and when the matter was referred to the judges, eleven out of the twelve adhered to this decision. The nation thought the dispensing power dangerous, if not fatal, to liberty. It was not likely that an authority which James had assumed through so many obstacles would in his hands lie long idle and unemployed. Four catholic lords were brought into the privy council—Powys, Arundel, Bellasis, and Dover (August 16, 1686). Halifax had been dismissed already, and the office of privy seal given to Arundel. The king was open as well as zealous in his desire of making converts; and men plainly saw that the only way to acquire his affection and confidence was to sacrifice their religion. Sunderland had not scrupled to gain favour at this price, and Rochester, the treasurer, though the king's brother-in-law, had been turned out of office because he refused to give a similar instance of complaisance (December, 1685). The treasury was put in commission, and Bellasis was placed at the head of it. In Scotland James's zeal for proselytism was still more successful. In Ireland the mask was wholly taken off. The duke of Ormond had been recalled (March 27, 1685), and the whole power lodged in the hands of Talbot, soon after created earl of Tyrconnel—a man carried away by the blindness of his prejudices, and the fury of his temper, with immeasurable ardour for the catholic cause. Protestants were disarmed on pretence of securing the public peace. The army was new-modelled; the militia, with most of its officers, being protestants, and consisting of 4000 or 5000 men, were disbanded, and deprived of their arms and regimentals. When Clarendon, who had been named lord-lieutenant, came over, he soon found that, as he had refused to give the king the desired pledge of fidelity by changing his religion, he possessed little credit or authority; and he was even a kind of prisoner in the hands of Tyrconnel. All judicious persons of the Roman catholic communion were disgusted with these violent measures, and easily foresaw the consequences.

§ 5. The proceedings of the court awakened the alarm of the established church. Instead of avoiding controversy, according to the king's injunctions, the preachers everywhere declaimed against popery; and among the rest, doctor Sharp, rector of St. Giles's, London, particularly distinguished himself. His discourses gave great offence at court; and positive orders were issued to Compton,

bishop of London, to suspend Sharp till his majesty's further pleasure (June, 1686). The prelate replied that he was not empowered to inflict punishment in such a summary manner, even upon the greatest delinquent. But neither this obvious reason, nor the most dutiful submissions, both of the prelate and of Sharp himself, could appease the king. The court of High Commission had been abolished in the reign of Charles I. by act of parliament; and although that act was partly repealed after the Restoration, yet the clause was retained which prohibited its re-erection in all future times. An ecclesiastical commission was issued anew, almost in the words which created the court under Elizabeth, and seven commissioners were vested with full and unlimited authority over the church of England (August 16, 1686). The bishop of London was cited before them, and by a majority of votes he, as well as Sharp, was suspended.

Almost the whole of this short reign consists of attempts, always imprudent, often illegal, sometimes both, against whatever was most loved and revered by the nation. Not content with granting dispensations to particular persons, the king assumed a power of issuing a declaration of general indulgence, and of suspending at once all the penal statutes, by which conformity was required to the established religion. In this declaration he promised that he would maintain his loving subjects in all their properties and possessions, as well of church and abbey lands as of any other. Men thought that if the full establishment of popery were not at hand, this promise was quite superfluous; and they concluded that the king was so replete with joy on the prospect of that glorious event, that he could not, even for a moment, refrain from expressing it. But what afforded the most alarming prospect was the continuance and even increase of the violent and precipitate conduct of affairs in Ireland. Clarendon was dismissed, and Tyrconnel set in his place. The catholics were put in possession of the council-table, of the courts of judicature, and of the bench of justices. The charters of Dublin and of all the corporations were annulled; and new charters were granted, subjecting the corporations to the will of the sovereign. The protestant freemen were expelled, and catholics introduced; and as they were always the majority in number, they were now invested with the whole power of the kingdom. But, not content with discovering in his own kingdom the imprudence of his conduct, the king was resolved that all Europe should be witness of it. He publicly sent the earl of Castlemaine as ambassador extraordinary to Rome, in order to express his obedience to the pope, and to make advances for reconciling his kingdoms, in form, to the catholic communion. The pope in return

sent Francisco d'Adda as nuncio to England (July 3, 1687); and though any communication with the pope was treason, yet so little regard did the king pay to the laws that he gave the nuncio a public and solemn reception at Windsor. Four catholic bishops were publicly consecrated in the king's chapel; the regular clergy of that communion appeared at court in the habits of their order; and some of them were so indiscreet as to boast that in a little time they hoped to walk in procession through the capital. Disgusted with these proceedings, the earl of Shrewsbury, lord Lumley, and admiral Herbert resigned. The whole conduct of affairs fell into the hands of the earl of Sunderland and father Petre, of whom the former was as dishonest as the latter was incapable.

§ 6. By the practice of annulling the charters, the king had become master of all the corporations, and could at pleasure change everywhere the whole magistracy. The church party, therefore, was deprived of authority; and, by an unnatural and impolitic coalition, the dissenters were, first in London and afterwards in every other corporation, substituted in their place. Not content with this violent and dangerous innovation, the king appointed certain regulators to examine the qualifications of electors; and directions were given them to exclude all such as adhered to the test and penal statutes. He sought to bring over the chief public functionaries to his views in private conferences which were then called *closetings*. The whole power in Ireland had been committed to catholics. In Scotland, the ministers whom the king chiefly trusted were converts to that religion. The great offices in England, civil and military, were gradually transferred from the protestants. Nothing remained but to open the door in the church and universities to the intrusion of the catholics, and it was not long before the king made this rash effort. Cambridge successfully resisted the king's mandate to confer the degree of master of arts on father Francis, a Benedictine; but Massey, a Romanist, was installed dean of Christ Church in Oxford (December 29, 1686), and an attempt was made to thrust Farmer into the headship of Magdalen college, in the same university; and, when this failed, doctor Parker, suspected of an inclination to Romanism, was forced upon the fellows as president. In April, 1687, the king published a declaration of indulgence for liberty of conscience; and, fortified in his resolution by various addresses from non-conformists and others in its favour, he proceeded to put forth another (April 25, 1688), almost in the same terms as the former; and ordered that, immediately after divine service, it should be read by the clergy in all the churches on May 20. Hereupon six of the bishops—Lloyd of St. Asaph, Ken of Bath,

and Wells, Turner of Ely, Lake of Chichester, White of Peterborough, and Trelawney of Bristol—held a consultation with the primate, and drew up a respectful petition to the king, representing that, as this declaration of indulgence was founded on a prerogative formerly declared illegal by the parliament, they could not, in prudence, honour, or conscience, make themselves parties to its publication, and they besought the king that he would not insist upon their reading it (May 18). The king immediately embraced a resolution of punishing the bishops for a petition so popular in its matter, and so prudent and cautious in its expressions. He summoned them before the council; and when they avowed the petition, an order was immediately drawn for their commitment to the Tower. The crown lawyers received directions to prosecute them for the seditious libel which, it was pretended, they had composed and uttered. When

the people beheld these fathers of the church brought from court under the custody of a guard, and saw them embark at the Thames to be conveyed to the Tower, their affection for liberty and zeal for religion blazed up at once. The whole shore was covered with crowds of prostrate spectators, who at once implored their blessing, and addressed their petitions towards heaven for protection during



Medal of archbishop Sancroft and the seven bishops.
Obv.: GUIL. SANCROFT. ARCHIEPISC. CANTUAR.
1688. Bust to right. Rev.: Busts of the seven
bishops in circles, with their names.

this extreme danger to which their country and their religion were exposed. Even the soldiers, seized with the contagion of the same spirit, flung themselves on their knees before the distressed prelates, and craved their benediction. Their passage, when conducted to their trial, was, if possible, attended by greater masses of anxious spectators. Twenty-nine temporal peers (for the other prelates kept aloof) attended the seven prisoners to Westminster Hall. Such crowds of gentry followed the procession that scarcely room was left for the populace to enter. No cause, even during the prosecution of the popish plot; was ever heard with so much zeal and attention. The arguments of counsel in favour of the bishops were convincing in themselves, and were heard with a favourable disposition by the audience. The jury, however, for some cause unknown, took several hours to deliberate, and kept the people in the most anxious expectation. Night was setting in when they retired. The next morning, at ten, on the assembling of the court, the foreman returned a verdict of *not guilty* (June 18). The announcement was received with deafening shouts of applause. They were repeated by the thousands outside, who in vain crowded for admittance. From the court to the Thames, from the Thames to the Tower, the news spread like wildfire. The city bells rang out with one universal peal; at nightfall, bonfires blazed and windows were illuminated. James was then in the camp at Hounslow, where he had formed a standing army of about 16,000 men. It happened that, the very day on which the trial of the bishops was finished, he had reviewed the troops, and had retired into the tent of lord Feversham, the general, when he was surprised to hear a great uproar in the camp, attended with the most extravagant symptoms of tumultuary joy. He suddenly inquired the cause, and was told by Feversham, "It was nothing but the rejoicing of the soldiers for the acquittal of the bishops." "Do you call that nothing?" replied he. "But so much the worse for them."

§ 7. A few days before the acquittal of the bishops the queen was delivered of a son (June 10, 1688), who was baptized by the name of James. This blessing had been impatiently longed for, not only by the king and queen, but by all zealous catholics both abroad and at home. Vows had been offered at every shrine for a male successor, and pilgrimages undertaken, particularly one to Loretto, by the duchess of Modena. But the protestant party went so far as to ascribe to the king the design of imposing on the world a supposititious child, who might be educated in his principles, and after his death support the catholic religion in his dominions.

Until now the nation, sick of factions and the civil war, had endured with extraordinary patience the arbitrary proceedings of

James. He was well advanced in years, and had had no issue by his queen, except such as had died prematurely. In the event of his death, the crown would devolve on his daughter Mary, married to William of Orange, and in her default on Anne, both of whom were staunch protestants. Now, by the birth of his son, all these hopes were disappointed. It was certain that the child would be brought up under influences most hostile to the religion of the nation, and a protestant succession had thus become more remote than ever. Unhappily, too, for James, whatever hopes his son-in-law or his daughters had once entertained of succeeding him—and Mary had no children—were equally dashed by the birth of an heir. He had offended the church of England; he had alienated from himself and his counsels the tory nobility, and driven them, by his foolish partiality for father Petre and the most violent of the Romish communion, into the ranks of the whigs. He was without support and without advice. Already, in 1687, William had sent over Dykvelt as envoy to England, and given him instructions to apply, in his name, to every sect and denomination. To the church party he sent assurances of favour and regard; whilst the nonconformists were exhorted not to be deceived by the fallacious carresses of a popish court, but to wait patiently till laws, enacted by protestants, should give them that toleration which, with so much reason, they had long demanded. Dykvelt executed his commission with such dexterity, that all orders of men turned their eyes towards Holland, and many of the most considerable persons, both in church and state, made secret applications through him to the prince of Orange.

The event which James had so long made the object of his most ardent prayers, and from which he expected the firm establishment of his throne, proved the immediate cause of his ruin. William had sent over Zuleistein to congratulate the king on the birth of his son. The Dutch envoy brought back to the prince entreaties from many of the great men in England, to assist them in the recovery of their laws and liberties. At the suggestion of Edward Russell, a cousin of William, lord Russell, who, like Herbert, had been a member of the duke of York's household, a formal invitation was addressed to William by the earls of Danby, Devonshire, and Shrewsbury, and other discontented leaders of the whigs. Even Sunderland, the king's favourite minister, entered into correspondence with the prince; and, at the expense of his own honour and his master's interests, secretly favoured a cause which, he foresaw, was likely soon to predominate.

§ 8. The prince was easily engaged to yield to these applications. The time when he entered on his enterprise was well chosen, as the people were then in the highest ferment, on account of the insult

which the imprisonment and trial of the bishops had put upon the church, and indeed upon all the protestants of the nation. The political condition of Europe enabled William to carry on his preparations without attracting observation. In 1686 several of the continental powers had framed the league of Augsburg, nominally with a view of maintaining the peace of the empire, in reality to oppose the power of France. As France moved to support the elector of Cologne, William set on foot an army of 20,000 men, and ordered the fleet to be increased. So secret were his counsels, so fortunate the situation of affairs, that he could still cover his preparations under other pretences. Yet all his artifices could not entirely conceal his real intentions from the sagacity of the French court. Louis conveyed the intelligence to James, and offered to join a squadron of French ships to the English fleet, and to send over any number of troops which James should judge requisite for his security. But the French king's proposals were imprudently rejected. Solemnly assured by Citters, the Dutch ambassador, that the prince's preparations were not intended against him, James could not be convinced that his son-in-law intended an invasion of England. Notwithstanding the strong symptoms of discontent which broke out everywhere, a universal combination in rebellion appeared to him nowise credible.

In September James received a letter from the Hague, which informed him with certainty that he must soon look for a powerful invasion from Holland. Though he could reasonably expect no other intelligence, he was astonished at the news; his colour fled, and the letter dropped from his hand. His eyes were now opened, and he found himself on the brink of a frightful precipice, which his delusions had hitherto concealed from him. His ministers and counsellors, equally astonished, saw no resource but in a sudden and precipitate withdrawal of all those fatal measures by which he had created to himself so many enemies, foreign and domestic. He paid court to the Dutch, and offered to enter into any alliance with them for common security; he replaced in all the counties the deputy-lieutenants and justices, who had been deprived of their commissions for their adherence to the test and the penal laws; he restored the charters of London, and of other corporations; he annulled the court of ecclesiastical commission; he took off the bishop of London's suspension; he reinstated the expelled president and fellows of Magdalen college; and he was even reduced to caress those bishops whom he had so lately persecuted and insulted. But all these measures were regarded as symptoms of fear, not of repentance.

§ 9. Meanwhile the prince of Orange published a declaration

(September 30), which was dispersed over the kingdom. It set forth that the prince, from his near relationship to the kingdom, felt it was a duty imposed upon him to protect the civil and religious liberty of its people; that he had no other object in view except to facilitate the calling of a free parliament, and enquiring into the birth of the prince of Wales. He set sail from Helvoetsluys (October 19), with 60 ships of war and 700 transports, carrying 4500 cavalry and 11,000 foot, with large military stores. He had intended to land in Yorkshire, where the earl of Derby was awaiting his arrival; but a strong west wind setting in at night, he was compelled to return. He sailed again on November 1, and landed safely in Torbay on November 5, the anniversary of the gunpowder treason. The Dutch army marched first to Exeter, when the prince's declaration was there published; but the whole country was so terrified with the executions which had ensued on Monmouth's rebellion, that no one for several days ventured to join him. Sir Edward Seymour made proposals for an association, and by degrees the earl of Abingdon, Mr. Russell, son of the earl of Bedford, and others, came to Exeter. All England was in commotion, and the nobility and gentry in various counties embraced the cause of the invader.

But the most dangerous symptom was the disaffection which had crept into the army. The officers seemed disposed to adhere to the interests of their country and of their religion. Lord Cornbury, son of the earl of Clarendon, was the first to desert his sovereign, and carried off with him part of his cavalry regiment (November 14). The contagion of such an example spread rapidly. In the north the standard of rebellion was raised by Danby and Lumley, by Delamere and Brandon in Cheshire, by Devonshire in the midland counties. James joined his camp (November 19), but only to find treachery. On the 22nd lord Churchill (afterwards duke of Marlborough), who had been raised from the rank of a page, had been invested with a high command in the army, had been created a peer, and had owed his whole fortune to the king's favour, went over to the enemy. He carried with him the duke of Grafton, natural son of the late king, colonel Berkeley, and some troops of dragoons. In this perplexity James embraced a sudden resolution of drawing off his army, and retiring towards London—a measure which could only serve to betray his fears and provoke further treachery.

But Churchill had prepared a still more mortal blow for his distressed benefactor. His lady and he had an entire ascendancy over the family of prince George of Denmark; and the time now appeared seasonable for overwhelming the unhappy king, who was already staggering with the violent shocks which he had received.

Andover was the first stage of James's retreat towards London ; and there prince George, together with the young duke of Ormond and some other persons of distinction, after supping with the king, deserted him in the night-time, and retired to the prince's camp. No sooner had this news reached London, than the princess Anne, pretending fear of the king's displeasure, withdrew herself in company with the bishop of London and Lady Churchill. She fled to Nottingham; where the earl of Dorset received her with great respect, and the gentry of the county quickly formed a troop for her protection. The king burst into tears when the first intelligence of this astonishing event was conveyed to him. "God help me!" cried he, in the extremity of his agony, "my own children have forsaken me!" Unable to resist the torrent, he called a council of the peers and prelates who were in London; and, following their advice, issued writs for a new parliament, sending Halifax, Nottingham, and Godolphin as commissioners to treat with the prince of Orange.

§ 10. The prince of Orange, with keen policy, declined a personal conference with James's commissioners, and sent the earls of Clarendon and Oxford to treat with them (December 8-9). It was his purpose throughout that those who had joined him should so implicate themselves as to render retreat impossible. He gained also the further advantage of making it appear that whatever he did emanated from Englishmen, not from himself. The terms which he proposed implied almost a present participation of the sovereignty; and he stopped not a moment the march of his army towards London. The news which the king received from all quarters served to continue the panic into which he had fallen. Impelled by his own fears and those of others, he precipitately embraced the resolution of escaping into France; and he sent off beforehand the queen and the infant prince, under the conduct of count Lauzun, an old favourite of the French monarch. He himself disappeared in the night-time, attended only by sir Edward Hales, and made the best of his way to a ship which waited for him near the mouth of the river (December 11). Nothing could equal the surprise which seized the city, the court, and the kingdom, upon the discovery of this strange event. The more effectually to involve everything in confusion, the king threw the great seal into the river; and he recalled all those writs which had been issued for the election of the new parliament.

By this temporary dissolution of government, the populace became masters. They rose in a tumult and destroyed the catholic chapels. They even attacked and rifled the houses of the Florentine envoy and the Spanish ambassador, where many of the cathe-

lies had lodged their most valuable effects. Jeffreys, the chancellor, who had disguised himself in order to fly the kingdom, was discovered by them, and so maltreated that he died not long after in the Tower (April 18, 1689). To add to the disorder, Feversham, the royal general, had no sooner heard of the king's flight, than he disbanded the troops in the neighbourhood, and, without either disarming or paying them, let them loose to prey upon the country. In this extremity, the bishops and peers who were in town thought proper to assemble, and to interpose for the preservation of the community. Archbishop Sancroft absenting himself, the marquis of Halifax was chosen speaker. They gave directions to the mayor and aldermen for keeping the peace of the city; they issued orders, which were readily obeyed, to the fleet, the army, and all the garrisons; and they declared their adhesion to the prince of Orange in his design of calling a free parliament. The citizens begged him to march at once to London; and the prince, on his part, was not wanting to the tide of success which flowed in upon him.

While every one, from principle, interest, or animosity, turned his back on the unhappy king, who had abandoned his own cause, the unwelcome news arrived that he had been seized by some fishermen near Sheerness, as he was making his escape in disguise. On his arrival in London (December 16), the populace, moved by compassion for his unhappy fate, and actuated by their own levity, received him with shouts and acclamations. But this change in the humours of the populace did not suit the partisans of William. Halifax hastened to Henley, and urged him to come instantly to London. To get rid of James, it was determined to push him into that measure which, of himself, he seemed sufficiently inclined to embrace. Lord Feversham, whom he had sent on a civil message to the prince desiring a conference, was put under arrest, on the pretence that he had come without a passport; the Dutch guards were ordered to take possession of Whitehall; and Halifax, Shrewsbury, and Delamere delivered a message to the king in bed after midnight, ordering him to leave his palace next morning, and to depart for Ham, a seat of the duchess of Lauderdale's (December 17). He desired permission, which was easily granted, of retiring to Rochester, a town near the seacoast. Here he lingered some days, under the protection of a Dutch guard; but, urged by earnest letters from the queen, he privately embarked on board a frigate which waited for him (December 28), and arrived safely at Ambletuse, in Picardy. Hence he hastened to St. Germain, where Louis received him with the highest generosity, sympathy, and regard.

§ 11. William of Orange entered London (December 18) with 6000

Dutch troops. Strictly speaking, the purposes for which he came, as set forth in his declaration, were in great measure accomplished, and nothing remained except for the prince to retire and allow the nation to call a "free parliament." For this the peers then sitting at Guildhall might be considered amply qualified; and, as William appeared to acquiesce in their powers to speak in behalf of the nation, and even to command their natural sovereign, it seemed no more than appropriate that they should issue writs for a new election, and use the liberty the prince had held out to them. But this was by no means William's intention. He took the sovereign authority at once into his own hands, and on the 23rd of December he published an order commanding those who had served as members in any parliament held in the reign of Charles II. to meet him at St. James's three days after, together with the aldermen and 50 of the common council of London. This act must have opened men's eyes to William's real intentions, and the hopelessness at the same time of resisting a victorious prince, with a foreign army at his heels. Still more hopeless was the case of those whom he had contrived to implicate in this invasion, and made responsible for it. To go back was to confess themselves traitors; to go forward was to accept all William's pretensions. With mixed feelings, therefore, the lords, most of whom had already deserted to William, and afterwards the commons, requested the prince to take upon him the administration of public affairs, both civil and military—as if he had not done it in reality already—and to dispose of the revenue, until the meeting of a convention, for which he was requested to issue writs. With that prudence for which he was distinguished, William observed all the constitutional forms on this occasion. He gave proofs to Englishmen that no native sovereign could be more tender and careful than he of their national rights and privileges. Though hostile in reality to the church of England, and indifferent to all forms of religion, he received the sacrament from the bishop of London. He was considerate to every one; he authorized all officers and magistrates to continue in their places. He was severe to none, except papists; and such severity was popular. Such moderation contrasted all the more favourably with the earnest but narrow-minded prejudices of his father-in-law, who would make no concessions to the religious or political scruples of other men. The conduct of the prince with regard to Scotland was founded on the same prudent and moderate maxims. He summoned all the Scotchmen of rank at that time in London, who, without any authority from their nation, made an offer to the prince of the government, which he willingly accepted.

The English convention assembled at Westminster (January 22, 1689); and, as two-thirds of them were whigs, they experienced no difficulty in choosing Halifax as speaker in the upper, and Powle as speaker in the lower house. They returned thanks to William for delivering them from popery and arbitrary power. Next day the commons sent up to the peers the following vote for their concurrence: "That king James II. having endeavoured to subvert the constitution of the kingdom, by breaking the original contract between king and people; and, by the advice of Jesuits and other wicked persons, having violated the fundamental laws, and withdrawn himself out of the kingdom, has thereby *abdicated* the government, and that the throne is become vacant." This vote, carried by Hampden to the upper house, met with great opposition. Part of them desired the conditional restoration of James; others advocated a regency during his life, thus securing the succession of his son, whom it seemed unjust to exclude for the offences of his father. Great debates followed on the word *abdicated*, for which it was unanimously resolved to substitute the word *deserted*. The next question arose, whether the throne was *vacant* in consequence of desertion; and it was declared by a majority of 14 that it was not. William kept wary and watchful eyes on these discussions. Till now he had remained silent; but, though he had come to secure a free parliament, this was a freedom to which he would be no party. Sending for Halifax, Danby, and other whig chiefs, he plainly assured them he would not consent to a regency, nor share the throne with his wife simply for her lifetime. This declaration produced the necessary effect. Some anticipated, not unreasonably, that it was better to offer a crown, with good grace, of which William was in effect possessed already; others dreaded political disturbances. By a majority of 15, the resolution of the commons was accepted without any amendment, but 28 of the peers protested (February 6).

Thereupon, the marquis of Halifax, in the name of the convention, tendered the crown to William and Mary (February 13, 1689), who accepted the offer, and were proclaimed king and queen of England, France, and Ireland. The crown was settled on the prince and princess of Orange, the sole administration to remain in the prince. The succession was to rest in William and Mary and their issue; next in Mary's issue by any husband; then in Anne and her children; lastly, in the children of William. The convention annexed to this settlement a Declaration of Rights, by which the prerogative was more narrowly circumscribed and more exactly defined. This declaration was subsequently confirmed and extended by the Bill of Rights, as will be related in the following chapters.

§ 12. Thus ended, for the present, the long dispute between the prerogative of the crown and the privileges of the House of Commons. James I., in adopting the maxim, "*a Deo rex, a rege lex,*" raised the abstract question of principle, and inculcated on his subjects his own divine right, and their duty of passive obedience. Fortunately for the nation, Charles I. and James II., possessed sufficient courage, or sufficient obstinacy, to stake their lives and fortunes on the maintenance of what they considered a sacred principle, and thus to bring the question to an issue, which James I. had avoided out of natural timidity, and Charles II. partly from good sense and partly from the careless indolence of his temper.

The antagonistic theories of the times provoked a host of writers to treat on the fundamental principles of government, and to examine the foundations on which all legislative and executive authority is built. Harrington, Sidney, Milton, and Locke ranged themselves on the side of popular liberty : of the other side, Hobbes, a profound and original thinker, is the chief ; a writer who affords a striking instance that the utmost freedom and originality of philosophical speculation may not be incompatible with the entertainment of arbitrary political principles. Nothing can more strongly show how generally the theory of government occupied the attention of reflecting men in the time of the Stuarts, than the solemn assertion by the convention of 1688 of an original contract between prince and people ; an hypothesis utterly incapable of proof, however wholesome in itself, and however useful as the postulate of a political disquisition. (Supplement, Note IX.)

§ 13. With regard to foreign affairs, the era of the first four Stuarts presents almost a blank ; and what little is to be noted is not very creditable to the nation. James I. added to England the power of Scotland as well as that of pacified Ireland. The short effort of Charles I. in favour of the French protestants was inglorious and unsuccessful ; and the domestic troubles, which occupied the remainder of his reign, diverted his attention from the affairs of the continent. The energetic administration of Cromwell revived for a while the lustre of the English arms. Under Charles II., the pensioner of France, England was eclipsed by the glories of Louis XIV.

§ 14. Yet during the reigns of the Stuarts the nation advanced steadily, though slowly, in wealth, power, and civilization. In the time of Charles II., the population of England had increased to about five millions and a quarter. The addition was principally in the southern counties. The district north of Trent still continued thinly peopled, and comparatively barbarous ; although the coal-beds which it contained were destined eventually to attract to it an

immense increase of population, and to make it the seat of manufacturing industry. The archiepiscopal province of York, which at the time of the Revolution was thought to contain only one-seventh of the English population, contained in 1841 two-sevenths. In Lancashire the number of inhabitants appears to have increased ninefold.* But the means of communication throughout the kingdom were wretched in the extreme. Canals did not exist; the roads were execrable, and infested with highwaymen. Four horses, sometimes six, were required to drag the coaches through the mud; and the traveller who missed the scarce discernible track over the heaths, which were then frequent and extensive, might wander lost and benighted. Some improvement was effected by the introduction of posts in the reign of Charles I., which were brought to more perfection after the Restoration. In 1680, a penny post was established in London for the delivery of letters and parcels several times a day. The first law for erecting turnpikes was passed in 1662; but no very considerable improvement in the roads took place till the reign of George II.

§ 15. The annual revenue of James I. was estimated at about 450,000*l.*, a great part of which arose from the crown lands, from purveyance and other feudal rights which were abolished, as before related, soon after the Restoration. The customs in the reign of James I. never exceeded 190,000*l.*, and were supposed to be an *ad valorem* duty of five per cent., both on exports and imports. The excise was not established till the next reign, when both the customs and the total amount of the revenue had more than doubled; the income previous to the meeting of the Long Parliament being about 900,000*l.*, of which the customs formed about 500,000*l.* During the commonwealth the revenue was about 2,000,000*l.*; yet it was exceeded by the expenditure. The average revenue of Charles II. was about 1,200,000*l.* The first parliament of James II. put him in possession of 1,900,000*l.* per annum, though the country was at peace; and, adding his income as duke of York, James had a revenue of about 2,600,000*l.* The national debt at the time of the Revolution was only a little more than 1,000,000*l.*

These facts show a vast increase in the trade and resources of the country. But the increased revenue was absorbed by augmented expenditure. The first two Stuarts had no standing army. Regular troops were first kept constantly on foot in the time of the Commonwealth. Charles II. had a few regiments of guards; but James II. possessed a regular force of 20,000 men. The navy was also vastly augmented under the Stuarts. In Elizabeth's reign the whole naval force of the kingdom consisted of only 23 ships,

* Macaulay, *History of England*, i. 224.

besides pinnaces, and the largest of them would now equal a fourth rate. In the reign of James I. a ship was constructed larger than had yet been seen in the English navy, being of 1400 tons, and carrying 64 guns. The navy was greatly increased under Charles I. and Charles II., and still more under James II. The last had an affection for the service, showed considerable talent as an admiral, and was the inventor of naval signals. He was well seconded by Pepys, the secretary of the admiralty. At the period of the Revolution the fleet consisted of 173 vessels, manned by 42,000 seamen.

§ 16. The increase of revenue and of military power denoted, and was accompanied with, a corresponding increase in wealth and commerce. The first foundations of the North American colonies were laid, as we have seen, in the reign of James I.; when also the Bermudas and the island of Barbadoes were planted, the East India trade began to flourish; Greenland was discovered, and the whale fishery begun. The population of the North American colonies was augmented in the reign of Charles I., when the puritans settled in New England, and many catholics in Maryland. Under Charles II., New York and the Jerseys were recovered or conquered, and Carolina and Pennsylvania settled. The two Dutch wars, by disturbing the trade of that republic, promoted the commerce of this island; and after Charles II. had made a separate peace with the States, his subjects enjoyed unmolested the trade of Europe. The commerce and riches of England increased very fast from the Restoration to the Revolution; and it is computed that during these 28 years the shipping of England was more than doubled. Several new manufactures were introduced, and especially that of silk, by the French protestants who took refuge here after the revocation of the edict of Nantes. Sir Josiah Child, the banker, who wrote upon trade, states that in 1688 there were more men on 'Change worth 10,000*l.*, than there were in 1650 worth 1000*l.*

§ 17. The manners of the nation underwent great changes during this period. Under the first two Stuarts many religious sects sprung up; that of the Quakers was founded about 1650 by George Fox, a native of Drayton, in Leicestershire. Of this sect, Penn, the founder of Pennsylvania, was an eminent member. Each of these classes had its literature. The greatest genius among the puritans, and indeed one of the greatest among the English poets, was Milton. The writers who succeeded the Restoration, and who belonged to what may be called the cavalier literature, are more numerous but less remarkable than their predecessors. Their works, and especially those of the dramatists, though often sparkling with wit, are for the most part disfigured by indecency. It is the

chief merit of these authors to have moulded our language, and especially its prose, into that easy, perspicuous, and equable flow which makes their writings still seem modern. The principal refiners of our language and versification were Denham, Waller, and Dryden. The prose of the last has seldom been equalled; whilst Jeremy Taylor, South, and Bunyan, as preachers or writers in their own particular subjects, have never been surpassed. The same era of the Stuarts counts the names of our greatest philosophers; among others those of Bacon, Hobbes, Locke, Boyle, Newton, and Harvey, the discoverer of the circulation of the blood. The Royal Society was founded in 1660 by a small circle of Oxford philosophers, and obtained the king's letters patent.

Charles I. encouraged the fine arts; but we cannot yet be said to have had a school either of painting or sculpture. The artists employed were commonly foreigners, as Vandyck, Verrio, Kneller, Lely, and others. Cibber, the sculptor, was a Dutchman. Almost the only Englishmen eminent in art at this period were Inigo Jones and Wren, the architects. The former built Whitehall and several mansions of the nobility. The great fire which swept away the wooden tenements of London opened a noble field for the display of Wren's genius, which, however, was checked by the penuriousness of the government. Nevertheless we are indebted to him for St. Paul's cathedral, as well as for several of the finest churches in London.

Had there existed in the time of the Stuarts better vehicles for the expression of public opinion, they might probably have been saved from some of those schemes which proved so fatal to themselves. Newspapers had indeed been established in the reign of Charles I.; but even in that of his successor they were small and unimportant, and appeared only occasionally. Towards the close of his reign Charles II. would allow only the *London Gazette* to be published. Till 1679 the press in general was under a censorship; but though it was then emancipated for a short period, till the censorship was revived by James, the liberty was not extended to gazettes. In this state of things the coffee-houses, which were established in the reign of Charles II.—for tea, coffee, and chocolate were first introduced about the time of the Restoration—were the chief places for the ventilation of political and literary opinions. The government regarded these places of resort with much uneasiness and suspicion, and once made an ineffectual attempt to suppress them.

NOTES AND ILLUSTRATIONS.

AUTHORITIES FOR THE PERIOD
OF THE STUARTS.

During this epoch the materials of history become more abundant. The following list gives only the more important writers.

For the reign of James I. the chief authorities are—Winwood's *Memorials*; Camden's *Annals of King James I.*, and Wilson's *History of King James I.* (both in Kennett); Dalrymple's *Memorials and Letters*, illustrative of the reigns of James I. and Charles I.; Carleton's *Letters* during his embassy in Holland; Rushworth's *Historical Collection* (1618-1648); Birch's *Negotiations* from 1592 to 1617; Bacon's works; king James's works. Sully's *Mémoires* and Boderie's *Ambassades en Angleterre* throw considerable light on the state of James's foreign relations.

For the reign of Charles I., Clarendon's *History of the Rebellion* is the principal; a classical performance in regard to style and historical description, especially the delineation of characters, but not always trustworthy. An unmutated edition of this work was not published till 1826. To this must be added Clarendon's *Life and State Papers*; Whitelock's *Memorials* (from Charles I. to the Restoration); Nalson's *Collection* (1639-1648); Scobell's *Acts and Ordinances* (1640-1656); Husband's *Collection* (1642-1646); Thurloe's *State Papers* (1639-1660); May's *History of the Long Parliament*; Strafford's *Letters and Despatches*; the *Sydney State Papers*; Spriggs's *Anglia Rediviva*; Dugdale's *Short View of the late Troubles*; Robert Baillie's *Letters and Journals* (1637-1662); Ludlow's *Memoirs*; Lucy Hutchinson's *Memoirs* of her husband, colonel Hutchinson; sir John Berkeley's *Memoirs*; John Ashburnham's *Narrative*; Fairfax's *Memorials*; sir T. Herbert's *Memoirs*; Slingsby's and Hodgson's *Memoirs*; Baxter's *Life and Times*; Bishop Hacket's *Memorial of Archbishop Williams*, Land's *Remains*, with the

History of his Troubles and Trial; Carte's *Life of Ormonde*; sir P. Warwick's *Memoirs of Charles I.*; Denzil lord Holles's *Memoirs* (1641-1648); Bishop Hall's *Hard Measure*; Evelyn's *L'emoirs* (1641-1796); sir Ed. Walker's *Historical Discourses* relative to king Charles I.; Dr. John Walker's *Number and Sufferings of the Clergy sequestered in the Great Rebellion*; Clement Walker's *History of Independency*; Burton's *Cromwellian Diary*; sir John Temple's *History of the Irish Rebellion*; Oliver Cromwell's *Letters and Speeches*, with elucidations by Thomas Carlyle; S. R. Gardiner's *History of England from 1603-1637*; Markham's *Life of Fairfax*; Forster's *Life of Sir John Eliot*, and other works.

For the reigns of Charles II. and James II.—Burnet's *History of his own Times*; Reresby's *Memoirs*; North's *Examen* and the *Lives of the Norths*; Pepys's *Diary* (1659-1689); Dalrymple's *Memoirs of Great Britain and Ireland*, from Charles II. to the battle of La Hogue; *Life of Charles II.*, collected out of *Memoirs* writ of his own hand, edited by the Rev. J. S. Clarke; *Correspondence of Henry and Lawrence Hyde*, earls of Clarendon and Rochester; *Diary of Lord Clarendon*; and Christie's *Life of Shaftesbury*. The *Mémoires de Grammont* illustrate the court and times of Charles II. It is scarcely necessary to mention the recent work of lord Macaulay. The *Œuvres de Louis XIV.*, and the letters of Barillon and D'Avaux, show the relations of Charles II. and his brother with the French court. Among the latest authorities is Ranke's *History of the Seventeenth Century*.

Other works which illustrate the whole period are—the *Journals of the Lords and Commons*, the *Parliamentary History*, Howell's *State Trials*, the *Hardwicke Papers*, Coke's *Detection of the Court and State of England from James I. to Queen Anne*, Neal's *History of the Puritans*, and Luttrell's *Diary*.



Medal of William III. INVICTISSIMVS GVILLIELMVS MAG. Bust laureate to right.

BOOK VI.

FROM THE REVOLUTION OF 1688 TO THE YEAR 1878.

CHAPTER XXVII.

WILLIAM III. AND MARY II.

WILLIAM, *b.* A.D. 1650; *r.* 1689–1702.

MARY, *b.* A.D. 1662; *r.* 1689–1694.

- § 1. Character of William III. His ministry. Convention parliament.
 § 2. Discontents and mutiny. Nonjurors. Toleration Act. Settlement of Scotland. § 3. James lands in Ireland. Naval action at Bantry Bay. Siege of Londonderry. Battle of Newton Butler.
 § 4. Bill of Rights. Attainders reversed. Change of ministers.
 § 5. William proceeds to Ireland. Battle of the Boyne. Siege of Limerick and return of William. § 6. Action off Beachy Head. Campaign in Ireland. Pacification of Limerick. § 7 Altered views of William. Massacre of Glencoe. § 8. Intrigues in favour of James. Marlborough sent to the Tower § 9. Battle of La Hogue. § 10. Attack on the Smyrna fleet. Growing unpopularity of William. Expedition to Brest betrayed by Marlborough. § 11. Bill for triennial

parliaments. Death of queen Mary. § 12. General corruption. Abolition of the censorship. Campaign in Flanders. § 13. Conspiracy against the king. Loyal association. Attainder of sir J. Fenwick § 14. Treaty of Ryswick. § 15. Miscellaneous transactions. Negotiations respecting the Spanish succession. First partition treaty. § 16. William's unpopularity. Dismissal of his Dutch guards. Resumption of forfeited estates in Ireland. § 17. Second treaty of partition. William acknowledges the duke of Anjou as king of Spain. § 18. The cabinet council. § 19. Discontent of the commons. The grand alliance. Death of king James II. Preparations for war. Death of king William.

§ 1. WILLIAM HENRY, prince of Orange, ascended the throne by the title of William III., and was now in his 39th year. In person he was of the middle size, his shoulders bent, his limbs slender and ill-shaped, yet capable of sustaining considerable fatigue in hunting and other athletic sports, in which he delighted. His forehead was shaded by light-brown hair; his nose was high and aquiline; a penetrating eye lighted up a pale and careworn countenance, the expression of which indicated a degree of sullenness as well as thought and resolution. His manners were ungraceful and taciturn, and little calculated to win love or popularity; and, though he had the art to conceal his designs, he could not always suppress the manifestation of his passions. Notwithstanding his feeble health, he frequently indulged to excess in the pleasures of the table, and abandoned the society of his wife for that of other women. He possessed some skill as a linguist, and knew enough of mathematics to understand fortification; but he had no taste for literature and art. A very indifferent soldier, he was an excellent politician, never suffering his judgment to be swayed by affection or enthusiasm.

In the choice of his ministers William seemed to ignore personal as well as political animosities and predilections. The earl of Nottingham, who had violently opposed his elevation to the throne, as well as the earl of Shrewsbury, who had zealously promoted it, were made secretaries of state. Danby and Halifax took their seats in the council, the former as president, the latter as privy seal. The great seal was intrusted to commissioners, with sergeant Maynard at their head. The treasury was also put into commission, the chief commissioner being lord Mordaunt, afterwards earl of Peterborough; but that post was not then so important as it subsequently became. At the same time William's Dutch favourites were not forgotten, much to the discontent of many Englishmen. Bentinck* was made a privy councillor, privy purse, and groom of

* Bentinck was created earl of Portland in 1689. He died in 1709, and was succeeded in the title by his son, who was created in 1716 duke of Portland, and was the ancestor of the present duke.

the stole; Zulestein * was appointed master of the robes: Schomberg † was placed at the head of the ordnance; and Auverquerque ‡ became master of the horse. To these he gave his entire confidence, and was guided by their counsels, to the neglect of his English ministers. For himself William claimed the full and undivided authority of the crown. The name of Mary, the heiress by blood, was indeed inserted with his own in all the acts of government; yet, as her easy and unambitious temper disposed her to implicit obedience to her husband, she soon appeared to sink into the position of a queen consort, and lost all importance in the consideration of the people.

In order to avoid the hazards of an election under existing circumstances, the convention passed a bill for converting itself into a parliament. The bill received the royal assent on the 23rd of February. Some members of the opposition party in the commons retired from an assembly which they declared to be illegal; and even those who remained displayed the greatest frugality in their votes for the public service. They postponed the settlement of the revenue, until the return of expenditure and income had been brought in; granting the king extraordinary assessments. They even established the precedent, which has since been followed, of appropriating the supplies, and determined that one-half of the sum voted should be applied to the public expenses, and the other half to the civil list. When William represented the justice and necessity of refunding the charge of 700,000*l.* incurred by the Dutch republic for his expedition, they voted only 600,000*l.* This frugality alienated the king's mind from the whigs, and he talked of abandoning the government.

§ 2. No sooner was William seated on the throne than he seemed to have lost all his former popularity. The emissaries of James were active, and even Halifax and Danby expressed their apprehension that, if he would only give securities for the maintenance of the protestant religion, nothing could prevent his restoration. Symptoms of discontent having shown themselves in the army, the king resolved to send the malcontent regiments to Holland, and to supply their place at home with Dutch troops. The first regiment of the line, composed chiefly of Scotchmen, being ordered abroad, resented this order, as William was not yet their king, and marched northwards with drums beating and colours flying, carrying with

* Zulestein was created in 1695 earl of Rochford. The title became extinct on the death of the fifth earl in 1830.

† Schomberg was created duke of Schomberg in 1689. His son Charles, the second duke, was killed at the battle of Maragilla, 1693. Another son, Meinhardt,

third duke of Schomberg, and first duke of Leinster in Ireland, died in 1719, when the title became extinct.

‡ Auverquerque was created in 1693 earl of Grantham. He died in 1754, when the title became extinct.

them four pieces of artillery; but being overtaken, near Sleaford, by three regiments of Dutch dragoons under Ginkell, they were compelled to surrender, and men and officers were treated with great ignominy (March 15). This affair occasioned the mutiny bill. The soldier had been hitherto regarded only as a citizen, and amenable to the civil tribunals: the army was now placed under martial law, and the mutiny bill has since been continued from year to year.

The House of Commons, or such members of it as remained, did not hesitate to take the oath of allegiance (March 5); but many of the temporal peers, as well as eight bishops, including the primate Sancroft, refused, and their example was speedily followed by about 400 of the inferior clergy, all of whom were afterwards deprived. The party that refused the oaths were designated by the title of non-jurors. The oaths were to be taken by the beneficed clergy, and by those holding academical offices, on the ensuing 1st of August. This opposition on the part of the church furnished the king with an opportunity for displaying his predilection for dissenters, towards whom he was naturally inclined by his religious tenets. The bill known as the TOLERATION ACT, to relieve protestant dissenters from certain penalties, was introduced this session, and passed on the 24th of May. All who took the new oaths of allegiance and supremacy, and made a declaration against transubstantiation, were thereby exempted from the penalties incurred by absenting themselves from church, or by frequenting unlawful conventicles. Dissenters were restrained from meeting with locked doors; but, on the other hand, a penalty was enacted against disturbing the congregation. The ancient penal statutes remained, however, unrepealed, and persons who denied the Trinity, as well as papists, were excluded from the benefit of the new act. In November, a commission was issued to the archbishop of York and nine other bishops, to review the liturgy, in order to admit dissenters by adopting certain alterations, and leaving certain ceremonies discretionary. But their recommendations were rejected by convocation, and have never since been renewed.

During the debates on these measures William and Mary were crowned in Westminster Abbey (April 11). Sancroft, the primate, declined to act, and the ceremony was performed by Compton, the bishop of London. With regard to Scotland, it has been already mentioned that the prince of Orange was acknowledged in January by an unauthorized assemblage of Scotch nobility and gentry resident in London. A more regular convention was held at Edinburgh in March; and 50 malcontent members having deemed it prudent to withdraw, it was unanimously decided that James had *forefaulted* his right, and that the throne had become vacant.

There was, however, in Scotland a strong party in favour of James, headed by the duke of Gordon, and supported by the archbishop of Glasgow, the earl of Balcarras, viscount Dundee (formerly Graham of Claverhouse), and others. Dundee succeeded in raising between 2000 and 3000 Highlanders, with whom he defeated at Killiecrankie, on July 27, the king's forces of double the number. But Dundee received a mortal wound in the action, and with him expired all James's hopes in Scotland. The Highlanders, dispirited by the loss of their leader, dispersed after a few skirmishes, and the duke of Gordon having surrendered Edinburgh Castle on June 18, the whole country was reduced to obedience to William. In return he abolished episcopacy, and presbyterianism was established as the only lawful religion of the state.

§ 3. In Ireland Tyrconnel was still lord deputy. His government had been marked by violence towards the protestants; many towns were deprived of their charters, and the public offices were filled with Roman catholics. Alarmed, however, at William's success, he pretended to enter into negotiations for the surrender of Ireland. The design was vehemently opposed by the Irish. Tyrconnel then invited James to return, and employed himself in raising a force of half-wild, half-armed, and worse disciplined Irish. James landed at Kinsale on the 12th of March, and was received with every demonstration of joy. Louis XIV. had furnished him with 16 ships of the line, 7 tenders, and 3 fireships; but the whole land force which he brought with him consisted only of 1200 of his own subjects in the pay of France, and 100 French officers.

At Cork James was met by Tyrconnel, whom he raised to the rank of duke. The view of the troops that were to fight for his cause was not calculated to inspire him with very sanguine hopes of success. Scarcely two in a hundred were provided with muskets fit for service; the rest were armed with clubs and sticks tipped with iron. James found himself obliged to disband the greater part, and retained only 35 regiments of infantry and 14 regiments of horse. His whole artillery consisted of 12 field-pieces and 4 mortars. After summoning a parliament to meet at Dublin on the 7th of May, James set out for his army in the north, where Londonderry was invested. That place and Enniskillen, being inhabited by protestants, were the only towns in Ireland that declared for king William. Lundy, the governor of Londonderry, had sent a message to James's head-quarters, with assurances that the place would be surrendered on the first summons; but his treachery was fortunately discovered, and it was with difficulty that he escaped with his life, by letting himself down from the walls in the disguise of a porter. James, who had ridden up with his staff to within a short distance

of the gates, was saluted with a cry of "No surrender;" and at the same time a discharge from the fortifications killed an officer by his side. The citizens, after the flight of Lundy, chose Walker, a clergyman, and major Baker, for their governors, and resolved to hold out to the last extremity.

The army of James was destitute of all the materials required for a siege. Few of the soldiers had even muskets, and it was therefore resolved to turn the assault into a blockade. James now returned to Dublin. But his cause was ruined by the violence of the Irish parliament. Disregarding the king's wishes, it repealed the act of settlement, thus confiscating at a blow all the English property in the country. It passed a general bill of attainder, comprehending more than 2000 persons; and the scheme for replenishing the king's coffers by an issue of base coin occasioned universal dislike.

In June marshal de Rosen was appointed to take the command of the besieging army at Londonderry. The town being completely invested on the land side, and cut off from all relief by sea by means of a boom about a mile and a half down the Foyle, the inhabitants were reduced to the last extremity of famine, and obliged to subsist on horses, dogs, rats, starch, and other food of the like revolting kind. The hopes of the garrison had been raised and disappointed by the appearance of a small squadron in the Lough, commanded by Kirke, of west of England notoriety, who was obliged to retire. Towards the end of July, however, he again appeared, and two merchantmen, the *Mountjoy* and the *Phœnix*, covered by the *Dartmouth* frigate, succeeded on the 30th in breaking the boom. The *Phœnix* easily forced a passage. De Rosen's trenches were filled with water; and the relief of the town determined him to abandon the siege. On the 1st of August his army decamped, after burning their huts. The siege, one of the most memorable in the history of Britain, lasted 105 days, and the garrison had been reduced from 7000 to about 3000 effective men.

On the same day that Londonderry was relieved, lord Mountcashel had been completely routed by the protestants of Enniskillen at Newton Butler, and he himself wounded and taken prisoner. To add to James's misfortunes, Schonberg, whom the commons had presented with 100,000*l.*, landed with 10,000 men near Donaghadee, on the coast of Down (August 12). Carrickfergus surrendered after a short siege, and was treated with great cruelty. He then encamped in the neighbourhood of Dundalk, the duke of Berwick, James's natural son, retiring on his approach. James, having in vain endeavoured to draw him to a battle, closed the campaign of 1689 by retiring into winter quarters at Atherdee.

§ 4. While these things were passing in Ireland, the English

parliament had been employed on important measures. The chief of these was the BILL OF RIGHTS, the third great charter of English liberty, which embodied and confirmed the provisions of the *Declaration of Right*,* and also included a settlement of the crown in the manner already related in the preceding chapter.† It reversed the attainders of lord Russell, Algernon Sidney, alderman Cornish; and Mrs. Lisle. The exorbitant fines imposed in the preceding reign were declared illegal, and the money extorted by Jeffreys was charged against his estate, with interest. All these proceedings were unexceptionable; but the same cannot be said of the reversal of the judgment on the perjured Oates, and the granting him a pension of 300*l.* a year (June 6).

To the dismay of the whigs, William dissolved the convention parliament on February 6, 1690. Halifax was soon after removed from office; and Danby, now marquess of Caermarthen, appointed many of his own creatures to the higher offices of state. The new parliament, which met in March, comprised many tories. The king announced his intention of passing over to Ireland, and a supply of 1,200,000*l.* was unanimously voted.

§ 5. William arrived at Carrickfergus on June 14, 1690, and proceeded to Schomberg's head-quarters at Lisburn. His army amounted to about 36,000 men, variously composed of English, Dutch, Germans, and other foreigners. On his approach the Irish army retired to the south bank of the Boyne, which is steep and hilly, and had been fortified with intrenchments. When James joined them there with 10,000 French troops under Lauzun, his whole army amounted to about 30,000 men; and, though his force was thus considerably inferior to that of William, he was induced, by the strength of the position, to hazard a battle. On the 30th of June both armies were in presence on either bank of the river; and on the following morning (July 1) James drew up his troops in two lines, his left being covered by a morass, whilst in his rear was the village of Dunmore, and three miles further on the narrow pass of Duleek. William, who had been reconnoitring the enemy's position, was slightly wounded the day before the action by a cannon-ball which grazed his shoulder. He ranged his army in three columns. The centre, led by the duke of Schomberg, was to ford the river in front of the enemy; the right, under count Schomberg, his son, was to cross near the bridge of Slane; while William himself headed the passage of the left between the camp and the town of Drogheda. The attack was successful at all points; the Irish horse alone made some resistance; the foot fled

* See p. 315.

† The Bill of Rights is printed at length in *Notes and Illustrations*, p. 344.

without striking a blow. James parted from his army at the pass of Duleek, and made the best of his way to Dublin. This engagement, celebrated as the **BATTLE OF THE BOYNE**, decided the fate of James, though the loss on both sides was small, that of the Irish being about 1500, chiefly cavalry, whilst that of William was only 500, but among them was the duke of Schomberg. Walker, the brave defender of Londonderry, also fell in this engagement. James, having no army left—for the Irish had dispersed themselves in the night—abandoned Dublin and hastened to Kinsale, where he got on board a French frigate, and arrived at Brest on July 9.

William arrived in Dublin a few days after his victory, and treated the inhabitants with considerable harshness. He then marched southwards, took Wexford, Clonmel, Waterford, Duncannon, and laid siege to Limerick (August 8–30); but having been repulsed in an assault, and the rains setting in, he found it necessary to raise the siege, and early in September he left Ireland for London. Soon after his departure, Marlborough landed near Cork with 5000 men; and, having received some reinforcements, captured that town after a short siege. He next took Kinsale after a desperate resistance; and, as the winter was approaching, he returned to England, from which he had been absent only five weeks.

§ 6. Whilst William was in Ireland, a naval engagement took place off Beachy Head, on the 30th of June, between the combined Dutch and English fleets, commanded by admiral Herbert, now created earl of Torrington,* and the French fleet under admiral Tourville. Torrington, with a policy hardly justifiable, placed the Dutch vessels in the van, which in consequence suffered severely. The victory remained with the French; and Torrington, taking the disabled ships in tow, made for the Thames. London was filled with consternation, as it was expected that the French would sail up the river; but they made little use of their victory. An invasion at this juncture would probably have been successful, as the French had the command of the sea, and might easily have disembarked a large army, whilst there were not 10,000 regular troops in England; but they attempted no more than the burning of Teignmouth. William was incensed against Torrington on account of the losses suffered by the Dutch, and denounced him to parliament in the speech with which he opened the autumnal session. Torrington was tried by a court-martial at Sheerness, and honourably acquitted; but the king deprived him of his command, and forbade him his presence. (Supplement, Note X.)

* The title became extinct on the death of the first earl in 1716. The present viscount Torrington is descended from a son of sir George Byng, created viscount Torrington in 1721.

In the following year (1691) the campaign in Ireland was brought to a close. That country was in a very distracted state. Bodies of wild Irish, called rapparees, from a species of pike with which they committed their massacres, went roaming about the country, and hung upon and infested the quarters of the English army, who in their turn committed great barbarities. Towards the end of June, Ginkell, who commanded the English forces, bombarded and took Athlone. It was a masterpiece of audacity, as a large army of Irish, commanded by St. Ruth, a Frenchman, lay behind the town, while the storming columns had to ford the Shannon, with the water breast-high, in order to gain the breach. St. Ruth now took up a strong position at Aghrim, where Ginkell did not hesitate to attack him. For some time the battle raged with doubtful fury, till, St. Ruth being killed by a cannon-ball, his army was seized with a panic, and fled in disorder towards Limerick (July 12). Ginkell sat down before that place on the 25th of August; and, after a siege of six weeks, the Irish, much to the discontent of the French, agreed to the very favourable terms which he offered for a general pacification. By the chief articles of this treaty, signed October 3, and called the Pacification of Limerick, it was agreed that the Irish should enjoy the exercise of their religion as in the time of Charles II.; that all included in the capitulation should remain unmolested in their estates and possessions; and that those who wished to retire to the continent should be conveyed thither at the expense of the government. By virtue of this last clause, Sarsfield and about 12,000 men were conveyed to France, and entered the service of Louis XIV. Thus an end was put in every part of the empire to the authority of James, who had been *de facto* king in Ireland more than a year and a half after his flight from England.

As Sancroft, the primate, and six of the bishops still refused to take the oath of allegiance, they were deprived of their sees on February 1, 1691. Tillotson, dean of St. Paul's, succeeded Sancroft as archbishop of Canterbury.

§ 7. William had spent the greater part of the year in Holland, for the purpose of conducting the campaign against Louis XIV. He had repaired thither in the middle of January; and though the weather was foggy, and the coast lined with ice, he attempted to land in a boat. The steersman lost his way, and the king was obliged to pass the night in the boat, covered up with a cloak. The following day he succeeded in landing at Goree. The campaign was not marked by any important event, except the taking of Mons by Louis. William paid a short visit to England in April, and finally returned in October to open the parliament. A bill was passed for facilitating the execution of the Pacification of Limerick, though

that treaty was not approved of in England. Although William had been brought in by the whigs, he was now chiefly supported by the Tories. He rejected a bill which had passed both houses for making the judges independent of the crown; and his reign was now sullied by an act of great barbarity—the infamous massacre of Glencoe. A pacification had been entered into in August with the Scotch Highlanders, and an indemnity offered to all who should take the oaths of allegiance to the king and queen by the 31st of December, 1691. All the Jacobite heads of clans had complied, except the chief of the M'Donalds of Glencoe, whose delay arose more from accident than design. He had repaired to Fort William on the 31st of December, where to his surprise and alarm he found nobody who could administer the oath. Colonel Hill, the commandant, directed him to Inverary; but the season was rigorous, the country mountainous and covered with deep snow, so that MacIain did not arrive till the 6th of January 1692. After many entreaties, sir Colin Campbell, the sheriff of Argyle, consented to receive his oath; but sir John Dalrymple, the master of Stair, and secretary for Scotland, who bore a deadly hatred to the M'Donalds and the Highlanders, took advantage of MacIain's negligence to destroy him and his whole clan, having procured from William an order for that purpose.

On the 1st of February, 1692, a body of 120 soldiers appeared in that lonely mountain-glen, which lies near Loch Leven. They were commanded by Campbell of Glenlyon; and as Campbell was the uncle of young M'Donald's wife, they were welcomed with unsuspecting friendship. For nearly a fortnight the troops enjoyed free quarters and hospitable entertainment. On the evening of the 12th the officers played at cards in the house of MacIain. At five o'clock the next morning, lieutenant Lindsay, with a party of soldiers, appeared at his door and were instantly admitted. They had come in the guise of friendship to act the part of assassins. MacIain was shot in the back as he was rising from his bed; his wife, who had already risen, was stripped, and the rings torn from her fingers by the soldiers' teeth. Young and old were murdered without pity; even some of the women fell in attempting to defend their children. About 40 persons were massacred, and as many more, chiefly women and children, who had escaped among the mountains, perished there of cold and hunger. The massacre would have been more complete had lieutenant-colonel Hamilton, whom the master of Stair had charged with the execution, arrived at the appointed time. The severity of the weather delayed his arrival till the following day, and nothing remained for him but to complete the inhuman deed by burning the houses, driving off the

cattle, and dividing the spoil. By this fortunate delay 150 men were enabled to escape through the mountain-passes, which were not sufficiently guarded.*

§ 8. This year (1692) William again embarked for Holland, leaving the administration of affairs in England to queen Mary. He was not aware of all the danger that threatened his newly acquired crown. Intrigues had been formed for the restoration of James, and were entered into not only by nonjurors and tories, but even by whigs. One of the principal leaders in them was the inconstant and treacherous Marlborough, who had induced the princess Anne to write a letter to her father, in which she penitently asked his forgiveness. Admiral Russell, commander of the fleet, lord Godolphin, and others, were also implicated. Marlborough invited James to invade England, and in some degree pledged himself for the conduct of the English army. A large body of Irish troops had been conveyed to France in 1690; and by the pacification of Limerick, which allowed a free passage, their number had been swelled to nearly 20,000. These were at James's disposal, and Louis engaged to add 10,000 French. A camp was formed in the Cotentin, near La Hogue; and marshal Bellefonds was appointed to command the army of invasion, which was to be convoyed by 80 sail of the line. Early in 1692 everything was in a state of forwardness, and James had even drawn up his manifesto. With his usual infelicity of judgment, its tone was impolitic, and disgusted many who might have been prepared to serve him. From the general indemnity held out to others he excepted not only many noblemen, but even the fishermen, who had insulted him near Sheerness. The English ministry thought that they could not do him a greater injury than to publish the document at full length, accompanied with a biting commentary.

The government had received some vague information of a plot; and the earls of Marlborough, Huntingdon, and Scarsdale were apprehended and sent to the Tower on the information of one Young, a man of infamous character, and actually in Newgate on a charge of forgery. As the government suspected Marlborough, they encouraged Young, paid his fine, and released him from prison; and Marlborough was detained some weeks in the Tower, till Young's falsehood was discovered.

* It is urged in palliation of this barbarity that William did not read the warrant, though it was carefully signed by him at top and at bottom, and the contents of it are too brief and too singular to have been easily overlooked. It runs as follows;—“WILLIAM R. As for Maclean of Glencoe

and that tribe, if they can be well distinguished from the rest of the Highlanders, it will be proper for the vindication of public justice to extirpate that set of thieves.—W. R.” The king never marked his abhorrence of the deed by punishing the actors.

§ 9. The combined Dutch and English fleets, consisting of 99 sail of the line, together with many frigates and fireships, carrying 6000 guns and about 40,000 men, assembled at St. Helens in May. As the fidelity of the admiral himself, as well as of many of his officers, was suspected, with good reason, Mary wrote a letter which Russell was ordered to read to all the officers of the fleet assembled on his quarter-deck. In it she stated that she had heard certain reports respecting their conduct, but that she regarded them as calumnies, and put entire confidence in their loyalty. This politic step was attended with excellent effects. At the same time the militia was called out, and a camp formed between Petersfield and Portsmouth.

James was waiting at La Hogue for the arrival of admiral Tourville, who was to bring 44 ships from Brest. About the middle of May Tourville's fleet was descried off the coast of Dorsetshire, whence it made for La Hogue, where the army of invasion was embarking. Russell also directed his course towards that port; and on the 19th of May, the haze having suddenly cleared off, the hostile fleets came unexpectedly in sight of each other. Tourville, though much inferior in force, bore down upon the allies, in the expectation that several of the English ships would come over to his side; but in this he was disappointed. Russell's ship, the *Britannia*, of 100 guns, engaged that of the French admiral, of 104; and the battle, which raged from 11 o'clock to about 4, soon became general. The French admiral's ship was disabled. Towards evening, a breeze having sprung up from the east, and the haze having cleared a little, the French were descried running on all sides, and signal was given to chase; but the pursuit was arrested by the flood-tide and the approach of night. Several of the smaller French ships escaped through the race of Alderney into St. Malo; the larger ones sought refuge at Cherbourg and La Hogue (May 19). Altogether 16 French men-of-war, eight of which were three-deckers, were sunk or burnt, besides several transports that were cut out of the harbour. This victory averted the threatened invasion. After this battle queen Mary ordered the royal palace at Greenwich to be converted into an hospital for disabled seamen.*

§ 10. The campaign in Flanders was unfavourable to the arms of William. In June, 1692, he lost Namur; on August 3, he was defeated, with great loss, at Steinkirk. Next year he sustained a further reverse at Landen, where he was driven by Luxembourg from a formidable position. The only important event at sea, in 1693, was also disastrous to the allies. The Smyrna fleet, consisting of about 400 English, Dutch, and Hamburg merchantmen,

* The first stone of the new building, the present Greenwich Hospital, was not laid till 1696. It is now the chief naval college.

was intrusted, after passing Ushant, to the convoy of a detached squadron of 23 English and Dutch men-of-war under sir George Rooke, while the remainder of the combined fleet returned to Torbay. Tourville, with a far superior force, now issued from the bay of Lagos; Rooke was obliged to fly, and signalled the merchantmen to shift for themselves. About 80 of the latter were captured, as well as three Dutch men-of-war; the rest escaped into Spanish ports (June 17).

This disgrace, as well as William's ill success in the Netherlands, tended to increase his unpopularity and to encourage the party of James (1694). Bristol, Exeter, and Boston adhered to his cause. In the north several considerable bodies of horse were enlisted in his name; and many of the nobility and gentry engaged for themselves, as well as for different towns and counties with which they were connected. Sunderland had again veered round, and entered into correspondence with James. The treason of Marlborough proved more useful to James and more disastrous to his own country. Marlborough informed him of an expedition that was fitting out at Portsmouth, under the command of the earl of Berkely and general Talmash, for an attack upon Brest. Berkely appeared off that port on the 7th of June, and 900 men were landed in Camaret Bay: but the French were prepared to receive them, and they were all slain except 100, Talmash himself receiving a mortal wound. Dieppe, Havre, Calais, and Dunkirk were afterwards bombarded, but without much effect.

§ 11. As the parliament, which met in November (1694), refused to grant supplies except on the passing of a bill for triennial parliaments, William, though he had previously refused his assent to a similar bill, was now obliged to yield. He had also another motive. Mary lay dangerously ill with the small-pox; and in the event of her death, which must naturally shake his influence with the nation, William was unwilling to incur any further unpopularity. The queen died on the 28th of December. In person she was tall and well proportioned, and her countenance, though not regularly beautiful, was animated and pleasing. Her manners were affable. She was a submissive wife, but her affections were no less limited than her abilities. Her death made no change in the government; and William, in accordance with the act for settling the succession of the crown, became sole ruler. Tillotson had died shortly before the queen (November 22), and was succeeded in the primacy by Tenison, bishop of Lincoln.

WILLIAM III. ALONE, 1694-1702.

ANNE, influenced by Marlborough and his wife, had lived on bad terms with her sister and brother-in-law; but now, at the instance of Sunderland, she was induced to send a letter of condolence to William, who thought it politic to meet her advances, and even presented her with the greater part of Mary's jewels.

§ 12. The session of 1695 was signalized by the discovery of an almost universal corruption in high places. Sir John Trevor, speaker of the House of Commons, for taking a bribe of 1000 guineas, was expelled the house (March 18). The East India Company had distributed upwards of 87,000*l.* in bribes in order to secure a new charter; of this sum 10,000*l.* were said to be traced to the king himself, 5000*l.* to Danby (now duke of Leeds), and further sums to other men in power. The commons impeached the duke of Leeds; but the court connived at the escape of his Swiss servant, the only person who could establish his guilt, and the case was brought to an end by the sudden prorogation of parliament (May 3).

As the licensing act expired in 1693, the liberty of the press was established. An unsuccessful attempt was made to renew it this year. But the authors of the abolition were hardly aware of the important step they were taking. Their arguments turned solely on matters of detail, such as the hardships occasioned to printers, booksellers, etc.; nor was the measure noticed in any contemporary publication. The abolition of the censorship was soon followed by the establishment of several newspapers. The *London Gazette* was the only one previously published.

This session was also memorable for an excellent statute respecting the law of treason. "It provides that all persons indicted for high treason shall have a copy of their indictment delivered to them five days before their trial, a period extended by a subsequent act to ten days, and a copy of the panel of jurors two days before their trial; that they shall be allowed to have their witnesses examined on oath, and to make their defence by counsel. It clears up any doubt that could be pretended on the statute of Edward VI., by requiring two witnesses, either both to the same overt act, or the first to one, the second to another overt act of the same treason (that is, the same kind of treason), unless the party shall voluntarily confess the charge. It limits prosecutions for treason to the term of three years, except in the case of an attempted assassination of the king. It includes the contested provision for the trial of peers by all who have a right to sit and vote in parliament. A later statute, 7 Anne, c. 21, which may be mentioned here as the complement of the former, has added a peculiar privi-

lege to the accused, hardly less material than any of the rest. Ten days before the trial a list of the witnesses intended to be brought for proving the indictment, with their professions and places of abode, must be delivered to the prisoner, along with a copy of the indictment. The operation of this clause was suspended till after the death of the pretended prince of Wales."*

After the prorogation of the parliament, William passed over to Holland, and distinguished himself this year, in the campaign in the Low Countries, by his greatest military feat, the taking of Namur in presence of a large force of the enemy (July 2). The marshal de Luxembourg was dead, and the French army was now commanded by marshal Villeroi and marshal Boufflers: France was becoming exhausted with the length of the war, and Louis was anxious to conclude a peace on any decent terms, whilst William's reputation was rising in Europe. His success abroad confirmed his power at home; for, though the Jacobite party was increasing in England, they could hardly hope to succeed without the aid of France.

§ 13. A conspiracy against the throne and life of William was, nevertheless, formed and detected early in 1696. The principal agent in it was sir George Barclay, a Scotch officer, who received a commission from James to attempt a general insurrection in his favour. Barclay arrived in London in January, and associated in his design one Rookwood, a priest; Charnock, formerly a fellow of Magdalen college, Oxford, but now a captain; sir John Friend, sir William Perkins, a captain Porter, and others. Their first scheme was to seize William and carry him over to France; but as this seemed impracticable without taking his life, they resolved to attack him in the midst of his guards between Turnham Green and Brentford, through which places he passed every Saturday to hunt in Richmond Park. With this view they procured a body of 40 armed men, and fixed the 15th of February for the attempt. But the secret was betrayed to the earl of Portland, a day or two previously, by captain Fisher, one of the conspirators, and his information was soon after confirmed by an Irishman named Prendergast. The king having consequently remained at home on the 15th, and again on the 22nd, to which day the conspirators had adjourned the execution of their plot, they were seized with alarm; some of them fled, but others were captured the next night in their beds.

On the following day the king laid the whole plot before the parliament, and both houses responded with a joint address, breathing the most zealous expressions of duty and affection. A loyal

* Hallam's *Constitutional History*, iii. 221.

association was formed in imitation of that in the reign of Elizabeth, which was signed the same day by 400 members of the House of Commons; and such members as were absent were required to sign it by the 16th of March, or to notify their refusal. The association was adopted, with very little alteration, by the House of Lords; and of the whole parliament, only 15 peers and 92 commoners refused to add their names. Shortly afterwards an act was passed to make the signing of the association imperative on all holders of civil or military employments.

Charnock, King, sir John Friend, sir William Perkins, and four other conspirators were condemned and executed. On the execution of Friend and Perkins, the celebrated Jeremy Collier, the nonjuring divine, appeared on the scaffold, and publicly absolved them (April 3). The trial of sir John Fenwick, implicated in a scheme for a Jacobite rising, who had been captured at New Romney while endeavouring to escape to France, did not come on till the autumn. While he lay in Newgate he sought to procure a pardon by turning evidence, and accused the duke of Shrewsbury, the earls of Bath and Marlborough, lord Godolphin, and admiral Russell, of corresponding and intriguing with king James. Though this information is now known to have been correct, William refused to listen to it. As only one witness could be produced against Fenwick, while the law required two in cases of high treason, admiral Russell, to his lasting disgrace, brought in a bill of attainder against him, which was passed after considerable opposition. Fenwick was beheaded on Tower Hill, on January 28, 1697.

§ 14. During the campaign of 1696 the French remained on the defensive; nor did anything of importance take place at sea. All parties were looking forward to a peace; and on the 9th of May a conference was opened between the belligerent powers, on the mediation of the king of Sweden, at Ryswick, a village between Delft and the Hague. William had as usual gone over to Holland. All that he desired was to fix a barrier to the French power in Flanders, and to procure from Louis the acknowledgment of his title to the English throne; but the negotiations were protracted by the emperor of Germany and the king of Spain, who were desirous of continuing the war. William, therefore, while the hostile armies lay opposed to each other near Brussels, caused a separate negotiation to be opened in July between the earl of Portland on his part and marshal Boufflers on that of Louis.

The taking of Carthage, in America, by a French squadron, and the capture of Barcelona by a French army, inclined the Spaniards to come to terms with Louis, and the PEACE OF RYSWICK WAS

signed on September 10, 1697. Louis resigned several of his conquests, and recognized William as king of England. The peace of Ryswick seems to have been necessary in consequence of the defection of the duke of Savoy, and of the bad state of public credit in England; but William foresaw that it could be no more than a sort of armistice, and that a fresh struggle must soon take place on the subject of the Spanish succession.

§ 15. The parliament, which met soon after the peace of Ryswick, voted that the army should be reduced to 7000 men, and they were with difficulty persuaded to allow it to remain at 10,000; at the same time they granted the king the large sum of 700,000*l.* for the civil list.* William was exceedingly annoyed at the vote for reducing the army; and, before he repaired to Holland in the spring (1698), he ventured to leave sealed orders that the army should be raised to 16,000 men, which his ministers refused to obey. During his residence in Holland he negotiated a treaty respecting the Spanish succession. Charles II. of Spain was now supposed to be at the point of death; and as he left no heirs within the kingdom, the question of his succession threatened to disturb the peace of Europe. Philip IV. of Spain had had three children: one son, Charles II., and two daughters—the elder, Maria Theresa, was married to Louis XIV. of France, and the younger, Margaret Theresa, to the emperor Leopold I. Maria Theresa had renounced her pretensions to the Spanish succession on her marriage with the king of France. The younger sister, Margaret Theresa, made a similar renunciation on her marriage with Leopold; and their only child, a daughter, married to Maximilian Emanuel, elector of Bavaria, followed their example. France and Bavaria maintained that these princesses had no power to renounce the claims of their posterity; Louis XIV. therefore demanded the Spanish throne for his son the dauphin, and the elector of Bavaria for his son the electoral prince. A third claimant was the emperor Leopold, who by a second marriage had two sons, Joseph king of the Romans, and the archduke Charles. Leopold claimed the succession as the son of Maria Anne, daughter of Philip III., but waived his claim in favour of the archduke Charles.†

William would have been content to gratify France, by conceding part of the Spanish dominions; and Louis was, or pretended to be, better satisfied with this partial inheritance than to have to fight for the whole. A treaty for the partition of Spain was accordingly negotiated in the summer at Loo, and signed on the 1st

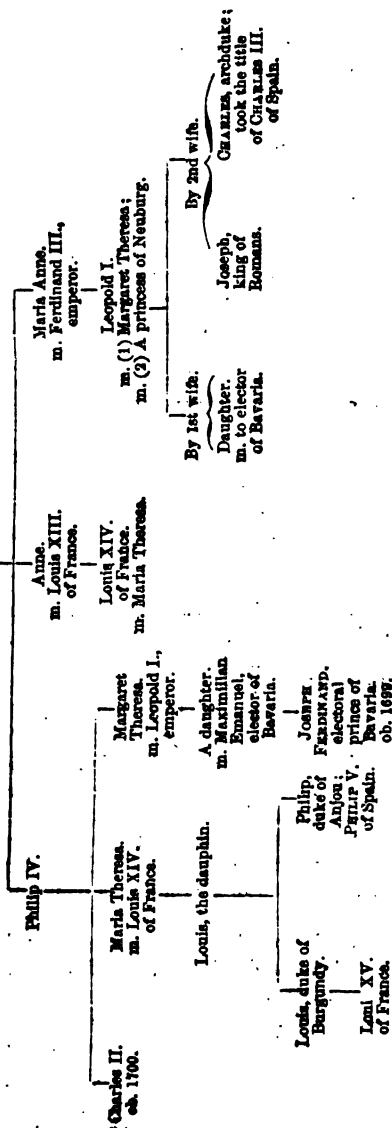
* They had resolved, in March, 1689, that the fixed revenue of the crown should be 1,200,000*l.*

† The genealogical table in the following page exhibits the relationship of the different claimants.

GENEALOGICAL TABLE,

To illustrate the question of the Spanish Succession.

PHILIP III., KING OF SPAIN.



NOTE.—As the result of the contest, Philip V. became the founder of the Spanish branch of the House of Bourbon, which still reigns in Spain.

of October; according to which, on the death of Charles II., the dauphin was to be put in possession of Naples and Sicily, the ports on the Tuscan shore, and the marquisate of Final, in Italy; while on the Spanish frontier he was to have all the territory on the French side of the Pyrenees, and of the mountains of Navarre, Alava, and Biscay. The son of the elector of Bavaria was to inherit Spain, the Netherlands, and the Indies; and Milan was to be assigned to the archduke Charles, second son of the emperor. It was intended to keep this treaty a profound secret from the king of Spain, but it came to his ears and naturally roused his indignation. Anxious to preserve the integrity of the empire, he drew up a will appointing the electoral prince of Bavaria his universal heir, according to the previous disposition of Philip IV. But Charles unexpectedly recovered; and both the treaty and the will were defeated by the demise of the electoral prince at Brussels (February 8, 1699).

§ 16. The new parliament, which assembled on December 6, 1698, exhibited strong symptoms of discontent. It insisted on the reduction of the army to 7000 men, and also voted that they should be natives of the British dominions. This involved the dismissal of the Dutch guards, the severest mortification which William had ever experienced. On this occasion he even condescended to send a message to the commons by lord Ranelagh, entreating them as a personal favour that his guards might be retained; and when they refused to comply, he burst into a violent passion, and threatened to abandon the kingdom. All the debates of the commons continued hostile to the king. In the last session they had appointed commissioners to inquire into the grants of forfeited estates in Ireland; and the report being now brought in, it appeared that no fewer than 3921 persons had been outlawed in that country since February, 1689, and that more than 1,060,000 acres of land had been declared forfeited, the annual rent of which was computed at 211,623*l*. It also appeared that large grants of these lands had been made to foreigners, as Keppel,* Bentinck, Ginkell, and Ruigny, who had also obtained peerages in one of the two kingdoms. But the most obnoxious of all was the grant of king James's private estates, containing 95,000 acres and valued at 25,995*l*. per annum, to William's mistress, Elizabeth Villiers, now countess of Orkney. The commons resolved unanimously that all these forfeitures should be applied to the public use; and they even added that the grants which had been made

* Keppel was created earl of Albemarle in 1697, and was the ancestor of the present earl. Bentinck was created earl of Portland, as already related (see p. 522); Ginkell, earl of Athlone; and Ruigny, earl of Galway.

of them were a reflection upon the king's honour (January 18, 1700). To secure the king's assent, the bill for the resumption of these forfeitures was tacked to the bill of supply. Several amendments were proposed and carried in the lords, and angry conferences ensued between the two houses. The commons threatened to impeach the earls of Portland and Albemarle, and resolved to address the king that no foreigners, except prince George of Denmark, should be admitted to the royal councils. William began to be alarmed, and sent a private message to his friends in the lords to withdraw their opposition. The bill having passed in its original state, the king came to the house, gave his assent to it, and then suddenly prorogued the parliament without any speech (April 11).

§ 17. The rapid decline of the king of Spain's health hastened the conclusion of a second treaty of partition, which was signed at London on the 21st February, and at the Hague on the 14th of March, 1700. William had spent great part of the preceding summer and autumn at Loo in negotiating the treaty, as he and the States were desirous of bringing the emperor into their views; but in October Leopold formally rejected any partition whatever. By this new treaty the share formerly allotted to the electoral prince was to be transferred to the archduke Charles, and Milan was to be added to the dauphin's portion, with power to exchange it for Lorraine. To prevent the union of the imperial crown with that of Spain, it was provided that the king of the Romans should not succeed to the Spanish kingdom in case of the archduke's death: and a like provision was made with regard to the king of France and the dauphin.

The long-expected death of Charles II. of Spain, which followed on the first of November, soon discovered how fruitless had been all the pains bestowed on the partition treaties. The pride of the Spanish nation was naturally wounded by the treaty, and Charles especially was grievously offended by it. The French ambassador availed himself of this feeling to persuade Charles to make another will, in favour of Philip, duke of Anjou, the second son of the dauphin; nor did Lewis hesitate to accept this magnificent bequest to his grandson. In case of his refusal, the Spanish throne was to be tendered to the archduke Charles. William found it prudent to acquiesce in the new arrangement, and ultimately acknowledged the title of the duke of Anjou.

§ 18. In the last year or two there had been several changes in the ministry. The king trimmed between whigs and tories with a dexterity which rendered it difficult to say to which he most inclined. In this year the tory earl of Rochester was appointed to the lord-lieutenancy of Ireland. A cabinet council, that is, a

select body of ministers with whom the king exclusively consulted, and who prepared and digested the measures which were subsequently laid before the general body of the privy council rather as a matter of form than of necessity, was now regularly established. Traces of a cabinet first begin to appear under Charles I., and become more frequent under Charles II.; but it was not till the reign of William that it became the regular mode of government. In earlier times the sovereign was accustomed to consult the whole body of the privy council, and was guided by the opinion of the majority. The cabinet, therefore, was a sort of silent revolution which crept in unobserved, and has never been recognized by the constitution.

§ 19. In the new parliament which assembled in February, 1701, the tories had the majority, and Robert Harley, one of their leaders, was chosen speaker. As the death of the duke of Gloucester, the only survivor of Anne's large family, which happened in the preceding July at the age of 11, left the succession of the crown unprovided for after the demise of William and Anne, it became necessary to make a new settlement, and the king recommended the subject to the consideration of parliament. The next in blood, after the children of James II., was the duchess of Savoy, daughter of Henrietta, duchess of Orleans, and then the family of the elector palatine, all of whom, however, had abjured the reformed faith, with the exception of his daughter Sophia, married to the elector of Hanover; to her, therefore, as papists were excluded from the succession by act of parliament, it became necessary to revert. Nor was William averse to this arrangement. As he was desirous of securing the accession of the elector of Hanover to the grand alliance he was then meditating, Sophia and the heirs of her body, being protestants, were declared next in succession to the king, after the princess of Denmark and their respective heirs. The act to settle the protestant succession was passed in the summer of 1701. (Supplement, Note XI.)

The commons took advantage of this settlement to supply some deficiencies in the Bill of Rights, and therefore this act (12 and 13 William III. c. 2) became a most important one, and put as it were the seal to the English constitution. The tory government showed themselves on this occasion no less the friends of liberty than the whigs, and moved and carried certain resolutions as preliminary to the settlement of the succession, to the following effect: That whoever should hereafter come to the throne should join in communion with the church of England, as by law established; that in case of the crown devolving on a foreigner, the nation shall not be obliged to enter into any foreign war without the consent of

parliament; that no future sovereign shall leave Great Britain or Ireland without consent of parliament; that all matters cognizable in the privy council shall be transacted there, and all resolutions taken be signed by such of the privy council as shall consent to them; that none but a person born of English parents shall be capable of holding office under the crown, or receiving a grant from it, or being a member of parliament; that no person in the service of the crown, or receiving a pension, shall be capable of sitting in the House of Commons; that the commissions of the judges shall be irrevocable so long as they conduct themselves properly (*"quamdiu se bene gesserint"*), but that they may be removed on an address of both houses; and that no pardon under the great seal shall be pleadable to an impeachment of the commons.

These provisions, and especially the last two, were highly important safeguards to the liberty and welfare of the country. That respecting place-men sitting in parliament was repealed in 1706; but it was provided at the same time that any member of the lower house accepting office should vacate his seat, and again offer himself to his constituents; and that no person holding any office created since October 25, 1705, should be eligible at all. The obligation on privy councillors to sign their names to the resolutions they approved was also abrogated. The article respecting the sovereign leaving the United Kingdom was repealed soon after the accession of George I., and that respecting the privy council by Anne.

§ 20. Both houses of parliament expressed the highest disapprobation of the partition treaties, to which they ascribed the will of Charles II. in favour of the duke of Anjou. The commons addressed the king to remove the earl of Portland, the earl of Orford,* lord Halifax,† and lord Somers‡ from his presence and councils for ever, and ordered them to be impeached at the bar of the lords, on account of the steps they had taken in promoting the partition treaties, as well as for other alleged illegal practices. But as an irreconcilable difference sprang up between the two houses as to the mode of proceeding, and the commons refused to appear on the day appointed by the peers, the impeached ministers were acquitted (June, 1701).

* The earl of Orford was admiral Russell, who received this title in 1697. It became extinct upon his death in 1727, but was revived in 1742 in favour of the celebrated sir Robert Walpole.

† This lord Halifax was Charles Montague, a grandson of the first earl of Manchester, and was created lord Halifax in 1700, and earl of Halifax in 1714. He was of a different family from the cele-

brated George Savile, marquess of Halifax, who died in 1695, and was succeeded in the title by his son, who died in 1700, when the title became extinct.

‡ Somers was lord chancellor, and had been dismissed from office in the previous year (1700) in consequence of the attacks made upon him in parliament. The present earl Somers is a descendant of the eldest sister of the chancellor.

Although William had acknowledged the new king of Spain, he was by no means satisfied with that arrangement, especially as it proved so distasteful to his subjects. During the summer, which he spent in Holland, negotiations had been going on between him and D'Avaux, the French ambassador; but when these utterly failed, William, about the beginning of August, 1700, set on foot a treaty with the emperor, who had already commenced the WAR OF THE SPANISH SUCCESSION by attacking the French in Italy. William, however, would engage himself no further than for the recovery of Flanders and the Milanese, the former as a barrier to Holland, the latter as a barrier to the empire. He likewise stipulated that England and Holland should retain whatever conquests they might make in both the Indies. On these conditions a treaty was signed (September 7th, 1701) between the emperor, England, and the States, which afterwards obtained the name of the GRAND ALLIANCE.

On the 6th of September king James II. expired at St. Germain. Ever since the peace of Ryswick, which extinguished his hopes of regaining the English crown, he had abandoned himself to all the austerities of his temper and his religion; and some time before his decease he had fallen into a kind of lethargy. Louis paid him a visit as he lay on his deathbed, and in the presence of his attendants, whom he would not suffer to withdraw, and who wept at once for joy and grief, he declared his intention of acknowledging James Francis Edward, son of James II., as king of Great Britain and Ireland. He visited the young prince in state, addressed him by the title of majesty, and caused him to be acknowledged by the French court and nation. William immediately remonstrated against these proceedings, as infringing the treaty of Ryswick; dismissed the French ambassador and recalled his own; while both sides began to make preparations for war. The French took possession of the towns on the Rhine; the Dutch entered Juliers in force; and William arranged with the States a campaign for the ensuing spring: but, notwithstanding the pressing solicitations of the emperor, he would not declare war till he had assured himself of the support of the English parliament; and he left Holland in November for the purpose of opening that assembly.

The new parliament, chiefly composed of whigs, met in December, when Harley was again elected to the chair. The commons, in their address to the king on his speech, warmly conveyed their approbation of the course he had pursued with regard to France; and expressed a hope that no peace would be concluded till Louis had atoned for acknowledging the Pretender. A bill was brought in and passed for the attainder of that prince, and another for his

abjuration by all persons holding employments in church or state; and the commons voted 40,000 men to act with the allies, and a like number of seamen for the fleet. In the midst of these preparations William met with an accident which, in his rapidly declining state of health, proved fatal. On the 21st of February, 1702, while riding in the park of Hampton Court, his horse fell with him, and he broke his collar-bone. It was at first anticipated that the accident would not be attended with any dangerous consequences, and on the 28th he was declared convalescent. But on the 2nd of March symptoms appeared which precluded all hope of recovery; and on Sunday, the 8th, he expired, at the early age of 51, after receiving the sacrament from the archbishop of Canterbury.

NOTES AND ILLUSTRATIONS.

AN ACT FOR DECLARING THE RIGHTS AND LIBERTIES OF THE SUBJECT, AND SETTLING THE SUCCESSION OF THE CROWN (1689).

Whereas the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and Commons, assembled at Westminster, lawfully, fully, and freely representing all the estates of the people of this realm, did, upon the 13th day of February, in the year of our Lord 1689, present unto their majesties, then called and known by the names and style of William and Mary, prince and princess of Orange, being present in their proper persons, a certain declaration in writing, made by the said Lords and Commons, in the words following; viz.—

Whereas the late king James II., by the assistance of divers evil counsellors, judges, and ministers employed by him, did endeavour to subvert and extirpate the protestant religion, and the laws and liberties of this kingdom:—

1. By assuming and exercising a power of dispensing with and suspending of laws, and the execution of laws, without consent of parliament.

2. By committing and prosecuting divers worthy prelates, for humbly petitioning to be excused from concurring to the said assumed power.

3. By issuing and causing to be executed a commission under the great seal for erecting a court called the court of Commissioners for Ecclesiastical Causes.

4. By levying money for and to the use

of the crown, by pretence of prerogative, for other time, and in other manner, than the same was granted by parliament.

5. By raising and keeping a standing army within this kingdom in time of peace, without consent of parliament, and quartering soldiers contrary to law.

6. By causing several good subjects, being protestants, to be disarmed, at the same time when papists were both armed and employed, contrary to law.

7. By violating the freedom of election of members to serve in parliament.

8. By prosecutions in the court of King's Bench for matters and causes cognizable only in parliament; and by divers other arbitrary and illegal courses.

9. And whereas of late years partial, corrupt, and unqualified persons have been returned and served on juries in trials, and particularly divers jurors in trials for high treason, which were not freeholders.

10. And excessive bail hath been required of persons committed in criminal cases, to elude the benefit of the laws made for the liberty of the subjects.

11. And excessive fines have been imposed; and illegal and cruel punishments inflicted.

12. And several grants and promises made of fines and forfeitures, before any conviction or judgment against the persons upon whom the same were to be levied.

All which are utterly and directly contrary to the known laws and statutes, and freedom of this realm.

And whereas the said late king James II. having abdicated the government, and the throne being thereby vacant, his highness the prince of Orange (whom it hath pleased Almighty God to make the glorious instrument of delivering this kingdom from popery and arbitrary power) did (by the advice of the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and divers principal persons of the Commons) cause letters to be written to the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, being protestants; and other letters to the several counties, cities, universities, boroughs, and cinque ports, for the choosing of such persons to represent them as were of right to be sent to parliament, to meet and sit at Westminster upon the 22nd of January, in this year 1689, in order to such an establishment as that their religion, laws, and liberties might not again be in danger of being subverted; upon which letters elections have been already made.

And thereupon the said Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and Commons, pursuant to their respective letters and elections, being now assembled in a full and free representation of this nation, taking into their most serious consideration the best means for attaining the ends aforesaid, do in the first place (as their ancestors in like case have usually done), for the vindicating and asserting their ancient rights and liberties, declare:—

1. That the pretended power of suspending of laws, or the execution of laws, by regal authority, without consent of parliament, is illegal.

2. That the pretended power of dispensing with laws, or the execution of laws, by regal authority, as it hath been assumed and exercised of late, is illegal.

3. That the commission for erecting the late court of Commissioners for Ecclesiastical Causes, and all other commissions and courts of like nature, are illegal and pernicious.

4. That levying money for or to the use of the crown, by pretence and prerogative, without grant of parliament, for longer time or in other manner than the same is or shall be granted, is illegal.

5. That it is the right of the subjects to petition the king, and all commitments and prosecutions for such petitioning are illegal.

6. That the raising or keeping a standing army within the kingdom in time of

peace, unless it be with consent of parliament, is against law.

7. That the subjects which are protestants may have arms for their defence suitable to their conditions, and as allowed by law.

8. That election of members of parliament ought to be free.

9. That the freedom of speech, and debates or proceedings in parliament, ought not to be impeached or questioned in any court or place out of parliament.

10. That excessive bail ought not to be required, nor excessive fines imposed, nor cruel and unusual punishments inflicted.

11. That jurors ought to be duly impanelled and returned, and jurors which pass upon men in trials for high treason ought to be freeholders.

12. That all grants and promises of fines and forfeitures of particular persons before conviction are illegal and void.

13. And that for redress of all grievances, and for the amending, strengthening, and preserving of the laws, parliament ought to be held frequently.

And they do claim, demand, and insist upon all and singular the premises, as their undoubted rights and liberties; and that no declarations, judgments, doings, or proceedings, to the prejudice of the people in any of the said premises, ought in any wise to be drawn hereafter into consequence or example:

To which demand of their rights they are particularly encouraged by the declaration of his highness the prince of Orange, as being the only means for obtaining a full redress and remedy therein:

Having therefore an entire confidence that his said highness the prince of Orange will perfect the deliverance so far advanced by him, and will still preserve them from the violation of their rights, which they have here asserted, and from all other attempts upon their religion, rights, and liberties:

II. The said Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and Commons, assembled at Westminster, do resolve, that William and Mary, prince and princess of Orange, be, and be declared, king and queen of England, France, and Ireland, and the dominions thereunto belonging, to hold the crown and royal dignity of the said kingdoms and dominions to them the said prince and princess during their lives,

and the life of the survivor of them ; and that the sole and full exercise of the regal power be only in and executed by the said prince of Orange, in the names of the said prince and princess, during their joint lives ; and after their deceases, the said crown and royal dignity of the said kingdoms and dominions to be left to the heirs of the body of the said princess ; and for default of such issue to the princess Anne of Denmark and the heirs of her body ; and for default of such issue to the heirs of the body of the said prince of Orange. And the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and Commons, do pray the said prince and princess to accept the same accordingly.

III. And that the oaths hereafter mentioned be taken by all persons of whom the oaths of allegiance and supremacy might be required by law, instead of them ; and that the said oaths of allegiance and supremacy be abrogated.

I, A. B., do sincerely promise and swear that I will be faithful and bear true allegiance to their majesties king William and queen Mary : So help me God.

I, A. B., do swear that I do from my heart abhor, detest, and abjure as impious and heretical, that damnable doctrine and position that princes excommunicated or deprived by the pope, or any authority of the see of Rome, may be deposed or murdered by their subjects, or any other whatsoever. And I do declare that no foreign prince, person, prelate, state, or potentate hath, or ought to have, any jurisdiction, power, superiority, pre-eminence, or authority, ecclesiastical or spiritual, within this realm : So help me God.

IV. Upon which their said majesties did accept the crown and royal dignity of the kingdoms of England, France, and Ireland, and the dominions thereunto belonging, according to the resolution and desire of the said Lords and Commons contained in the said declaration.

V. And thereupon their majesties were pleased that the said Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and Commons, being the two houses of parliament, should continue to sit, and with their majesties' royal concurrence make effectual provision for the settlement of the religion, laws, and liberties of this kingdom, so that the same for the future might not be in danger again of being subverted ; to

which the said Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and Commons, did agree and proceed to act accordingly.

VI. Now, in pursuance of the premises, the said Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and Commons, in parliament assembled, for the ratifying, confirming, and establishing the said declaration, and the articles, clauses, matters, and things therein contained, by the force of a law made in due form by authority of parliament, do pray that it may be declared and enacted, that all and singular the rights and liberties asserted and claimed in the said declaration are the true, ancient, and indubitable rights and liberties of the people of this kingdom, and so shall be esteemed, allowed, adjudged, deemed, and taken to be, and that all and every the particulars aforesaid shall be firmly and strictly holden and observed, as they are expressed in the said declaration ; and all officers and ministers whatsoever shall serve their majesties and their successors according to the same in all times to come.

VII. And the said Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and Commons, seriously considering how it hath pleased Almighty God, in His marvellous providence and merciful goodness to this nation, to provide and preserve their said majesties' royal persons most happily to reign over us upon the throne of their ancestors, for which they render unto Him from the bottom of their hearts their humblest thanks and praises, do truly, firmly, assuredly, and in the sincerity of their hearts, think, and do hereby recognize, acknowledge, and declare, that king James II. having abdicated the government, and their majesties having accepted the crown and royal dignity as aforesaid, their said majesties did become, were, are, and of right ought to be, by the laws of this realm, our sovereign liege lord and lady, king and queen of England, France, and Ireland, and the dominions thereunto belonging, in and to whose princely persons the royal state, crown, and dignity of the said realms, with all honours, styles, titles, regalities, prerogatives, powers, jurisdictions, and authorities to the same belonging and appertaining, are most fully, rightfully, and entirely invested and incorporated, united and annexed.

VIII. And for preventing all questions

and divisions in this realm, by reason of any pretended titles to the crown, and for preserving a certainty in the succession thereof, in and upon which the unity, peace, tranquillity, and safety of this nation doth, under God, wholly consist and depend, the said Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and Commons, do beseech their majesties that it may be enacted, established, and declared, that the crown and regal government of the said kingdoms and dominions, with all and singular the premises thereunto belonging and appertaining, shall be and continue to their said majesties, and the survivor of them, during their lives, and the life of the survivor of them. And that the entire, perfect, and full exercise of the regal power and government be only in and executed by his majesty, in the names of both their majesties during their joint lives; and after their deceases the said crown and premises shall be and remain to the heirs of the body of her majesty; and for default of such issue, to her royal highness the princess Anne of Denmark and the heirs of her body; and for default of such issue, to the heirs of the body of his said majesty: And thereunto the said Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and Commons, do, in the name of all the people aforesaid, most humbly and faithfully submit themselves, their heirs and posterities for ever; and do faithfully promise that they will stand to, maintain, and defend their said majesties, and also the limitation and succession of the crown herein specified and contained, to the utmost of their powers, with their lives and estates, against all persons whatsoever that shall attempt anything to the contrary.

IX. And whereas it hath been found by experience that it is inconsistent with the safety and welfare of this protestant kingdom to be governed by a popish prince, or by any king or queen marrying a papist, the said Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and Commons, do further pray that it may be enacted, that all and every person and persons that is, are, or shall be reconciled to, or shall hold communion with, the see or church of Rome, or shall profess the popish religion, or shall marry a papist, shall be excluded, and be for ever incapable to inherit, possess, or enjoy the crown and government of this realm, and Ireland, and the dominions thereunto

belonging, or any part of the same, or to have, use, or exercise any regal power, authority, or jurisdiction within the same; and in all and every such case or cases the people of these realms shall be and are hereby absolved of their allegiance; and the said crown and government shall from time to time descend to, and be enjoyed by, such person or persons, being protestants, as should have inherited and enjoyed the same in case the said person or persons so reconciled, holding communion, or professing, or marrying as aforesaid, were naturally dead.

X. And that every king and queen of this realm who at any time hereafter shall come to and succeed in the imperial crown of this kingdom shall, on the first day of the meeting of the first parliament next after his or her coming to the crown, sitting in his or her throne in the House of Peers, in the presence of the Lords and Commons therein assembled, or at his or her coronation, before such person or persons who shall administer the coronation oath to him or her, at the time of his or her taking the said oath (which shall first happen), make, subscribe, and audibly repeat the declaration mentioned in the statute made in the 13th year of the reign of king Charles II., intituled, "An Act for the more effectual preserving the King's Person and Government, by disabling Papists from sitting in either House of Parliament." But if it shall happen that such king or queen, upon his or her succession to the crown of this realm, shall be under the age of twelve years, then every such king or queen shall make, subscribe, and audibly repeat the said declaration at his or her coronation, or the first day of meeting of the first parliament as aforesaid, which shall first happen, after such king or queen shall have attained the said age of twelve years.

XI. All which their majesties are contented and pleased shall be declared, enacted, and established by authority of this present parliament, and shall stand, remain, and be the law of this realm for ever; and the same are by their said majesties, by and with the advice and consent of the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and Commons, in parliament assembled, and by the authority of the same, declared, enacted, or established accordingly.

XII. And be it further declared and enacted by the authority aforesaid, that from and after this present session of parliament no dispensation by *non obstante* of or to any statute, or any part thereof, shall be allowed, but that the same shall be held void and of no effect, except a dispensation be allowed of in such statute, and except in such cases as shall be specially provided for by one or

more bill or bills to be passed during this present session of parliament.

XIII. Provided that no charter, or grant, or pardon granted before the 23rd day of October, in the year of our Lord 1688, shall be any ways impeached or invalidated by this act, but that the same shall be and remain of the same force and effect in law, and no other than as if this act had never been made.



Medal of queen Anne, in honour of the Union, struck at Leipzig.

Obv.: ANNA D. G. MAG. ET UXOR BRIT. FR. ET HIB. REGINA. Bust, crowned to left. Rev.: ET EXTERIS ETIAM GRATA. Two female figures, standing, joining wreaths; behind them, view of a city.

CHAPTER XXVIII.

QUEEN ANNE, *b.* A.D. 1665; *r.* 1702–1714.

§ 1. Accession and coronation of Anne. Influence of lord and lady Marlborough. Campaign of 1702. Success at Vigo. § 2. Marlborough made a duke. His intrigues. State of parties. § 3. Campaigns of 1703 and 1704. Battle of Blenheim. Taking of Gibraltar. § 4. Campaigns of 1705 and 1706. Battle of Ramillies. § 5. Union with Scotland. § 6. Campaigns of 1707, 1708, and 1709. Battles of Oudenarde and Malplaquet. § 7. Decline of Marlborough's influence. § 8. Trial of Dr. Sacheverell. Change of ministry. Character of the times. § 9. New parliament. Harley stabbed. Becomes lord treasurer and earl of Oxford. Act against occasional conformity, and Schism Act. § 10. Marlborough accused of peculation, and censured by the commons. Proceedings in Flanders. The duke of Ormond withdraws the English forces from the allies. § 11. Treaty of Utrecht. § 12. Manœuvres of the Jacobites and Hanoverians. § 13. Rupture between Oxford and Bolingbroke. Oxford dismissed. The duke of Shrewsbury appointed treasurer. Death and character of the queen.

§ 1. On the demise of William; Anne, princess of Denmark, immediately ascended the throne by virtue of the act of 1689, and was proclaimed on the 8th of March, 1702. On the 12th of April the late king was privately interred, and on the 23rd the queen was crowned in Westminster Abbey. Somers, Halifax, and other whig leaders, were not admitted to the privy council; the marquess of Normanby * was made privy seal (April 21); lord Godolphin, lord

* John Sheffield, marquess of Normanby, was created duke of Buckingham in 1762. The title became extinct on the

death of his son in 1792. The present marquess of Normanby belongs to a different family.

high treasurer (May 12); the earl of Nottingham and sir Charles Hedges, principal secretaries of state (May 2). Marlborough, who had been the faithful friend of Anne when she was of little account with the nation, received the most substantial marks of her favour. He was made a knight of the garter, and captain-general of all the queen's forces; and, towards the end of March, he had proceeded to Holland in the character of extraordinary ambassador. Anne was entirely governed by lady Marlborough, who ruled her through the ascendancy which a strong mind naturally exercises over a weak one. In their confidential intercourse all titles and ceremony were dropped: Anne became Mrs. Morley, and lady Marlborough Mrs. Freeman—a name that expressed the character of her influence. Prince George of Denmark, who was even weaker than his consort the queen, yielded without a struggle to all these arrangements; and Marlborough and his wife might almost be regarded as the sovereigns of England.

Soon after her accession, Anne had notified to her allies abroad her determination to pursue the policy of the late king: and when Marlborough returned from his embassy, war was at his instance declared against France and Spain (May 4). In July Marlborough assumed the command of the allied army in Flanders; and, though he was disappointed in bringing the enemy to a general engagement, he finished the campaign with reputation by reducing Venloo, Ruremonde, and the citadel of Liège, by which he obtained the command of the Meuse.

In Italy and Germany the campaign was not marked by any important event. At sea the English and Dutch combined fleets under sir George Rooke, with 12,000 troops on board commanded by the duke of Ormond, after making an unsuccessful attempt upon Cadiz, proceeded to Vigo, where the Spanish galleons had just arrived under convoy of 80 French men-of-war. The allies succeeded in capturing six vessels; 13 were sunk or burnt. All the galleons were either taken or destroyed; and though the greatest part of the treasure had been carried off, yet the English and Dutch obtained a large booty (October 12). In the same summer admiral Benbow, commander of the English fleet in the West Indies, displayed the most distinguished valour, in sustaining five days, when deserted by several of his captains, a fight against a French fleet of much superior force (August 24). His own ship was reduced to a mere wreck; he was wounded in the arm and face, and had his leg shot away; but he contrived to get into Kingston, Jamaica, where he died soon after of his wounds (November 4). He had ordered four of his captains to be tried by a court-martial, two of whom were condemned and shot; one was cashiered, and another died previously to his trial (October 8).

§ 2. The new parliament met (October 20); and a committee of the commons presented Marlborough, who had now returned to England, with the thanks of the house. The queen created him a duke, and settled on him for life a pension of 5000*l.* a year, payable out of the revenue of the post-office. She likewise desired the commons to settle the pension for ever on the heirs male of his body; but they received the message in silence and astonishment, and after a warm debate the proposal was rejected. Marlborough was unpopular for his avarice, his meanness, and his political delinquencies. Notwithstanding his high post, he was suspected of listening to the intrigues of the court of St. Gormains to obtain the repeal of the act of settlement; and Anne herself was thought to be not averse to the succession of the Pretender. To stimulate Marlborough's exertions, a marriage was proposed between his third daughter and the prince of Wales; while, on the other hand, the Hanoverians, hearing of this project, started a counter one of a marriage between the same lady and the electoral prince. At this period a strong Jacobite faction existed in the kingdom. The House of Lords were much more whiggish than the commons. To support the court interests, Finch, Gower, Granville, and Seymour, four Tories, were raised to the peerage, and other lords were advanced to higher titles. A bill brought into the commons (November, 1703) to prevent occasional conformity, was defeated by a majority of 12 in the lords, 11 of the bishops voting against it. They also presented an address to the queen in behalf of the protestant succession and the princess Sophia.

§ 3. In 1703 the defection of the duke of Savoy, and of Peter II., king of Portugal, who joined the Grand Alliance, proved a great blow to the affairs of Louis, particularly as the latter event opened a way for the allies into the heart of Spain. On the whole, however, the campaign of this year was in favour of the French. They gained several advantages in Germany, and their allies the Bavarians pressed hard upon the Austrians. Marlborough was more fortunate. Bonn surrendered to him on the 15th of May, after a siege of 12 days. He took the fortresses of Huy, Limburg, and Gueldres; but as the numerous towns which the French had garrisoned in the Low Countries had reduced the strength of their army, they were cautious in taking the open field, and all Marlborough's endeavours to draw them to an engagement proved unsuccessful. In spite of his ill success, the emperor, renouncing, in his own name and in that of his eldest son, all pretension to the throne of Spain, caused his second son to be crowned king of that country, with the title of Charles III. Towards the end of the year the new-made monarch arrived at Spithead; and, after visiting the

queen at Windsor, proceeded on his way to Portugal. His title was acknowledged by all the allies. Shortly before his arrival (November 26), England had been visited by the greatest storm over known in this country. Whole forests were uprooted, and the damage in London alone was estimated at 1,000,000*l*. At sea 12 ships of the royal navy were cast away, besides a great number of merchantmen, and 1500 men were lost in the royal navy.

The campaign of the last year having rendered the allies masters of the Meuse and of Spanish Guelderland, Marlborough conceived a bolder and more extensive plan of operations for 1704. As Leopold was hard pressed by the French and Bavarians, Marlborough concerted arrangements for his relief with prince Eugene. Directing his march on Maestricht, and thence through Juliers to Coblenz, he crossed the Rhine at that place; then passing the Main and Neckar, he was joined by prince Eugene at Mindelsheim. Hence the latter proceeded to Philipsburg, to take the command of the army of the Upper Rhine; and Marlborough, pursuing his march towards the Danube, formed a junction with the imperialists under prince Louis of Baden at Winterstellen. The allied forces, consisting of 96 battalions of foot and 202 squadrons of horse and dragoons, and having 48 pieces of cannon, encamped on the river Brenz (June 28), within two leagues of the elector of Bavaria's army. The enemy's force was inferior, consisting of 88 battalions and 160 squadrons only; but they were much stronger in artillery, having 90 guns and 40 mortars and howitzers. On the 2nd July the allies attacked and took Donauwerth, thus separating the enemy's forces on the Upper and Lower Danube, and securing a bridge over that river. The loss was great on both sides; and the elector retreated towards Augsburg, followed by the allies. Both armies, however, soon received an accession of force—the Bavarians being joined by the French under marshal Tallard, and Marlborough by prince Eugene, who had followed Tallard through the Black Forest. The forces on each side now amounted to between 50,000 and 60,000 men, but the enemy were rather superior. They were encamped on a height near Hochstadt, with the Danube on their right; and the village of **BLenheim**, which lies on the Danube, was a little in front of their right wing. Their left was covered by a thick wood, and considerably in advance of their front was a rivulet and morass. Notwithstanding the strength of their position, Marlborough resolved to attack them. Marshal Tallard, who commanded the enemy's right, and who was opposed to Marlborough at the head of the allied left, conceiving that Blenheim would be the principal object of attack, had occupied that village with 28 battalions and eight squadrons of dragoons—a fatal error, by which he weakened the centre of his line.

Marlborough passed the rivulet and morass without opposition ; and, directing some of his infantry to attack Blenheim, and another village which the enemy had occupied, led his cavalry and the remainder of his forces against Tallard. The struggle was long and desperate, but at length the enemy's right was completely routed, and numbers were put to the sword or driven into the Danube. All the enemy's troops that had been thrown into Blenheim, being cut off from the main body, were forced to surrender at discretion, Prince Eugene, who commanded the right of the allies, could make no impression against the elector of Bavaria and marshal Marsin till after the defeat of Tallard, when the Bavarians made a speedy and skilful retreat in three columns. The French and Bavarians lost more than half of their army in killed, wounded, and prisoners ; and marshal Tallard himself was captured, together with the camp, baggage, and artillery. The loss of the allies, however, was also very great, amounting to about 12,000 killed and wounded, August 2 (13 N.S.), 1704. The elector and marshal Marsin retreated on Ulm, whence they joined marshal Villeroy on the Rhine.

This victory decided the fate of Germany. The elector of Bavaria, whose troops had lately alarmed Vienna itself, not only lost his conquests, but even his own dominions fell into the hands of the emperor. The remains of the vanquished army were obliged to cross the Rhine ; and the victors also entered Alsace, and took the important fortresses of Landau and Traerbach. Marlborough repaired to Berlin, and concluded a treaty with the king of Prussia, who engaged to assist the duke of Savoy with 8000 men ; and thence proceeding to Hanover and the Hague, arrived in London (December 14), accompanied by marshal Tallard and 26 other prisoners of distinction. He received the thanks and congratulations of the queen, and of both houses of parliament ; the royal manor of Woodstock was granted to him, and a splendid mansion erected upon it, which received the name of Blenheim from the place of his victory.

In Flanders the campaign was wholly defensive and unimportant ; in Italy the balance of success inclined to the French. In the Spanish peninsula Philip V., the new king of Spain, obtained some advantages in an invasion of Portugal ; whilst Charles III., who had landed in that country in March, with 8000 English and Dutch troops, was repulsed by the duke of Berwick in an attempt which he made upon Castile, in conjunction with the king of Portugal. After landing Charles III. at Lisbon, and making an unsuccessful attempt upon Barcelona, Rooke attacked and took Gibraltar, ten days before the battle of Blenheim (July 23, 1704). Subsequently, in conjunction with the Dutch admiral Culemborg,

he fell in, off Malaga, with a French fleet of 52 ships under the count of Toulouse, which had been despatched to assist the Spaniards in recovering Gibraltar. The combat ended in a drawn battle, and Gibraltar remained in the hands of the English.

§ 4. In the following year (1705), the earl of Peterborough, having embarked with a land force on board the fleet of sir Cloudeley Shovel, and being joined by a Dutch squadron under admiral Allemonde, proceeded to the coast of Catalonia. Barcelona capitulated after a siege; the fortresses of Lerida and Tortosa were taken without a blow; and almost the whole of Valencia and Catalonia acknowledged Charles III.

In the Netherlands, Marlborough, at the request of the Dutch, confined his operations to the defence of their frontier. Leopold died this year (May 5), and was succeeded by his son Joseph I., who had more talents and enterprise than his father. Marlborough paid him a visit towards winter at Vienna, when the principality of Mindelsheim was conferred upon him, with the rank of a prince of the empire. On the whole, the campaigns in Germany and Italy were favourable to the French.

Marlborough compensated for his inactivity in 1705 by the brilliant victory of RAMILLIES, near Tirimont, gained over marshal Villeroi, May 12 (23 N.S.) 1706. The forces were nearly equal on both sides; but the French were totally defeated, with a loss of about 14,000 men, killed, wounded, or prisoners, whilst the loss of the allies amounted to 3500. Towards night the rout of the French became complete. They lost about 120 colours, 100 pieces of artillery, and a vast quantity of baggage. The consequence of this victory was the conquest of Brabant, and almost all Spanish Flanders. In return for these achievements the English parliament perpetuated Marlborough's titles in the female as well as the male line, and continued the pension of 5000*l.* granted by the queen to his family for ever.

The victory over the French at Turin, by prince Eugene and the duke of Savoy, put an end to all the hopes of the Bourbons in Italy. In Spain the Anglo-Portuguese army, under the earl of Galway (Ruvigny) and the marquis de las Minas, penetrated to Madrid. Philip V. abandoned his capital and retired to Burgos; but Galway and Las Minas, neglecting to pursue their advantages, were ultimately driven from the Spanish capital by the duke of Berwick, and obliged to retire into Valencia. In the same year the English fleet, under sir John Leake, took Majorca and Iviza, and reduced them under the authority of Charles III.

§ 5. As the succession to the crown was soon to be diverted into a new line, the project of a UNION WITH SCOTLAND, which had

occasionally engaged the attention of statesmen from the time of James I., now became urgent. Anne, in her speech to her first parliament, had recommended it as indispensable to the peace and security of both kingdoms. William, anxious for the union, had neglected to provide for the succession to the Scottish crown; and a large party in that country, headed by the duke of Hamilton, were in favour of the Stuarts. A bill for the Hanoverian succession was rejected by the Scotch parliament with every mark of anger and contempt; many were for sending lord Marchmont, its proposer, to the castle of Edinburgh; and it was carried by a large majority that all record of it should be expunged from their proceedings (1703). Exasperated by the failure of the Darien scheme, the Scotch passed an "Act of Security," by which it was provided that the parliament should meet on the twentieth day after the queen's decease to elect a successor, who should not be the successor to the crown of England, unless under conditions which might secure the honour and independence of Scotland. The queen refused her assent to this bill; but in the following year (August 5, 1704) she thought proper to allow another bill, to the same effect, to be touched with the sceptre, of which the main proviso was that the successor to the crown should be a protestant of the royal line of Scotland, and at the same time not the successor to the English crown. As the house of Hanover was thus excluded, the duke of Hamilton himself, the great promoter of the bill, seemed in a fair way to obtain the crown.

Against this Act of Security the English parliament resolved to provide by an Act of Security of its own. It was resolved that no Scotchmen, not actually residing in England or Ireland, should enjoy the privileges of Englishmen till a union of the two kingdoms should be effected, or the succession made identical in Scotland and England; that the bringing of Scotch cattle into England, and of English wool into Scotland, should be prohibited; and that the fleet should have orders to seize all Scotch vessels trading with France. These resolutions, which were almost equivalent to a declaration of war, were reduced into a bill; and another act was passed to appoint commissioners to treat of a union. The lords also addressed the queen to fortify Newcastle, Tynemouth, Carlisle, and Hull, to call out the militia of the four northern counties, and to station an adequate number of regular troops on the Scottish borders. The commons rejected the proposed bill on the ground that the fines levied by it rendered it a money bill; but they passed another to the same effect (February 3, 1705), which went through the lords without any amendment.

The question of union was again introduced into the Scotch

parliament, with so much success that commissioners were appointed to repair to London and discuss the terms. These were accepted the next year, and the discussion was reopened in the Scotch parliament. The following were the more important among the articles agreed upon:—That the two kingdoms should be united under the name of Great Britain; that the succession should be vested in the princess Sophia and her heirs, being protestants; that there should be but one parliament of the united kingdom, to which 16 Scotch peers and 45 commoners should be elected; that there should be complete freedom of trade and navigation throughout the United Kingdom, and a reciprocation of all rights, privileges, and advantages.

These articles were highly unpopular in Scotland; but without the succour of France it seemed hopeless to resist them, and the reverses of Louis in the war put it out of his power to assist the Pretender. In the parliament, indeed, where the peers and commons sat in one house, a spirited opposition was led by the duke of Hamilton and Fletcher of Saltoun, and during the progress of the debates violent tumults occurred in Edinburgh. The lower classes of the Scotch, and especially the presbyterians of the west, were almost universally opposed to the union, and offers were made to Hamilton from various quarters to march to Edinburgh and disperse the parliament. But that nobleman, though loud in debate, was timid in action. He would not listen to such vigorous counsels; and he even shrank from an agreement which he had made with his adherents, to protest against the measure, and quit the parliament in a body. All the articles were eventually adopted by a large majority (January 16, 1707).

The nobles favourable to the arrangement endeavoured to soothe the angry passions of the people; others were brought over by promises and bribes, some of very insignificant amount. The clergy were won by the assurance that presbyterianism should be the only recognized religion in Scotland, whilst a general indemnity was promised for the losses the Scotch had incurred in the Darien scheme. The Union Bill received the royal assent (March 6, 1707). The union was appointed to commence on May 1, which was made a day of thanksgiving; and the first parliament of Great Britain was to meet on the 23rd of the following October.

§ 6. As the allies, flushed with their good fortune, rejected the French king's overtures for a peace, Louis made vigorous preparations. The year opened for him with a gleam of success, by the recapture of Majorca by the count de Villars (January 5, 1707). In Spain also, Galway and Las Minas were defeated by the duke of Berwick at Almanza: Arragon was again reduced under

the authority of Philip V., and Charles III. maintained himself only in Catalonia. But in Germany the French were eventually obliged to recross the Rhine; and by the capitulation of Milan, signed in March, they agreed to evacuate Italy. This event left prince Eugene and the duke of Savoy at liberty to invade France. Accordingly they passed the Var, and, advancing along the coast of Provence, appeared before Toulon on the 17th of July, while, at the same time, sir Cloudesley Shovel blockaded it by sea. The French, however, had thrown 8000 men into Toulon a few hours before the arrival of prince Eugene; and by their vigorous defence, the advance of the duke of Burgundy with a considerable force, and the ill condition of the invading army, the allies were compelled to abandon the enterprise.

A terrible fate overtook sir Cloudesley Shovel and his fleet on their return. That admiral sailed from Gibraltar on the 29th September with a fleet of 15 sail of the line and some frigates. On October 22 they arrived in the mouth of the Channel, when, by some mistake in the course, the admiral's ship, the *Association*, striking on some rocks to the west of the Scilly Islands, foundered, and all on board perished. The *Eagle* and the *Romney* met with the same fate. The *St. George* struck on the rocks, but was washed off again. Shovel had raised himself by his abilities and courage from the station of a common sailor.

The campaign in Flanders produced no remarkable action. Louis XIV. was sinking into dotage, and had surrendered himself to the government of Madame de Maintenon. Yet the resources of France were still able to inspire alarm. Early in 1708 a squadron of frigates and small ships of war was collected at Dunkirk; troops were marched thither from the surrounding garrisons; and on the 6th of March the Pretender put to sea with 5000 men under his command for the purpose of invading England. But his fleet was dispersed by admiral Byng, and returned one by one to Dunkirk. The alarm created a run upon the Bank; loyal addresses were presented to the queen by both houses, the commons suspended the Habeas Corpus Act, and the country bristled with military preparations.

Ghent and Bruges, disgusted with the extortions of the allies, in which Marlborough and Cadogan are said to have been implicated, opened their gates to the French, who directed their march towards Antwerp, and laid siege to OUDENARDE. Here they were signally defeated by Marlborough (July 11, 1708). In this battle the electoral prince of Hanover, afterwards George II., gave distinguished proofs of valour. The more important operations of this campaign were the capture of Lille, one of the strongest fortresses in Flanders, after

a four months' siege, the compelling the elector of Bavaria to raise the siege of Brussels, and the recovery of Bruges and Ghent. The duke of Vendôme, who commanded the French army, was received so coldly by Louis, that he retired to one of his estates; being the fifth marshal of France who had been driven from the service by Marlborough's successes.

In the same year general Stanhope became master of the island of Minorca, by the capture of Port Mahon (September 30).

The misfortunes of Louis prompted him to sue for peace, and in 1709 conferences were opened at the Hague. The marquis de Torcy, the French ambassador, was instructed to offer the most liberal terms, and he at last agreed that Philip should relinquish the whole of the Spanish succession, with the exception of Naples and Sicily. But as the allies refused even these, and their demands appeared worse than a continuance of hostilities, the pride of the French was roused, and they determined to resist to the utmost.

In June, 1709, Marlborough assumed the command of the allied army in Flanders, amounting to about 110,000 men. After taking Tournay, one of the strongest places in the Netherlands, the allies appeared before Mons. To relieve it, marshal Villars intrenched himself at MALPLAQUET, a league from the town. From this post he was driven by the allies, after a most sanguinary conflict, in which the latter lost about 20,000 men, while the loss of the French did not exceed 12,000 (September 11). The surrender of Mons (October 20) finished the campaign in Flanders.

Negotiations for a peace were again opened in March, 1710. Though France was willing to make further concessions, the allies rose in their demands, and, not satisfied that Louis should renounce Spain for his grandson, insisted that he should actually assist them in expelling him. The war continued. The allies took Douay, Bethune, St. Venant, and Aire, but with the loss of 26,000 men. In Spain Philip V. was defeated by count Staremberg at Almenara, and still more decisively at Saragossa. General Stanhope, with 6000 British troops, had a great share in this victory. On September 21 Stanhope entered Madrid, and was shortly afterwards followed by Charles III. But they were coldly received, and, as two French armies were entering Spain, it was deemed prudent to retire into Catalonia. Stanhope, who brought up the rear, was overtaken at the village of Brihuega by the duke of Vendôme, and was obliged to surrender at discretion (December 10).

§ 7. In 1704 Marlborough and Godolphin, who directed the government, had moulded the ministry more to their liking, by appointing Harley secretary of state in place of the earl of Nottingham, and making Henry St. John, a young man of great ability,

secretary at war. The whigs formed a strong party, led by what was called the *junto*, consisting of the lords Somers, Halifax, Wharton, Orford, and Sunderland. Harley intrigued against them, and undermined the duchess of Marlborough's influence with the queen. The duchess had recommended a relative named Abigail Hill (afterwards Mrs. Masham), the daughter of a Turkey merchant, as bed-chamber woman to the queen. Anne had become weary of the duchess in consequence of her arrogance. The duke and his supporters had resolved on Harley's ruin, when an accident afforded them the desired opportunity. The correspondence of marshal Tallard, who was still a prisoner, passed through Harley's office; and, as that minister did not understand French, it was read by Gregg, one of his clerks, a needy Scotchman. Gregg took the opportunity to enclose in a letter of the marshal's one of his own, in which he made an offer to the French minister to betray the secrets of his office for a consideration. The letter was intercepted; and Gregg was tried, condemned, and hanged at Tyburn (January, 1706). Attempts were made before his execution to procure his evidence against Harley; but he fully acquitted that minister, who was indeed entirely innocent. Marlborough and Godolphin informed the queen of their determination not to act with Harley, and absented themselves from the council. After a short struggle Anne was obliged to give way; Harley retired from office, and was followed by St. John and sir Simon Harcourt, the attorney-general. Their places were supplied by Mr. Boyle, Mr. Robert Walpole, and sir James Montague. But this affair only served to inflame the queen against the whigs, whose fall was now rapidly approaching.

§ 8. Dr. Sacheverell, rector of St. Saviour's, Southwark, being appointed to preach before the lord mayor and aldermen at St. Paul's, on the 5th November, 1709, took occasion to inveigh with great violence against toleration to dissenters. He insisted upon the doctrine of passive obedience and non-resistance, and reflected in severe terms upon the government, and especially upon Godolphin, to whom he gave the name of Volpone (the "old fox"), a character in one of Ben Jonson's comedies. The majority of the court of aldermen, being of the low church party, refused to thank Sacheverell for his sermon; but the lord mayor, who was on the opposite side, encouraged the doctor to print it. The political passions of the nation were excited to the highest pitch, and 40,000 copies of the sermon were sold in a few weeks. The more violent of the ministry, and especially Godolphin, who had been personally attacked, were exasperated against Sacheverell, and resolved to impeach him for the doctrines he had promulgated in his sermon. Articles were exhibited against him, and he was brought

to trial before the peers in Westminster Hall (February 27, 1710). He was charged with reflecting on the late revolution and attempting to render it odious and unjustifiable, with opposing toleration to dissenters, and suggesting that the church of England was in danger from the queen's ministers. The populace of London was greatly excited. It escorted Sacheverell every day from his lodgings in the Temple to Westminster with vociferous cheering, pulled down several meeting-houses, and insulted those members of parliament who took the most prominent part against its favourite. The lords, however, decreed that Sacheverell should be suspended from preaching for a term of three years, and that his sermon should be burnt by the hands of the common hangman. They also sentenced to the same fate the decrees of the university of Oxford, published in 1683, on occasion of the Rye-house plot, inculcating the doctrine of passive obedience and non-resistance, and lately republished in a pamphlet, in answer to Hoadley's work on *The Original of Government*.

The mildness of the sentence displeased the commons, especially as it was regarded as a triumph by Sacheverell's supporters. But the temper of the nation had been so plainly exhibited in this trial that the queen and the tory party no longer hesitated. Marlborough, offended at an attempt to promote colonel Hill, brother of Mrs. Masham, without his approbation, retired into the country, threatening to resign the command of the army. By degrees changes were made in the ministry. In April, 1710, the duke of Shrewsbury, who had taken part against the ministers in Sacheverell's case, was made lord chamberlain. On the 14th of June the seals were taken from the earl of Sunderland, Marlborough's son-in-law, and lord Dartmouth was made secretary of state in his place. On the 8th of August Godolphin himself was ordered to break his staff as treasurer, and the treasury was put in commission with lord Powlett at the head; Harley, however, who now became chancellor of the exchequer, possessed in reality the greatest share in the queen's confidence. But a complete alteration of the ministry was not effected till September, when lord Rochester superseded lord Somers as president of the council, St. John became a secretary of state instead of Mr. Boyle, Harcourt was made lord chancellor instead of lord Cowper, and the duke of Ormond obtained the lieutenancy of Ireland in place of the witty and profligate earl of Wharton. Other minor changes were effected. The dukes of Somerset and Newcastle were the only whigs who retained office.*

* One of the reasons for appointing St. John was, that he was the only person about the court who understood French,

and might therefore be useful in the expected negotiations for a peace. It is a striking characteristic of this period that

§ 9. In the new parliament, which met in November, 1710, the tory party predominated. Sacheverell had made a sort of progress into Wales, and was received by the mayors and corporations of various towns in great state. The people came to meet him with white favours and sprigs of gilded laurel in their hats, and the hedges where he passed were decked with flowers. These were plain symptoms of the popular sentiments, and in the ensuing elections the whigs were defeated wherever the popular voice was allowed to prevail. Though the queen, in her opening speech, intimated a desire for peace, she signified her resolution of prosecuting the war with the utmost vigour. The parliament responded with enthusiasm, and voted during the session the large sum of more than 14,000,000*l.* They instituted an inquiry into the conduct of the war in Spain; passed a vote of censure upon the late ministry; and an attempted vote of thanks to Marlborough failed in the House of Lords. Marlborough retained the command of the army; but resigned all the places held by his duchess; absented himself from court; and in February, 1711, proceeded to Holland to conduct the campaign.

About this time an event that might have proved fatal to Harley served only to further his promotion. A French adventurer, who assumed the title of the marquis de Guiscard, had insinuated himself into the favour of the previous ministry by pretending that he could raise an insurrection in France. St. John, on becoming a minister, had procured Guiscard a pension of 500*l.* a year; but Harley incurred his hatred by reducing it to 400*l.*, and refusing to make it permanent. Shortly afterwards Guiscard was detected in a treasonable correspondence with France, and, on being brought before the council for examination (March 8), he stabbed Harley with a pocket-knife, the blade of which fortunately broke by striking the breastbone. Unaware of this circumstance, Guiscard redoubled his blows, till he was stabbed by St. John and others. He was carried to Newgate, where he soon after expired of his wounds (March 17, 1711). Harley's hurt was slight, but it procured him much sympathy. The commons addressed the queen in terms the most flattering to that minister, and when he next appeared in his seat he was congratulated by the speaker in the

Harley, who was in favour of the Hanoverian succession, corresponded with marshal Berwick for the restoration of the Stuarts, on condition of Anne retaining the crown for life, and security being given for the religion and liberties of England. Marlborough, on the other hand, though in favour of the Stuarts and

corresponding with the court of St. Germain, did not scruple to address the elector of Hanover with assurances of his devotion, and to denounce Harley and his associates as entertaining a design to place the Pretender on the throne. Both Harley and St. John had been brought up among the nonconformists.

name of the house on his fortunate escape. The queen bestowed more substantial marks of favour by creating him earl of Oxford and Mortimer. Shortly after, he was made lord high treasurer.*

As the Tories had a decided majority in the new parliament, lord Nottingham, a vehement churchman, easily persuaded it to pass a bill to prevent occasional conformity; that is, conformity of the dissenters with the provisions of the Test Act by receiving the sacrament according to the rites of the church of England, in order to qualify themselves for office in corporations. This bill was followed by the Schism Act, which extended and confirmed one of the clauses in the Act of Uniformity, compelling all schoolmasters to make a declaration before the bishop, of conformity to the established church, as a condition for exercising their profession.†

The new ministry were inclined to peace, as the most effectual means of breaking the power of Marlborough; and the death of the emperor Joseph, which occurred this year, opened the prospect of its attainment (April 17, 1711). Charles VI., the titular king of Spain, was elected his successor in the empire. Thus the views of England with regard to the war were entirely changed; since the reunion of Spain with the empire would have revived the days of Charles V., whilst it was the very object of the war to prevent the accumulation of too much power in the hands of a single family. The last campaign in Flanders, conducted by Marlborough, proved wholly unimportant. Communications had already been privately opened with the court of France; and the States, though averse to peace, reluctantly named Utrecht as the place of conference.

§ 10. A report laid before the House of Commons by the commissioners of the public accounts, on the 21st of December, contained the deposition of sir Solomon Medina, a Dutch Jew, charging the duke of Marlborough with various peculations in the contracts for bread and the pay of foreign troops for the army in Flanders. The sums were enormous, amounting in all to little less than half a million of public money, of which he had rendered no account. Besides the duke, Cardonnel, his secretary, Robert Walpole, secretary at war, and others, were implicated in similar corrupt proceedings. The duke opposed the ministry in their desire for peace, and was supported in his views by the elector of Hanover. Baron de Bothmar, the Hanoverian envoy, had come to London in November in company with Marlborough, and, in the name

* His son, Edward Harley, the second earl of Oxford, was the collector of the celebrated Harleyan MSS. now in the British Museum. The title became extinct in 1852.

† The Act against occasional conformity; and the Schism Act, were repealed in the reign of George I. (1713). Hallam, *Constitutional History*, iii. 332.

of the elector, presented a memorial against the peace. The queen and the House of Commons were indignant at this interference. A proposal of the majority of the council for apprehending Bothmar was prevented by Oxford. The views of Marlborough were supported by a majority of the peers, and an amendment on the address was carried. To overcome this opposition, Oxford persuaded the queen to create twelve new peers (December 31, 1711). They were received by the house with much derision; and the profligate but witty earl of Wharton, in allusion to their number, inquired of them whether they voted individually or by their foreman. On the previous day the queen had dismissed Marlborough from all his employments.

The commons proceeded to pass a vote of censure upon Marlborough, for unwarrantable and illegal practice in contracts, and for taking 2½ per cent. on the pay of the foreign troops in the English service. The attorney-general was directed to prosecute him; but this last step was never followed up. It has been urged in his defence that this percentage was a voluntary payment by the allied princes, and that the profit on the contracts had, long before Marlborough's time, been the usual perquisite of the commander-in-chief in the Netherlands. In 1712, Marlborough retired to Antwerp in disgust. Godolphin, his former colleague, had died the September before. It was of him that Charles II. used to say, that he was never in the way nor out of the way.

Cardanet was expelled the house. Walpole was also expelled and committed to the Tower, for taking a bribe of 1000 guineas on contracts for forage made by him when secretary at war.

Although the conferences were opened at Utrecht on the 18th of January, the allies as usual took the field in the spring. The British forces in Flanders were now commanded by the duke of Ormond, who had received instructions to avoid a battle unless at great advantage. Shortly afterwards he separated his troops from those of the allies, and received from Louis the surrender of Dunkirk, which had been stipulated as the condition of a cessation of arms. After the withdrawal of the British, part of Eugene's army was defeated by marshal Villars at Denain, and other reverses followed. The good fortune of the allies deserted them with the loss of the English.

§ 11. Meanwhile negotiations were proceeding at Utrecht. The plenipotentiaries for Great Britain were the earl of Strafford and the bishop of Bristol. They were assisted by Prior, the poet, who had negotiated the preliminaries. A peace, known as the *Peace of Utrecht*, was at length signed (March 31, 1713). By the principal articles, as between France and England, Louis agreed to abandon

the Pretender; to acknowledge the queen's title and the protestant succession; to raze the fortifications of Dunkirk; to cede Nova Scotia (Acadia), Newfoundland, Hudson's Bay, and the island of St. Christopher. The kingdom of Naples, the duchy of Milan, and the Spanish Netherlands, were assigned to the emperor; Sicily fell to the duke of Savoy, with the title of king. Sardinia was given to the elector of Bavaria. To the States of Holland was conceded the military occupation of Namur, Charleroy, Luxembourg, Ypres, and Nieuport, in addition to their other possessions in Flanders; but they engaged to restore Lille and its dependencies; whilst the king of Prussia exchanged Orange, and the possessions belonging to that family in Franche Comté, for Upper Gueldres. Great Britain was left in possession of Gibraltar and Minorca. At the same time a treaty of commerce between France and England was also signed. Peace was not concluded between the emperor and France till the following year, by the treaty of Rastadt (March 7, 1714).

As the treaty of Utrecht was only effected after a violent struggle between the whigs and tories, its merits have generally been viewed through the medium of party prejudice. It was asserted that, from the exhausted condition of France, more advantageous terms might have been exacted; that they had in fact been previously offered; and that the great object for which the war had been undertaken, the exclusion of the Bourbons from the throne of Spain, was not accomplished. Louis indeed undertook that Philip should renounce the throne of France, but at the same time he acknowledged that such an act was legally invalid; whilst the recent death of the dauphin, of his son, and his eldest grandson, left only a sickly infant between Philip and the crown of France. On the other hand, it would have been as impolitic to continue the war in order to set Charles upon the throne of Spain, after he had become emperor, as to leave it in possession of Philip. The Spaniards were contented with Philip for their king, and England had no right to control their inclinations. The cost of the war, a burthen borne chiefly by England, though she had no direct interest in it, had reached nearly 89 millions. On the whole, the conditions exacted from France were not disadvantageous. The peace was popular in England, and, when proclaimed on the 5th of May, 1713, was received with great demonstrations of joy by the populace.

§ 12. The queen's health was now rapidly declining, and the prospect of her dissolution embittered the struggle between the Jacobites and the adherents of the house of Hanover. The whigs urged the elector to a step which gave great offence to the queen. Schutz, the Hanoverian envoy, demanded for the electoral prince a writ to take his seat in the House of Lords, as he had been lately

created duke of Cambridge (April 12, 1714). Anne forbade Schutz to appear again at court, declaring that she would suffer the last extremities rather than permit any prince of the electoral family to reside in England during her life. She wrote also to the elector, to the princess Sophia, and to the electoral prince, expressing her surprise at the step they had taken, and insinuating that it might endanger their succession. Not long afterwards (May 28), the princess Sophia died suddenly in the garden at Herrenhausen, aged 83.

§ 13. After the prorogation of parliament (July 9), Oxford and Bolingbroke, long irreconcilable enemies, fell into an open rupture. The latter endeavoured to persuade the queen that his rival had privately encouraged the demand of a writ for the electoral prince, and on the 27th of July Oxford was deprived of the treasurer's staff. Bolingbroke's triumph was short-lived. The agitation of this political crisis had a fatal effect on the queen's declining health. A discharge from her leg suddenly stopped, and she fell into a lethargy. While she lay in this state, the duke of Shrewsbury,* who was both lord chamberlain and lord-lieutenant of Ireland, concerted with the dukes of Argyle and Somerset a plan for defeating the schemes of Bolingbroke. Without being summoned, they suddenly appeared at the council (July 30), to offer, they said, their advice at this juncture. Shrewsbury thanked them; and, after ascertaining from the physicians the dangerous state of the queen, it was proposed that Shrewsbury should be recommended to her without delay as treasurer. The proposition was immediately submitted to the queen, who had recovered some degree of consciousness; and she not only gave him the treasurer's staff, but also continued him in his other offices.

Anne expired at Kensington (August 1), in the 50th year of her age and the 13th of her reign. She was of middle stature, her hair and complexion dark, her features strongly marked, the expression of her countenance rather dignified than agreeable. She understood music and painting, and had some taste for literature. Regarded as a staunch friend to the church of England, the various measures passed in her reign for extending its influence, procured for her the name of good queen Anne. With her ended the reign of the Stuarts. Her consort, prince George of Denmark, had died in 1708.

* He was the son of the 11th earl of Shrewsbury, and was created a duke by William III. in 1694. The dukedom became extinct upon his death in 1718, but

his cousin succeeded to the earldom. He was the last lord high treasurer. Since then the treasury has been held in commission.



Medal of George I.

Obv.: GEORG LVD. D. G. M. BRIT. FR. ET HIB. REX DVX B & L. S. R. I. ELEC. Bust, laureate to right. Rev.: ACCRESCENS DIGNA DIVISOR ORBE BRITANNICA. The horse of Brunswick springing from Hanover to England. Below, VIVENS SVFFICIT ORBI.

CHAPTER XXIX.

HOUSE OF BRUNSWICK.

GEORGE I., b. A.D. 1660; r. 1714-1727.

§ 1. Accession of George I. His character. New ministry. § 2. Impeachment of Bolingbroke, Oxford, and Ormond. § 3. Mar's rebellion. § 4. The Pretender lands in Scotland. Rebellion suppressed. Executions. Repeal of Triennial Act. § 5. Unpopularity of the king. His favourites and mistresses. Treaty with France and Holland. § 6. Hanoverian politics. Sweden favours the Pretender. Change of ministry. § 7. Designs of Alberoni. Quadruple alliance. Defeat of the Spanish fleet at Cape Passaro. § 8. Projected Spanish invasion. Walpole and Townshend join the ministry. § 9. The South-Sea bubble. § 10. The South-Sea directors punished. Death of Marlborough. Atterbury's plot. § 11. Disturbances in Ireland on account of Wood's halfpence. Malt-tax in Scotland. Order of the Bath. § 12. Confederacy between the emperor and Spain. Alliance with France and Prussia. Death of the king.

§ 1. GEORGE I. succeeded queen Anne as quietly as if he had been the undisputed heir to the throne. No sooner had the queen expired than Kreyenberg, the Hanoverian resident, produced an instrument in the handwriting of the elector, nominating 18 peers, who, according to the Regency Bill passed in 1705, were, with the primate and six great officers of state, to act as lords justices till his arrival. The peers selected were mostly whigs, including the dukes of Shrewsbury, Somerset, and Argyle, lords Cowper, Halifax, and Townshend; but neither Marlborough nor Somers were among

the number. Marlborough had landed at Dover on the very day of the queen's death. He was indignant at finding himself excluded; but was in some degree consoled by the reception he met with from the citizens of London, where he made a sort of public entry. Then, having taken the oaths in the House of Lords, he retired into the country.

The new king was proclaimed, both in Dublin and Edinburgh, without opposition or tumult. On the 5th of August the lords justices delivered a speech to the parliament, recommending them to provide for the dignity and honour of the crown; and loyal and dutiful addresses were unanimously voted by both houses. George was immediately acknowledged by Louis XIV. and the other European powers. A British squadron had been despatched to wait for him in Holland; but he did not set out from Hanover till August 31, and landed at Greenwich on September 18, accompanied by his eldest son, George Augustus, who was at once created prince of Wales.

The monarch who now ascended the throne of England was 54 years of age, heavy in look, awkward and undignified in manner and address, without the slightest tincture of literature or science. He possessed, however, that taste for music which characterizes his country; he disliked pomp, and was even averse to popular applause. His ignorance of the English manners and language added to his other disadvantages in the new scene of life in which he was to appear. Yet his Hanoverian subjects parted from him with regret. He was honourable, benevolent, and sincere; economical even to niggardliness; regular in the distribution of his time; and, though he was not deficient in personal courage and military knowledge, he was a lover of peace.

George at once placed the government in the hands of the whigs. Before he landed, he sent directions to remove Bolingbroke from the office of secretary of state (August 28), and to appoint in his place Charles, lord Townshend, who must now be considered as prime minister (September 17). The duke of Shrewsbury resigned the offices of treasurer, and of lord-lieutenant of Ireland, where he was succeeded by Sunderland. The treasury was put in commission, with lord Halifax at the head. General James Stanhope was made second secretary of state; William, lord Cowper, chancellor; the earl of Wharton, privy seal; the earl of Nottingham, president of the council; Mr. Pulteney, secretary at war; the duke of Argyle, commander-in-chief for Scotland. Marlborough and the leading whigs were graciously received by the king, but it was with difficulty that Oxford was permitted to kiss his hand. Marlborough was reinstated in his old offices of captain-general and master of the

ordnance; and his three sons-in-law received appointments. His merits were too great to be overlooked, but the court was aware of his predilection for the Stuarts, and he soon found that he was not trusted. Even now, when holding a high post under the house of Brunswick, he sent a loan to the Pretender, which probably assisted the rebellion of 1715. The chevalier St. George, as the Pretender was usually called, was still residing in Lorraine; and, having repaired to the baths of Plombières, he published a manifesto asserting his right to the English crown (August 29).

§ 2. The parliament met March 17, 1715, and was opened by the king in person; but, as he was ignorant of the English tongue, his speech was read by the chancellor. A civil list was settled on the new sovereign of 700,000*l.*, as it had been settled on queen Anne. It soon appeared that the new ministers were determined to impeach their predecessors. Bolingbroke took the alarm and fled to the continent, where he entered the service of the Pretender as secretary of state; Oxford, of a more phlegmatic temperament, calmly waited; the duke of Ormond braved the storm, and continued in the same style of living as before. A secret committee was appointed by the commons to inquire into the late negotiations (April 1); and when the report, drawn up by Walpole had been read, the three noblemen just mentioned were impeached of high treason. Various articles were alleged against them; but the charge most insisted on was that of procuring Tournay for the king of France, an act which the committee endeavoured to bring under the statute of Edward III. as an adhering to the queen's enemies (August 20). Lord Strafford, one of the plenipotentiaries at Utrecht, was also accused of high crimes and misdemeanours, but no notice was taken of his two colleagues (September 1). Ormond fled to France; but before he went he visited Oxford in the Tower, and counselled him to attempt his escape. The ex-treasurer refused, and Ormond took leave of him with the words, "Farewell, Oxford without a head!" To which the latter replied, "Farewell, duke without a duchy!" Ormond never returned, and died abroad in 1745 at the age of 80. Bills of attainder against him and Bolingbroke were passed without opposition. These impeachments were merely the results of party animosity, and could not be justly maintained, for the peace had been approved by two parliaments. Yet Oxford was detained two years in the Tower, till Townshend and Walpole, his greatest enemies, had both quitted office.*

§ 3. The death of Louis XIV. (September 1, New Style) was a severe blow to the Pretender, who was meditating an invasion.

* The manifestation of popular discontent at these prosecutions led to the *Riot Act* (July, 1715), which is still in force.

The duke of Orleans, who now became regent in the minority of Louis XV., held different views from Louis XIV. He could not indeed altogether reject the claims of a kinsman; but he was unwilling to compromise the peace with England, and would only promise secret assistance. Meanwhile the earl of Mar began prematurely and unadvisedly an insurrection in Scotland. He despatched letters to the principal gentry, inviting them to meet him at a great hunt at Braemar, in Aberdeenshire (August 26). Seizing the opportunity of inveighing against the Union, he urged other topics calculated to inflame his audience; and on the 3rd of September, though he had no more than 60 followers, he raised the standard of the Pretender. His force had swelled to about 5000 men when he entered Perth (September 16).

This insurrection created great alarm. The Habeas Corpus Act was suspended, and several noted Jacobites were arrested in London, Edinburgh, and other places. As the number of regular troops in England was but small, the Dutch contingent of 6000 men was sent for, as stipulated by an article in the guarantee of succession. Argyle, who had been despatched to support the king's cause in Scotland, had at his disposal only about 1000 foot and 800 horse; yet Mar remained inactive. In the northern counties, Mr. Forster and the earl of Derwentwater, hearing that orders had been issued to arrest them, rose in arms and proclaimed the Pretender at Warkworth (October 7). Lord Kenmure did the same at Moffat; and being soon after joined by the earls of Nithisdale, Wintoun, and Carnwath, he crossed the border and joined Forster. Their united force, amounting to 500 or 600 horsemen, proceeded by Mar's directions to Kelso, where they were joined by brigadier M'Intosh with 1400 foot (October 22). Edinburgh, which lay between the forces of M'Intosh and Mar, might easily have been taken; but no regular plan of a campaign had been formed; and, after a senseless march along the Cheviots, Forster determined to proceed into Lancashire. Though many of his men had deserted, he entered Lancaster without resistance, and proceeded to Preston, from which place Stanhope's regiment of dragoons and a militia regiment retired on his approach. Here he received an accession of 1200 men, but badly armed and disciplined; and when general Carpenter arrived (November 13) with 900 cavalry and two regiments of foot, Forster surrendered almost without a blow. Among the prisoners on this occasion were lords Derwentwater, Nithisdale, Wintoun, Kenmure, and many other members of old northern families.

On the same day a battle had been fought between Mar and Argyle at Sherriff-Muir, near Stirling. The latter was now at the head of between 3000 and 4000 regular troops, while Mar's force had



Medal of the elder Pretender and his wife.

Obv.: IACOVS . III . D . G . M . B . F . ET . H . REX. Bust armed, to right.

increased to 10,000, still badly armed and disciplined. In the battle, the right wing of each army defeated its opponents; but Argyle remained in possession of the field, whilst Mar retired to Perth, and the weather prevented further operations.

§ 4. Though the rebellion had been unadvisedly begun, the Pretender and the duke of Ormond felt themselves called upon to act, whatever might be the event. Ormond landed in Devonshire with about 40 officers and men; but, finding nobody willing to join him, he returned to St. Malo. The Pretender, sailing from Dunkirk about the middle of December, in a small vessel of eight guns, landed at Peterhead on the 2nd, accompanied by six gentlemen disguised as French naval officers. Mar immediately proceeded to pay his respects to him, and was created a duke. On January 6, 1716, the Pretender made his public entry into Dundee on horseback, followed by a troop of nearly 300 gentlemen. Thence he proceeded to Scone, performed several acts of state, and appointed the 23rd of January for his coronation. But James was not the man for such a conjuncture. Meagre in person and sparing of speech, instead of encouraging his followers, he talked to them of his misfortunes. One of them says, "We saw nothing in him that looked like spirit. He never appeared with cheerfulness and vigour to animate us. Our men began to despise him; some even asked if he could speak."

On the advance of Argyle, Perth was pronounced untenable by a council of the insurgent generals; and on the 30th of January, a day of evil omen for the Stuarts, orders were issued to retreat northwards. Argyle entered Perth about twelve hours after the rebels



REV. : CLEMENTINA · MAGNÆ · BRITANNIÆ · ET · C · REG · Bust to left.

had quitted it. The latter proceeded to Dundee, and thence to Montrose, where James was urged by his council to escape (February 4). Accompanied by Mar, he embarked on board a small French vessel lying in the roads, while the rebel army gradually dispersed. James landed at Gravelines after a passage of seven days, and proceeded to St. Germain, where he dismissed Bolingbroke in displeasure. On the 24th of February, lords Derwentwater and Kenmure were executed on Tower hill. Lord Nithisdale, who had also been sentenced to death, escaped the night before through the heroic devotion of his wife, who changed clothes with him. About forty of the inferior criminals were executed.

The repeal of the Triennial Act of 1694, and the enactment of the SEPTENNIAL ACT, was one of the immediate effects of this rebellion. In the present state of the nation it was considered hazardous by the ministry to dissolve the parliament. The bill of repeal was originated in the lords by the duke of Devonshire, and appears to have excited little discontent (May 7, 1716). But as additional powers had been already conferred on the magistrates for suppressing any symptoms of popular dislike (1715), no opportunity was offered for the expression of public opinion.

§ 5. To enable the king to proceed to Hanover, the restraining clause in the Act of Settlement was repealed (June 26). Jealous of his son, George refused him the full authority of regent, and would only name him guardian of the realm and lieutenant, an office unknown since the time of the Black Prince; and several restrictions were placed upon his authority. The foreign favourites;

Bothmar, Bernsdorf, Robethon, were suspected of taking bribes for their good offices with the king; and his foreign mistresses also incurred great odium. The baroness Schulenburg, the chief of them, was made duchess of Munster in Ireland, and duchess of Kendal in England. The baroness Kilmansegge, another favourite, was created countess of Darlington. The rapacity of both was unbounded, but neither had the smallest share of ability. During his absence in Hanover, the king dismissed lord Townshend from his post of secretary of state, and general Stanhope was appointed in his room (December 12). Townshend's dismissal was unpopular. His offence consisted in having encouraged the prince of Wales in opposition to his father's authority. He was, however, induced to accept the lord-lieutenancy of Ireland (January 14, 1717).

The late rebellion made it very desirable to deprive the Pretender of all support from France. The regent, the duke of Orleans, was not averse to an English alliance. In the event of the death of Louis XV., he was heir to the throne of France, as Philip V. of Spain had renounced his pretensions. But as it was known that Philip did not mean to abide by that renunciation, the alliance of England might be useful to the duke. Stanhope, who had accompanied the king in his journey, entered into negotiations with the abbé (afterwards cardinal) Dubois, first at the Hague and then at Hanover. He was succeeded in this mission by lord Cadogan; and on the 28th of November a treaty was signed between the two countries. Earlier in the year defensive alliances had been concluded with the emperor and the Dutch. As the latter subsequently acceded to the terms of the English and French alliance (January 4, 1717), the previous convention between France and England was abandoned, in order that the new arrangement might appear as a Triple Alliance. In consequence of this treaty the Pretender was compelled to quit France, and he resided sometimes at Rome, sometimes at Urbino. Soon after, he contracted a marriage with the princess Clementina, granddaughter of John Sobieski, the late king of Poland; but she was arrested at Innsbrück, on her way to Italy, by the emperor's orders, at the instance of the British cabinet, and detained till 1714, when she managed to escape and the marriage was consummated.

§ 6. By the Hanoverian succession England became embroiled in continental politics, and the interests of this country were often made subservient to the king's views in favour of his electorate. The bishoprics of Bremen and Verden, formerly belonging to Hanover, had been secularized at the peace of Westphalia, and ceded to Sweden; but they had been conquered by Frederick IV. of Denmark after the defeat of Charles XII. at Pultawa. On the return of that monarch, the king of Denmark, trembling for his

conquests, ceded them to George I., as elector of Hanover (1715), on condition of his joining the coalition against Sweden, and paying 150,000*l.* In order to carry out these arrangements, a British squadron, under sir John Norris, was despatched to the Baltic in the autumn of 1716. But this was not the whole of the evil. In retaliation, baron Görtz, minister of Charles XII., set on foot a Jacobite conspiracy for the invasion of Scotland with 12,000 Swedish soldiers. As Charles XII. would neither avow nor disavow these practices, count Gyldenborg, the Swedish ambassador, in spite of his official privileges, was arrested in London, on full proofs of his complicity in the plot (January 29, 1717). Walpole fell under suspicion for his lukewarmness in supporting the king's wishes; and as the followers of Townshend voted against the supplies required for this Swedish affair, he was dismissed from the lieutenantancy of Ireland (April 10, 1717). Next morning Walpole resigned, and his example was followed by other ministers. General Stanhope now became first lord of the treasury and chancellor of the exchequer, and was shortly afterwards raised to the peerage with the title of viscount Stanhope.* Sunderland and Addison, the celebrated author, were made secretaries of state, and Craggs secretary at war (April 16).

§ 7. At this time Spain was governed by cardinal Alberoni, the son of a working gardener, who by his great abilities had raised himself to that height of power and grandeur. Both he and Philip V. found much cause of discontent in the state of Europe. Philip's title had never been acknowledged by the emperor; whilst the alliance of the latter with England, and the triple alliance between France, England, and Holland, concluded in 1717, seemed to isolate Spain from the rest of Europe. The seizure of one of his ministers by the Austrians increased the exasperation of Philip. He resolved upon war, seized Sardinia, and threatened Sicily. At this time Alberoni was intriguing with Charles XII. of Sweden, and with the Czar, in favour of the Stuarts; he was also in correspondence with the Pretender at Rome, and was employing agents to foment dissensions in England. This state of things required vigorous counsels. In the summer Stanhope proceeded to Paris, and succeeded in concluding a new treaty with France and the emperor, which, after the accession of the Dutch, was styled the Quadruple Alliance (July 22, 1718). Its avowed object was the preservation of the peace of Europe. Stanhope then proceeded to Madrid, but did not succeed in overcoming the stubborn hostility of Alberoni. Meanwhile the Spanish troops, after taking Sardinia,

* He was created earl Stanhope in the following year (1718), and was the ancestor of the present earl.

had landed in Sicily (July.1), and taken Palermo and Messina, though the citadel of the latter place held out. To prevent the loss of the island, Admiral Byng* was despatched to the Mediterranean with 20 ships of the line. On July 31, 1718, an action, said to have been begun by the Spaniards, took place off Cape Passaro, ending in their total defeat, and the destruction of a great number of their ships. Alberoni recalled his minister from London, and seized all British goods and vessels in Spanish ports; but no declaration of war was made till towards the end of the year, and then by the French and British cabinets. In retribution for the injuries inflicted on the Spaniards by the English, Alberoni fitted out an armament of five ships to support the pretensions of James; but it was dispersed in a storm, and only two of the frigates reached Scotland.

§ 8. In March, 1719, at the invitation of Alberoni, the Pretender repaired to Spain, and was received at Madrid with royal honours. Towards the end of the year the cardinal was dismissed, and Philip announced his accession to the Quadruple Alliance (January, 1720), renewing his renunciation of the French crown, and engaging to evacuate Sicily and Sardinia within six months. After the death of Charles XII. (December 11, 1718), the new queen of Sweden, Ulrica, yielded Bremen and Verden to George I.

The Stanhope administration had been eminently successful. The Schism Act was repealed,† peace secured abroad, and the danger of domestic conspiracy and rebellion lessened by the banishment of the Pretender from France. Early in 1720, the ministry was strengthened by the accession of Townshend and Walpole, who were induced to accept subordinate places—the former as president of the council, the latter as paymaster of the forces. Walpole had lately displayed distinguished ability in opposing and procuring the rejection of the peerage bill, intended to limit the royal prerogative in the creation of peers, by providing that their present number should not be increased beyond six, except in favour of the blood-royal. He also induced the prince of Wales to write a submissive letter to his father, and thus succeeded in healing the breach between them. The quarrel had proceeded to such an extent that, during the king's visit to Hanover in the previous year, the prince had not even been mentioned in the regency, and the government was vested in lords justices.

§ 9. In 1711 Harley had established the South Sea Company as a means of relieving the public burthens. A portion of the national

* He was created viscount Torrington in 1721, and was the ancestor of the present viscount.

† See p. 562.

debt was thrown into a stock to pay six per cent. interest at the end of five years, and the proprietors were to enjoy the monopoly of trade to the coast of Peru. Little, however, was obtained from Spain, except the *Asiento* treaty, or contract for supplying negroes, the privilege of annually sending one ship of less than 500 tons to the South Sea, and of establishing certain factories; and even these trifling privileges were interrupted by the Spanish war. Nevertheless the company flourished, and was regarded as a sort of rival to the Bank of England. As the government was desirous, towards the end of 1719, of getting rid of the unredeemable annuities granted during the last two reigns, and amounting to 800,000*l.* per annum, these two corporations competed for the purchase, and at last the South Sea Company offered the enormous sum of 7½ millions. They had the right of paying off the annuitants, who accepted South Sea stock in lieu of their government stock; and two-thirds of them consented to the offer of 8½ years' purchase. The example of Law's Mississippi scheme in Paris had created a rage for speculation. Large subscriptions, opened by the South Sea Company, were rapidly filled; its trade was regarded as a certain road to fortune, and in August the £100 stock rose to £1000! A third and a fourth subscription, larger than the former, were now opened, the directors engaging that after Christmas their dividend should not be less than 50 per cent. A variety of other bubbles were started at the same time, and the nation was seized with a sort of madness. Not only men of all ranks, ages, and professions, but women also, flocked to 'Change Alley. The very streets were lined with desks and clerks, and converted into counting-houses. Among these projects was a fishery for wrecks on the Irish coast, a scheme to make salt water fresh, to extract oil from sunflowers, silver from lead, iron from pit-coal, and many others of a like description. One ingenious projector published "an undertaking to be revealed in due time," in shares of 100*l.*, with a deposit of two guineas, and in the evening decamped with 1000 subscriptions! By proceeding against some of these companies the South Sea Company itself caused the first alarm. The general delusion was exposed; but the public mind, once roused, turned its attention to the company's own affairs. Holders of stock were anxious to realize, and by the end of September it had fallen from 1000 to 150. The news of the crash produced in Paris by the failure of Law's scheme completed the panic. Thousands of families were at once reduced to beggary. On every side might be heard execrations, not only against the company, but against the ministry, and even the king and his mistresses. The matter was taken up in both houses, and is said to have produced the death of Stanhope. Attacked by the young

duke of Wharton * with great virulence, the premier replied with such heat as to occasion an apoplexy, of which he expired the following day (February 5, 1721).

§ 10. Townshend now became secretary of state, and Aislabie resigned the chancellorship of the exchequer to Walpole (February 8). A committee of the commons, appointed to inquire into the affairs of the South Sea Company, brought to light details of gross corruption. In order to procure the passing of their bill, the directors had distributed large bribes to the duchess of Kendal, Madame de Platen (sister of the countess of Darlington), and to several of the ministers, as the earl of Sunderland, secretary Craggs, Mr. Aislabie, and others. The estates of the directors were confiscated, and applied to the benefit of the sufferers.

The death of Stanhope, Craggs, and Sunderland, at this period, and the expulsion of Aislabie, placed the chief power of the administration in the hands of Walpole, who continued to wield it for a period of twenty years. Parliament, dissolved March 10, 1722, was succeeded by another equally whiggish. The duke of Marlborough, who had long laboured under a paralytic attack, expired (June 16, 1722). He was one of the greatest generals England ever produced; but, though he possessed a solid understanding, a certain degree of natural eloquence, and a pleasing address, yet, like many of his contemporaries, he could neither write nor spell his native language correctly. Avarice was the great blemish of his character, which frequently betrayed him into acts of meanness. His duchess survived until 1744.

On September 22 the Pretender published at Lucca a strange manifesto, to the effect that, if George would restore him to the throne, he would in return make George king of Hanover! It was circulated in England, and ordered by both houses to be burnt by the hangman. This year a Jacobite plot was discovered, in which Atterbury, bishop of Rochester, and three or four peers, were concerned. It was to be assisted by an invasion from Spain. A bill of pains and penalties was brought into the lords against Atterbury, who was found guilty and sentenced to banishment (May, 1723). At Calais he met Lord Bolingbroke, who had obtained a pardon and was returning to England. The bishop died in exile at Paris (February 22, 1732), and was privately buried in Westminster Abbey the May following.

§ 11. In 1724 a serious tumult was excited in Ireland by the coinage of "Wood's halfpence." Copper coin had long been scarce

* His father, the earl of Wharton, a distinguished whig, mentioned in the reign of queen Anne, was created a marquess

in 1715, and died in the same year. His son was created a duke in 1718 and died in 1731, when the title became extinct.

in that country. To remedy this defect, a patent was granted to William Wood, a considerable ironmaster, for coining halfpence and farthings to the value of 100,000*l*. Wood was arrogant and indiscreet, but, according to sir Isaac Newton, then master of the mint, he appears to have executed his contract honestly. The Irish privy council and parliament set their faces against the new coinage. A popular clamour was raised. Swift, who had been living quietly the last ten years, seized the opportunity for exerting his unrivalled powers of sarcasm, and wrote his "*Drapier's Letters*," displaying astonishing art and vigour. In the midst of the storm lord Carteret, afterwards lord Granville, the new lord-lieutenant, landed in Ireland. He issued a proclamation against the "*Drapier's Letters*;" offered a reward of 300*l*. for the discovery of the author; and caused Harding, the printer, to be apprehended. But the grand jury threw out the bill; and a second jury, so far from entertaining the charge, made a presentment, drawn up by Swift himself, against all persons who should, by fraud or otherwise, impose Wood's halfpence upon the public. The ministry withdrew Wood's patent, and granted him a pension of 3000*l*. for eight years, by way of compensation.

In 1725, the imposition of threepence on every barrel of ale brewed in Scotland occasioned serious riots in Edinburgh and Glasgow. The impost was occasioned by the unwillingness of the Scotch to pay their proportion of the malt tax; but it was popularly ascribed to the corruption of the Scotch members, to whom Walpole allowed 10 guineas a week during their stay in London, telling them that they must make good the cost out of the Scotch revenue, or else "tie up their stockings with their own garters." It was an age of corruption. Lord chancellor Macclesfield was this session found guilty of peculation in his high office, and was fined 30,000*l*.

In June, 1725, the king revived the order of the Bath, which had lain in abeyance ever since the coronation of Charles II. Walpole and his son were made knights. In the following year sir Robert was invested with the Garter.

§ 12. The emperor and the king of Spain had now laid aside their quarrels, and by the treaty of Vienna had formed a close confederacy against France and England (April 30, 1725). To obviate this danger, the English court concluded at Hanover a defensive alliance with France and Russia (September 8, 1725). No actual hostilities, however, occurred till 1727, when the Spaniards made an unsuccessful attack upon Gibraltar. A general war seemed now inevitable: but the Dutch and the Swedes had acceded to the treaty of Hanover; Russia had receded from her engagements with the emperor; and the latter, conscious of his

weakness, determined to abandon Spain. On May 31, the preliminaries of a peace were signed at Paris. Spain and England remained in a state of semi-hostility.

George I. had started for Hanover this summer as usual, accompanied by lord Townshend and the duchess of Kendal. He was seized on the road with an apoplexy; and being carried towards the residence of his brother, the prince bishop, at Osnabrück, expired in his coach before he arrived (June 11, 1727). His consort, Sophia Dorothea of Zell, had died a few months before, after a confinement of 32 years in the castle of Ahlen, for a suspected intrigue with count Königsmark, a Swede. It is said that in her last illness she intrusted to a faithful attendant a letter addressed to the king, in which, after protesting her innocence, and complaining of his ill usage, she summoned him to meet her within a year and a day before the tribunal of God, to answer for his conduct. The story goes, that this letter was put into the king's coach as he entered Germany, and he was so alarmed that he fell into a convulsion and died.

NOTES AND ILLUSTRATIONS.

THE CONVOCATION OF THE ENGLISH CHURCH.

The Convocation virtually ceased to exist under George I. till its recent revival; and the following account of its history, abridged from Hallam, will be useful to students. The convocation of the province of Canterbury (for that of York seems never to have been important) is summoned by the archbishop's writ, under the king's direction, along with every parliament, to which it bears analogy both in its constituent parts and in its primary functions. It consists (since the Reformation) of the suffragan bishops, forming the upper house; of the deans, archdeacons, a proctor or proxy for each chapter, and two from each diocese elected by the parochial clergy, who together constitute the lower house. In this assembly subsidies were granted, and ecclesiastical canons enacted. In a few instances, as under Henry VIII. and Elizabeth, convocation was consulted on momentous questions affecting the national religion. The king's supremacy was approved in 1533, the articles of faith were confirmed in 1562, by the convocation. But

their power to enact fresh canons without the king's licence was expressly taken away by a statute of Henry VIII.; and, even subject to this condition, their power is limited by several later acts of parliament:—such as the acts of uniformity under Elizabeth and Charles II.; that confirming, and therefore rendering unalterable, the thirty-nine articles; those relating to non-residence and other church matters:—and still more, perhaps, by the doctrine gradually established in Westminster Hall, that new ecclesiastical canons are not binding on the laity. The convocation accordingly, with the exception of 1603, when it established some regulations, and of 1640 (an unfortunate precedent), when it attempted more, had little business but to grant subsidies, which, however, were from the time of Henry VIII. always confirmed by an act of parliament; an intimation, no doubt, that the legislature did not wholly acquiesce in their power even of binding the clergy in a matter of property. This practice of ecclesiastical taxation was silently discontinued in 1664; and from that time the clergy have been taxed at the same rate and in the same manner with the laity. (See p. 454.) It

was the natural consequence of this cessation of all business, that the convocation, after a few formalities, either adjourned itself or was prorogued by a royal writ; nor had it ever, with the few exceptions above noticed, sat for more than a few days, till its supply could be voted. But about the time of the Revolution of 1688 the party most adverse to the new order sedulously propagated a doctrine that the convocation ought to be advised with upon all questions affecting the church, and ought even to watch over its interests as the parliament did over those of the kingdom. The commons had so far encouraged this, as to refer to the convocation the great question of a reform in the liturgy for the sake of comprehension; but it was not suffered to sit much during the rest of William's reign. The succeeding reign, however, began under tory auspices, and the convocation was in more activity for some years than at any former period. The lower house of that assembly distinguished itself by its opposition to the bishops, especially to those who, having been appointed by whigs, were supposed to advocate doctrines adverse to the clergy and favourable to dissenters. Whilst, therefore, the divine right of episcopacy was generally held by the lower house of convocation, individual bishops were not

exempt from some severe reflections on their conduct and their tenets.

The government of George I. at first permitted the convocation to hold its sittings; but in consequence of the attack made on Hoadly, bishop of Bangor, which gave rise to the celebrated Bangorian controversy, the convocation was prorogued by government in 1717, and never sat again for business till the reign of queen Victoria.—*Constitutional History*, iii. 324 seq.

Hoadly was attacked by the lower house (1) for propagating opinions subversive of all government and discipline in the church of Christ; (2) for impugning the royal supremacy in causes ecclesiastical, and denying the right of the legislature to enforce obedience in religious matters.

In October, 1852, a royal licence was issued, permitting convocation to resume its synodical functions, and, simultaneously with the opening of the new parliament in November, the convocation met for the despatch of business. On this occasion it was adjourned after a week's session, but since then the duration of its sittings and the scope of its discussions have been considerably enlarged; the chief practical fruit of its labours, as yet, being the revised lectionary.



Medal of George II.

Obv. : GEORGIVS . II . D : G : MAG . BRI : FR : ET . H : REX . F . D . Bust to right.
Below, L. NATTER. F.

CHAPTER XXX.

GEORGE II., b. 1683 ; r. A.D. 1727–1760.

§ 1. Accession of George II. His character. Ministry. § 2. Treaty of Seville. The royal family. Rupture with Spain. § 3. Rise of Pitt. Decline of Walpole's power. § 4. Attack on Porto Bello and St. Jago. Anson's voyage. § 5. Resignation of Walpole. New ministry. Inquiry into Walpole's administration. § 6. War of the Austrian succession. Campaigns of 1742 and 1743. Battle of Dettingen. § 7. Pelham's ministry. Threatened invasion of the Pretender. The French fleet dispersed. § 8. Ministerial arrangements. War with France. Battle of Fontenoy. § 9. The Pretender Charles Edward in Scotland. His character. The raising of the standard and march to Edinburgh. § 10. Battle of Preston Pans. March to Derby. § 11. Retreat of the Pretender. Battles of Falkirk Muir and Culloden. Flight of prince Charles and others. Executions. § 12. Change of ministry. Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle. § 13. Later life of the Pretender. Halifax settled. Death of Frederick, prince of Wales. § 14. Newcastle's ministry. Hostilities between France and England. The French take Minorca. § 15. Trial and execution of admiral Byng. Pitt prime minister. § 16. Expedition to Rochefort. Seven Years' War. Convention of Kloster Seven. § 17. Campaign of 1758. Conquest of Cape Breton. Cherbourg destroyed. § 18. Campaign of 1759. Naval victories. Battle of Minden. Conquest of Canada. Death of general Wolfe. Death of George II.

§ 1. GEORGE II. was 44 years of age at the time of his accession. In temper he was not so shy and reserved as his father, and he was subject to violent gusts of anger ; but his ruling passion was



REV.: OPTIMO PRINCIPI. Tetrastyle temple. Below, MDCCXXXI.

avarice. He was fond of music, but had no taste for literature. His mind had been little cultivated, but he loved justice, and he was personally courageous. His habits of life were temperate and regular. His fluency in speaking English gave him an advantage over his father, who had been obliged to converse with Walpole in Latin, which the latter had almost forgotten, and the king had never perfectly learnt. In 1705 George II. had married the princess Caroline of Anspach, who at that time possessed considerable beauty. Her manners were graceful and dignified, and her conduct was marked with propriety and good sense. Her influence over her husband was unbounded, and during ten years she may be said to have ruled England. The issue of this marriage were two sons, Frederick, prince of Wales, born in 1707, William, duke of Cumberland, born in 1721, and five daughters.

When the news of his father's death reached the palace at Richmond, George II. had retired to bed for his customary afternoon's doze. Sir Robert Walpole knelt down, kissed his hand, presented Townshend's letter announcing his father's death, and, in the full expectation that he should be retained in his office, inquired who should draw the necessary declaration to the privy council. To his surprise and mortification, the king selected sir Spencer Compton, one of his favourites when prince of Wales; but Compton was so ignorant that he could do nothing without Walpole's advice and assistance. Queen Caroline was in favour of Walpole, who in a few days triumphed over the king's prejudices, and the old ministers were reappointed.

§ 2. The first ten or twelve years of the new king's reign were

marked by few events of importance. Walpole maintained his power by his parliamentary tactics and unscrupulous bribery. The nation was peaceable and prosperous. In the spring of 1728 the king of Spain notified his desire for peace; but the negotiations were long protracted. By the treaty of Seville, not finally concluded till November 9, 1729, a defensive alliance was established between England, Spain, and France, to which Holland subsequently acceded. The English trade to America was placed on its former footing; all captures were restored, and the *Asiento* was confirmed to the South Sea Company.* Gibraltar was tacitly relinquished by Spain, and the strong lines of San Roque across the isthmus were now constructed. A few months after this treaty lord Townshend resigned, after an open rupture with Walpole (May, 1730). The two secretaries of state were now lord Harrington and the duke of Newcastle.

Frederick, prince of Wales, lived on bad terms with his father, George II., as George II. had done with George I. Weak and vain, he was easily led by flatterers. He affected to patronize literature, probably because his father despised and neglected it; and his residence was frequented by men of wit and genius, especially by Bolingbroke, whose "Patriot King" was composed in anticipation of his future reign, and as a sort of satire on that of his father. In 1737 the difference between the prince and the king came to an open rupture. Frederick, who had married, in 1736, Augusta of Saxe Gotha, was ordered to leave St. James's, with all his family, and took up his residence at Norfolk House in St. James's square (September 14). All persons who visited him were forbidden to appear at court. The separation of the royal family was followed in a few weeks by the death of queen Caroline (November 20, 1737). Next year the king, in defiance of all decency, brought over, as his mistress, Sophia de Walmoden, a married lady, who was created countess of Yarmouth (February, 1740). This is the last instance in England of a king's mistress being raised to the peerage.

Events were now rapidly tending to a war with Spain. The Spaniards complained of the illicit proceedings of English traders; the English of the right of search exercised in an insolent manner by the Spaniards. There was likewise a question between the two countries respecting the boundaries of Georgia, a new settlement in America named in honour of the king. The nation was at that time greatly incensed by a tale which Burke afterwards characterized as "The Fable of Jenkins's Ears." Jenkins was the master of a small trading sloop in Jamaica, which seven years before had been overhauled by a Spanish guarda-costa, the commander of which, finding nothing contraband, tore off one of Jenkins's ears, bidding him carry

* See p. 575.

it to king George, and tell him that if he had caught the king he would have served him in the same manner. This ear (which, however, some affirmed he had lost in the pillory) Jenkins carried about with him wrapped up in cotton. He was now produced at the bar of the House of Commons, in order to excite the public indignation; and on being asked by a member, what were his feelings at the moment of the outrage, Jenkins answered, "I recommended my soul to God, and my cause to my country." These words ran through the nation like wildfire, and the cry of "No search" was taken up by all as a watchword. Averse to war as he was, Walpole felt that something must be done to appease the public feeling. A fleet of 10 sail of the line was despatched to the Mediterranean; letters of marque and reprisal were issued; troops and stores were sent to Georgia; and the British merchants in Spain were recommended to register their goods before notaries, in case of a rupture. These vigorous measures extorted from the Spaniards (January 14, 1739) a convention, the terms of which were announced by the king, in his opening speech to the parliament, "with great satisfaction" and appear, in fact to have been tolerably favourable. But the nation was not satisfied. The compensation offered by Spain was deemed inadequate; above all, the obnoxious right of search was still retained; and Walpole carried the address on the king's speech only by a small majority.

§ 3. Among the ranks of the opposition, William Pitt, afterwards earl of Chatham, now rose to eminence. He was the grandson of Thomas Pitt, governor of Madras, and was born in 1708. Educated at Eton and Trinity College, Cambridge, he was compelled by ill health to leave the university without taking a degree, and he completed his education by a tour on the continent. Having obtained a cornetcy in the Blues, he entered parliament, as member for Old Sarum, in 1735, and joined the opposition against Walpole. His figure was tall and striking, his nose aquiline, his eye fiery and expressive, his voice at once harmonious and powerful. His grand and imposing oratory had an overpowering effect upon his hearers. Superior to his contemporaries in his freedom from venality and intrigue, he was too often inclined to be overbearing, in the consciousness of his power and the integrity of his motives; and his temper, owing partly to his bad health, was not unfrequently bitter, wayward, and impracticable. His patrimony was only 100*l.* a year; his cornetcy he lost through some impassioned speeches against the minister. Taken into the service of the prince of Wales, he did not cease to launch invectives against Walpole.

Nearly all the men of the greatest ability were now on the side of the opposition. Walpole's staunchest supporters were in the

House of Peers; but the duke of Newcastle, a ready debater, and lord chancellor Hardwicke did not cordially agree with him on the Spanish question. The king himself advocated vigorous measures against Spain; and Walpole found it necessary to choose between a war of which he disapproved, and retirement from office. He determined on the former; and, as the Spaniards had evaded the peremptory demands made upon them, war was declared amidst great public rejoicings (October 23, 1739).

§ 4. A squadron had already been despatched to the West Indies under admiral Vernon, and on the 20th of November he appeared off Porto Bello on the isthmus of Darien. The Spaniards were unprepared, and the place was captured without much resistance; but little treasure was found. In the following year, Vernon was reinforced by a large armament commanded by sir Chaloner Ogle, with a military force under lord Cathcart. When the fleet assembled at Jamaica, it was found to consist of 115 ships, 30 of which were of the line, carrying 15,000 sailors and 12,000 troops. Vernon resolved to attack Carthagena, the strongest Spanish settlement in America, having a garrison of 4000 men with 300 guns. It was not till March 4, 1741, that the British fleet appeared before the place. The harbour was entered after considerable resistance, and Vernon despatched a ship to England to announce his approaching victory. The troops were landed and a night assault planned; but, though it was conducted with determined bravery, it was repulsed with great loss. Vernon and Wentworth, who had succeeded Cathcart, did not co-operate cordially. Sickness broke out among the soldiers, and in a few days their effective force was reduced to one-half. Under these circumstances it was resolved to return to Jamaica, all the damage done to the Spaniards consisting in the destruction of their forts. Vernon afterwards proceeded to St. Jago, in Cuba, but on reconnoitring he thought it prudent to withdraw.

Another squadron, under commodore Anson, had been despatched in September, 1740, to sail round Cape Horn and attack Peru. The sufferings and adventures of Anson on this expedition, during which he circumnavigated the globe, and returned by the Cape of Good Hope to Spithead in the *Centurion*, his only remaining ship, in June, 1744, have been detailed in a well-known narrative. So far as the war was concerned, the expedition resulted only in the capture, plunder, and destruction of the town of Paita, and in the taking of several prizes, the most important of which was one of the great Manilla galleons, having on board silver coin and ingots worth a million and a half.

§ 5. The third parliament of George II. met on December 4, 1741, and proved unfavourable to Walpole. He was defeated in the

election of a chairman of committees, and again on the question of the Westminster election, where it was alleged that the government candidates had been brought in through the interference of the military. Another defeat on the Chippenham election petition determined him reluctantly to resign (February 17, 1742). The king parted with him with all the marks of profound regret, and created him earl of Orford. The country had prospered and grown rich under his long and peaceful administration. He never afterwards took much part in politics, and died in 1745.*

The king now sent for William Pulteney, one of the most distinguished statesmen of the time. He would accept no place himself, but only a seat in the cabinet, and a peerage with the title of earl of Bath. He consented that the king's old favourite, sir Spencer Compton, now lord Wilmington, should be at the head of the treasury; and he named Mr. Sandys chancellor of the exchequer, lord Carteret secretary of state, and the marquess of Tweeddale as secretary for Scotland. Lord Hardwicke, the chancellor, and several others, retained their posts. Carteret was in reality the prime minister, and favoured the king's proposals for war. Walpole had endeavoured to procure a promise from Pulteney that no proceedings should be instituted against him; but Pulteney refused, and, before he proceeded to the House of Peers, supported a motion of lord Limerick's, in March, 1742, for an inquiry into the last ten years of Walpole's administration. The motion was carried by a small majority, and a secret committee of 21 persons was named. But its discoveries led to nothing of importance, and the design was abandoned.

§ 6. Meanwhile England had taken part in the war of the Austrian succession. The emperor Charles VI. had died, October 20, 1740. The succession of his daughter Maria Theresa to his Austrian dominions was guaranteed by the Pragmatic Sanction, to which England was a party, but it was also claimed by the elector of Bavaria, whose pretensions were supported by France and by the Bourbon king of Spain. Frederick II. of Prussia, better known as Frederick the Great, resolved to profit by the conjuncture, and, entering Silesia at the head of 30,000 men, defeated the Austrians at Molwitz (1741). A French army was poured into Bavaria. The elector, inaugurated as duke of Austria, marched against Vienna, whilst Maria Theresa, with her infant son Joseph, took refuge among the Hungarians,

* After his son Robert and his grandson George had held the earldom, it devolved (1791) on Horatio, the third son of sir Robert (born October 5, 1717), who is better known as Horace Walpole, and whose letters are an important source for

the history of these times. The earldom of Orford became extinct on his death (1797), but was revived (1806) in favour of his cousin Horatio, by whose descendant it is still held.

who received her with the cry : " *Moriamur pro Rege nostro, Maria Theresa*—Let us die for our king, Maria Theresa." The English parliament, zealous in her cause, voted her a yearly subsidy of 300,000*l.*, and a sum of five millions for carrying on the war (1742). A body of 16,000 men, under the veteran earl of Stair, was despatched to co-operate with the Dutch, and was reinforced by 6000 Hessians, and subsequently by 16,000 Hanoverians, in British pay. Great indignation was expressed that Hanover, though more interested in the war than England, had contributed nothing to its expenses; and Pitt declared that this great kingdom had become a mere province of that despicable electorate. The king, however, afterwards furnished 6000 Hanoverians, paid by his electoral dominions. Maria Theresa, at the instigation of George II., propitiated the king of Prussia by ceding Silesia (July, 1742). By this arrangement Frederick was induced to remain neutral; and, in November following, a treaty was concluded between Great Britain, Holland, and Prussia, to oppose the French and the elector of Bavaria, now emperor by the style of Charles VII.

In the following year (1743) the British army under lord Stair, amounting, with Hanoverians and Hessians, to nearly 40,000 men, advanced into Germany, and took up a position at Hochst, between Mentz and Frankfort. Stair, who had never been a great general, had ascended the right bank of the Main, with the view of communicating with the Austrians, when he was cut off from his anticipated supplies in Franconia, and from his own magazines at Hanau, by marshal Noailles. George II., who had as usual gone over to Hanover in the spring, attended by his son the duke of Cumberland and by lord Carteret, joined Stair on the 19th of June, and found his army in the most critical position, cooped up in a narrow valley between Mount Spessart and the Main, extending from Aschaffenburg, on that river, to the village of Dettingen. As forage was beginning to fail, it was resolved to march back the army to their magazines and reinforcements—a hazardous operation in the face of a superior enemy. On June 27, the English withdrew from Aschaffenburg in two columns, the king bringing up the rear, a post of no little danger. Meanwhile, unknown to the English, the French had occupied in force a strong position at DETTINGEN, covered by a morass and ravine. As soon as Aschaffenburg was evacuated, it was occupied by 12,000 French; and, as their batteries on the other side of the Main began to play on the flank of the British, it became necessary to force a way through Dettingen at all risks. Fortunately Noailles had intrusted the force at this place to his nephew, the duke de Grammont, who, burning to distinguish himself, and thinking that he had before him only part of

the allied army, abandoned his vantage ground, and advanced through the defiles to give battle on the open plain. By this movement the French batteries were compelled to suspend their fire, for fear of damaging their friends. Placing himself at the head of a dense mass of British and Hanoverian infantry, the king charged the enemy, and put them completely to the rout. The French lost about 6000 men; the British lost only half that number, and, resuming their march, they arrived safely at Hanau. This was the last battle in which a king of England was personally engaged. In consequence of this victory, and of the advance of prince Charles of Lorraine, the French were compelled to evacuate Germany.

§ 7. On the death of Compton, lord Wilmington (July 2, 1743), the king named Henry Pelham, brother of the duke of Newcastle, first lord of the treasury. From the time of Walpole, who held that office so long with absolute power, the head of the treasury began to be regarded as prime minister. Formerly the chief authority had been enjoyed by one of the secretaries of state. Pelham's abilities were moderate, but he was superior to his brother, the duke of Newcastle.

The king lost the popularity his victory was calculated to procure, by the partiality which he displayed for Hanoverians. Lord Stair resigned, and the duke of Marlborough and many other English officers threw up their commissions. Even in loyal companies the toast of "No Hanoverian king" was not unfrequent, and the name of Hanover became a reproach. Yet it was necessary to keep a large force on foot. The French were determined to act no longer as mere auxiliaries, but to declare war both against England and Austria, and to take the field with a large army. Cardinal Tencin, who had succeeded the pacific Fleury, was a warm friend of the house of Stuart, to whom he owed many obligations; and the discontents in England inspired the hope of effecting a successful Jacobite invasion. Prince Charles Edward, born in 1720, grandson of James II., was to be the hero of this enterprise, for age had deprived his father James even of the little spirit he once possessed. He signed at Rome a commission declaring his son, Charles, regent in his absence, and a proclamation to be published on landing.

Prince Charles, commonly called the Young Pretender, set out from Rome (January 9, 1744), and proceeded to Gravelines under the assumed name of the Chevalier Douglas. At Dunkirk 15,000 French veterans had been collected under the command of marshal Saxe, as Charles's lieutenant; transports had been prepared for them, and 18 sail of the line were appointed for their convoy. They put to sea in February, and neared the English fleet under admiral Norris, off Dungeness. But, as it was growing dark, Norris put

off an engagement till the following day. A dreadful storm arose, committing frightful havoc on the French fleet. Some of the largest transports foundered with all on board; others were wrecked on the coast of Flanders; the remainder of the armament reached Dunkirk in a crippled state. In consequence of this misfortune the French ministry relinquished the expedition, and prince Charles returned to Paris. (Supplement, Note XII.)

§ 8. The British resident in that capital loudly complained of the encouragement thus given to the Pretender. But the French replied by a declaration of war, couched in the most offensive terms (March 20), and in May Louis XV. entered Flanders in person, with 80,000 men commanded by marshal Saxe. In open violation of his treaties with Maria Theresa, Frederick of Prussia broke into Bohemia and Moravia; but before the winter, Maria Theresa, with the help of the Hungarians, drove the Prussians out of Bohemia.

In November of this year Cartoret, now become earl Granville* by the death of his mother, resigned his post of secretary of state, and was succeeded by the earl of Harrington. Lord Winchelsea and other persons of inferior note also retired. Pelham opened negotiations with Pitt; but he would accept no office except that of secretary at war, and the ministry were not yet prepared to part with sir William Yonge. The king had a strong aversion to both Pitt and Chesterfield, who became lord-lieutenant of Ireland, as the king would not allow him to be made a secretary of state. Pitt promised Pelham his support, and the administration now became strong. It fell, however, into the same courtly or Hanoverian policy for which Granville had been denounced. In January, 1745, a quadruple alliance was formed by England, Holland, Austria, and Saxony; and the subsidy to the queen of Hungary was increased to half a million. In this Pitt and Chesterfield acquiesced. About the same time the emperor Charles VII. died at Munich, and thus one obstacle to a peace was removed. In the following September the husband of Maria Theresa was elected emperor with the title of Francis I., and became the founder of the line of Hapsburg-Lorraine.

The most memorable event in the campaign of this year was the battle of Fontenoy (April 30, 1745). The French army of 76,000 men, under marshal Saxe, occupied a strong position near that place; the allied army numbered only about 50,000, of whom 28,000 were English and Hanoverians. Nevertheless the French lines would have been carried by the British and Hanoverians, under the duke of Cumberland and lord Ligonier, his military tutor, but for the

* This title became extinct in 1776. The present earl Granville, Granville Leveson-Gower, is the son of the youngest

son of the first marquess of Stafford, who was created viscount Granville in 1814, and earl Granville in 1833.

shameful flight of the Dutch. The British retreated in good order to Ath, and the French then took Tournay, Ghent, Bruges, Oudenarde, Dendermond, and Ostend. The British arms were more successful in America, where Louisbourg, the capital of Cape Breton, was taken from the French after a 49 days' siege (June 15).

§ 9. The defeat of the British at Fontenoy appeared to prince Charles to afford a favourable opportunity for renewing his attempt at invasion. He had been informed by his friends in Scotland that nothing could be done unless he brought at least 6000 men and 10,000 stand of arms; and these it was impossible to obtain, for the French had abandoned their efforts in his cause. Yet Charles determined to persevere, without the knowledge and sanction either of his father or of the French court. By pawning his jewels and borrowing from his friends, he raised between 7000*l.* and 8000*l.* With this money he purchased arms and ammunition; and he even contrived, by means of some English merchants settled at Nantes, to procure the service of two French men-of-war. On board of one of these, the *Elizabeth*, of 67 guns, he shipped his arms, and he himself, disguised as a student of the Scotch college at Paris, embarked in the other, the *Doutelle*, a fast-sailing brig of 18 guns (July 2, 1745). Four days after leaving Belleisle they fell in with the *Lion*, a British man-of-war of 58 guns, when an engagement ensued, in which the *Elizabeth* was so crippled that she was obliged to put back. The *Doutelle*, which had taken no part in the action, pursued her voyage; and, though chased by another man-of-war, Charles arrived safely in the Western Isles of Scotland, and landed at Moidart, in Inverness-shire (July 25). Several of the Highland chieftains remonstrated against his enterprise as unwise and impracticable: for his arms had been lost, and the only adherents who landed with him were, his tutor, sir Thomas Sheridan; the marquess of Tullibardine; sir John Macdonald, an officer in the Spanish service; Kelly, a nonjuring clergyman; Francis Strickland, an English gentleman; Æneas Macdonald, a banker in Paris; and Buchanan, who had been sent as messenger to Rome by cardinal Tencin. These were afterwards called "the seven men of Moidart."

Charles, son of James, the chevalier of St. George, and called the Young Chevalier, relied for success on his captivating manners. In person he was tall, well formed, and active; his face eminently handsome; his complexion fair; his eyes blue; his hair fell in natural ringlets on his neck. His address, at once dignified and affable, was calculated to win attachment; yet his misfortunes had rendered him somewhat jealous of his dignity. He possessed courage and a romantic sense of honour; he was decisive and resolute, but without much ability as a leader. His letters breathe

both energy and affection, but they are ill-spelt and written in the scrawling hand of a schoolboy; for his education had been shamefully neglected. In politics and religion he retained the prejudices of his house. He had many of the qualities suited to a hero of romance; attractions which, combined with a feeling of ancient loyalty, proved irresistible to many; especially as he had adopted the Highland dress and learnt a few words of Gaelic. Cameron of Lochiel was gained over to his cause, though he plainly saw the difficulties of the attempt. Other chieftains followed his example.

Charles now began his march towards the desolate and sequestered vale of Glenfinnan, about 20 miles from Fort William, which had been selected for the meeting of the clans and the raising of the royal standard. He arrived early in the morning, accompanied by some of the Macdonalds, but found the glen in its native solitude. At length Lochiel and the Camerons appeared, about 600 in number. They were badly armed, but they brought with them a company or two of English soldiers, whom they had captured on their road. This omen of success gave animation to the elevation of the standard, which was erected on a little knoll in the midst of the vale, the Highlanders shouting and tossing up their bonnets. Other parties subsequently arrived, and when Charles began his march next day (August 20), his little army amounted to about 1600 men.

On the same day Sir John Cope, the commander-in-chief in Scotland, marched from Stirling with 1500 foot, rather more than half of his whole disposable force: for the government was ill-prepared, and wholly uninformed of the Pretender's movements. Cope directed his march northwards, intending to join the well-affected clans. But on reaching Dalnacar loch, being disappointed in his hopes, he turned aside to Inverness. Charles descended into the lowlands, and at Blair Athol, where he remained two days, was joined by several gentlemen of note. Lord Lovat, to whom he had despatched his patent as duke of Fraser, with pressing solicitations to join him, sent only his prayers. On September 4, Charles made his public entry into Perth amid loud acclamations. Here he was joined by Drummond, titular duke of Perth, and lord George Murray. The town presented him with 500*l.*, a welcome gift, as his last louis-d'or was spent. His march was now directed towards Edinburgh. At the dawn of day one of the gates was surprised by the Camerons; and on September 17 Charles took possession of Holyrood House, where a splendid ball was given in the evening. The heralds were compelled to proclaim king James VIII., and to read the royal declaration and commission of regency. But the castle was still held by the troops of the government.

10. Charles remained three days at Edinburgh, and having obtained an accession of force, as well as a supply of 1000 muskets and other stores, he marched out to give battle to Cope, who had landed his forces at Dunbar, and was advancing towards the capital. Charles had now about 2500 men, but only 50 horse, and a single iron gun, of no use except for signals. Cope had about 2200 men, and six pieces of artillery. The two armies met near Preston Pans. The first day both remained inactive, being separated by a morass; but a path having been discovered, Charles approached the enemy during the night, and early in the morning (September 21) the Highlanders, in separate clans, attacked them, with terrific yells. In the space of a few minutes Cope's artillery was captured, his dragoons routed, and the line of his infantry broken. Of the foot only about 170 escaped, the rest being either slain or made prisoners. The loss on the side of the insurgents was about 100 killed and wounded. Cope and the horse fled in the greatest disorder to Berwick, where he was met by lord Mark Kerr with the sarcastic remark, that he was the first general who had ever brought the news of his own defeat!

After this victory Charles was desirous of pushing on to London, where it is possible he might have succeeded in the state of feeling then prevailing in England. The nation was lukewarm in the Hanoverian cause. They did not indeed take part in the rebellion, but they did not seem much disposed to repress it; and Henry Fox, one of the ministers, observes in a letter of this period, that if 5000 French had landed in any part of the island, the conquest would not have cost them a battle. But the court of France lost the only favourable opportunity that ever occurred of restoring the Stuarts. They were not hearty in the cause; and on the news of Charles's success they contented themselves with sending him small supplies of arms and money. George II., who had returned in alarm from Hanover, sent a requisition to the Dutch for 6000 auxiliaries.

After the victory at Preston Pans, many of the Highlanders had returned home with their booty; and, as Charles could now muster only about 1500 men, he was advised to wait and recruit his army. He therefore returned to Holyrood House. He might now be considered master of all Scotland, except some of the country beyond Inverness, the Highland forts, and the castles of Edinburgh and Stirling. His father was proclaimed as James VIII. in most of the towns; and in Glasgow, the least disposed to the Jacobite cause, an extraordinary levy of 5000*l.* was made. In a few weeks Charles's army was raised to nearly 6000 men; and some French ships brought him, besides money, 5000 stand of arms, six field-pieces, and several

French and Irish officers. Lord Lovat still hesitated, and at last adopted the dastardly expedient of sending his son, with 700 or 800 of the clan, protesting, at the same time, that it was contrary to his will and orders.

Charles now determined to march into England, much against the will of most of his followers, who were of opinion that he should content himself with the conquest of Scotland; but Charles wisely thought that he should not be able to hold the one without the other. The English government, however, was now better prepared. The commons had voted loyal addresses and liberal supplies; the Habeas Corpus Act was suspended; the militia was raised; marshal Wade had an army of nearly 10,000 men at Newcastle, and another under the duke of Cumberland was assembling in the midland counties.

Charles began his march on October 31. It was resolved to proceed through Cumberland, where the mountainous country is better suited to the Highland mode of fighting. Carlisle was entered on the 17th, after a slight show of resistance, the garrison being allowed to withdraw on delivering up their arms and horses. On the 20th the insurgents proceeded in two separate columns, which united at Preston; and the next day they crossed the Ribble. In these difficult marches in bad weather the chevalier resigned his carriage to the aged and infirm lord Pitsligo, and marched on foot, in Highland dress, at the head of the clans. At Manchester he was received with enthusiasm; and 200 English volunteers who had joined him here were called the Manchester regiment. But his prospects were not encouraging. Wade was advancing against him through Yorkshire; the duke of Cumberland lay at Lichfield with 8000 men; a third army was forming at Finchley; admiral Vernon was cruising in the Channel to prevent any assistance from France; and admiral Byng was blockading the east coast of Scotland. Many of Charles's officers advised a retreat, but lord George Murray persuaded them to advance as far as Derby, promising that, if they were not then joined by a considerable force, he would consent to their wishes. They reached Derby in safety (December 5). The Chevalier was in high spirits. He had slipped away from both the English armies, and nothing obstructed his march on the capital. London was in a panic; all business was suspended, and the shops were shut. The day was long remembered as *Black Friday*. Even the king had ordered his yacht to the Tower stairs, and embarked his most precious effects. But the alarm soon came to an end. The day after their arrival, Murray and the other generals insisted on a retreat, on the ground that there had been neither an English rising nor a French invasion; and Charles,

after exhausting arguments, threats, and entreaties, was forced to comply.

§ 11. Horsing 1000 of his infantry, the duke of Cumberland overtook the retreating Scots at Penrith, and a skirmish took place at night on Clifton Moor (December 10). The English were repulsed with considerable loss, and the retreat was not again molested. On December 20, the prince's birthday, the Scots passed the Esk, and entered Glasgow on the 24th, having marched 600 miles in 56 days.

The Chevalier arrived at Stirling (January 3, 1746), and having received large reinforcements, as well as some artillery from France, he resolved to besiege the castle. General Hawley, to whom the duke of Cumberland had delegated the command, attempted to raise the siege, but was defeated with great loss at Falkirk Muir, and made a precipitate and disgraceful flight to Edinburgh (January 17). But the siege was badly conducted by a French engineer named Mirabelle; his batteries were silenced; and the Chevalier's chief officers insisted on going home for the remainder of the winter, promising to return in the spring with 10,000 men. The heavy guns were spiked, and the retreat began towards Inverness (February 1). The duke of Cumberland, who had resumed the command, and who had been reinforced with 5000 Hessians, pursued the Scots, but could not overtake them.

On April 8 the duke, with 8000 foot and 900 horse, marched from Aberdeen to attack Inverness. Charles, though his troops had dwindled to 5000 men, resolved to surprise the duke at Nairn by a night march of 12 miles. Lord George Murray led the first column, Charles himself the second; but the marshy nature of the ground delayed their progress so much that all hopes of a surprise were abandoned, and they took up a position on Culloden Moor. The duke of Cumberland drew up his army with great skill in three lines, with cavalry on each flank, and two pieces of cannon between every two regiments of the first line. His artillery did great execution, whilst that of the Scots was ill-directed. Murray therefore requested permission to attack, and made a furious charge with the right wing and centre. He broke the first line of the English; but the second, three deep, the first rank kneeling, and the next stooping, received the Scots with a murderous fire, which threw them into disorder. The English then charged, and drove the clans before them in one confused mass. The left wing was not engaged. About 1000 of the Scots fell; of the English, hardly a third of that number (April 16). This defeat put an end to all Charles's hopes. He rode from the field to the residence of lord Lovat, whom he now met for the first and the last time. Lovat

hardly behaved with common civility, and they parted in mutual displeasure. Some attempt was made to rally the army at Ruthven, but Charles sent a message thanking the leaders, and bidding them consult their own safety. They dispersed accordingly, and the rebellion was extinguished. The duke of Cumberland fixed his head-quarters near Fort Augustus, and permitted every sort of outrage and cruelty, in which he was well seconded by general Hawley, surnamed for this brutality *the Butcher*. When the duke returned to London in July, he was hailed as the deliverer of his country; a pension of 25,000*l.* per annum was settled on him and his heirs, and he was presented with the freedom of numerous companies.

Murray and several other leaders escaped abroad. The government succeeded in capturing the earl of Kilmarnock, lord Balmerino, secretary Murray, and lord Lovat. The last was discovered in a



Medal of the young Pretender.

Obv.: CAROLUS WALLIÆ PRINCEPS. Bust to right. Below, 1745. Rev.: AMOR ET SPES. Britannia standing on the sea-shore: two ships arriving. Below, BRITANNIA.

little island in a lake in Inverness-shire, wrapped up in a blanket, and concealed in a hollow tree. Charles wandered about the country till September, undergoing during these five months a variety of hardships and dangers; yet, though his secret was intrusted to several hundreds of persons, he was not betrayed, notwithstanding a reward of 30,000*l.* had been offered for his capture. Among all these acts of loyalty the heroic devotion of Flora Macdonald was conspicuous. At last, on September 20, Charles got safely on board a French vessel in Lochnanuagh, and on the 29th he landed in France, near Morlaix.

A great number of prisoners were brought to trial for this rebellion, of whom 80 were executed, and the rest were transported.

The ancient and barbarous ceremony of disembowelling and burning the heart and intestines was not omitted on this occasion, and was received with the shouts of the populace. The earl of Kilmarnock and lords Balmerino and Lovat were executed on Tower Hill, the last of whom met his fate with a strange compound of levity and courage. The suppression of the rebellion was followed by the total pacification of the Scottish highlands; and various measures were adopted for their permanent improvement.

§ 12. Lord Harrington having resigned the seals of secretary of state (October 29, 1746), they were transferred to Philip Dormer Stanhope, earl of Chesterfield, the lord-lieutenant of Ireland, in which office he was succeeded by lord Harrington. Chesterfield, who is commonly regarded as a fine gentleman, had also a large fund of wit and wisdom, and was one of the most accomplished orators of his day. Conversant with foreign languages as well as history, he had distinguished himself as a diplomatist, and had discharged with reputation two embassies to Holland. His government of Ireland had been wise and firm, and at the same time liberal. His defects were a want of generosity, a proneness to dissimulation, a passion for gambling, and a laxity of religious principle.

During the years 1746 and 1747 the French were successful in arms; but in the latter year the English gained two naval victories, one by Anson near Cape Finisterre (May 3), the other by admiral Hawke off Belleisle (October 14). The French, as well as a large party in England, were desirous of peace; but Maria Theresa and the prince of Orange were not satisfied with the results obtained, and their views were adopted by George II. and the duke of Cumberland. Chesterfield, a warm advocate for peace, finding his counsels disregarded and himself treated with coldness by the king, resigned the seals (February 6, 1748), and was succeeded by the duke of Bedford. Chesterfield never afterwards took office; but he did not altogether withdraw from public life, and in 1751 he introduced a most useful measure, the reformation of the calendar. The Julian year, or *Old Style* as it is called, had been corrected by pope Gregory XIII. in 1582, and the Gregorian calendar, or *New Style*, had been adopted by every country on the continent of Europe, except Sweden and Russia. The error of the *Old Style* had now grown to 11 days. In preparing the bill for the reformation of the calendar, Chesterfield was assisted by the earl of Macclesfield and Mr. Bradley, two of the ablest mathematicians in Europe. By this bill the year was to commence on January 1, instead of March 25, and 11 days in September, 1752, were to be nominally suppressed, in order to bring the calendar into unison with the

actual state of the solar year. The great body of the people, however, regarded the reform as an impious and popish measure, and numbers were of opinion that they had been robbed of 11 days. Sweden followed the example of England in 1753; but Russia and those countries which belong to the Greek church still follow the Old Style, which is now 12 days behind the New Style.

The continued success of the French, who had invested Maestricht in the spring of 1748, increased the desire for peace; and even the Dutch, who now saw an invasion imminent, signified their willingness to treat. In October a definitive treaty was signed by all the belligerents at Aix-la-Chapelle, which ended the war of the Austrian succession. The only gainer was the king of Prussia, by the cession of Silesia. The article for the mutual restitution of all conquests was very unpopular in England, and the more so as France demanded and obtained two hostages for the delivery of Cape Breton. The earl of Sussex and lord Cathcart were sent to Paris in that capacity.

§ 13. By one of the articles of this treaty the French court undertook to expel the Pretender from France, and they offered him an establishment at Friburg in Switzerland, with a guard and the title of prince of Wales; but Charles, regarding such a course as a mean compliance with orders from Hanover, obstinately refused to quit Paris. At length it became necessary to use force. He was seized in his coach while going to the opera, bound hand and foot, and carried to the dungeon of Vincennes. After a few days' confinement, he was conveyed to Pont de Beauvois on the frontiers of Savoy, and abandoned to his lonely wanderings. He now appears to have visited Venice and Germany, to have resided some time secretly in Paris, and even to have paid two visits to England. After the death of his father, James, in 1765, he returned to Rome, and in his later years fell into habits of intemperance. In 1772, at the age of 52, he married the princess Louisa of Stolberg, a young lady of 20. They subsequently lived at Florence under the title of the count and countess of Albany. But the union was unhappy. He was harsh, and she faithless; and in 1780 she eloped with Alfieri, the dramatic poet. Charles died at Rome (January 30, 1788). His younger brother, Henry Benedict, commonly called from his ecclesiastical dignity, "Cardinal York," lived at Rome till 1807, having for many years received a pension from George III.

One of the results of the late war was the founding of Halifax in Nova Scotia, named after the earl of Halifax, president of the Board of Trade. To relieve the great number of discharged soldiers and sailors, they were encouraged to emigrate by a grant of 50 acres to each, a free passage, and immunity from taxes for a period of 10

years. At this time also Pelham seized the opportunity of reducing the national debt, by lowering the rate of interest.

On March 20, 1751, died Frederick, prince of Wales, little regretted. His eldest son, George William Frederick, was now made prince of Wales; and as he was only 11 years of age, while the king was 67, it became necessary to appoint a regency, in the event of a demise of the crown before the prince attained his majority. After considerable debate, a bill was passed appointing his mother, the dowager princess of Wales, guardian of his person and regent of the kingdom; but subject, in the latter capacity, to the control of a council composed of the duke of Cumberland and nine of the principal officers of state at the time of the king's decease. The influence of John Stuart, earl of Bute, now became predominant at Leicester House, the residence of the princess dowager of Wales. Bute possessed many accomplishments, but had no great abilities. He had a fine person, and his political enemies were not slow in misrepresenting the favour he enjoyed, and its motives.

§ 14. On the death of Henry Pelham (March 6, 1754), the duke of Newcastle resolved to be first lord of the treasury himself, and to make Henry Legge, son of the earl of Dartmouth, his chancellor of the exchequer. For the leadership of the House of Commons his choice wavered between William Pitt, Henry Fox, and Murray. But the ambition of the last was directed to the bench. He was the fourth son of lord Stormont, in the Scottish peerage, and had distinguished himself by his eloquence both at the bar and in the House of Commons. Pitt, besides being personally disliked by the king, was laid up at Bath with the gout. The seals were therefore offered to Henry Fox, younger son of sir Stephen Fox, and brother of the first earl of Ilchester. Fox had already some experience in business as secretary at war. He possessed wit and discernment, and, without much eloquence, was a ready debater; but he had not the disinterestedness of Pitt. The negotiation was broken off by a disagreement respecting the disposal of the secret-service money, and the seals were at last given to sir Thomas Robinson, a man of no ability, but entirely at Newcastle's command. That such a man should be set up to lead the House of Commons excited the indignation both of Pitt and Fox, and they united to attack and ridicule him. (Supplement, Note XIII.)

Quarrels had long prevailed, both in the East Indies and in North America, between the French and English settlers, which threatened to produce hostilities between the mother countries. A large French armament, equipped at Brest, was watched by admiral Boscawen, who had orders to attack them in case their destination should be for the bay of St. Lawrence. At a signal from the admiral,

two English vessels had captured two French ships off Newfoundland (June 8, 1755); and some skirmishing had also occurred on the Ohio and near Lake George. The king had as usual gone to Hanover, and these events threw the regency into great perplexity. The duke of Cumberland was anxious to declare war immediately; others desired to wait: the prime minister, as usual, vacillated between both opinions. At length sir Edward Hawke, who was in command of a powerful fleet, received orders to take and destroy every French ship that he could find between Cape Ortegal and Cape Clear—an act which, as no declaration of war had been made, was justly censured as piratical. (Supplement, Note XIV.)

This state of things caused George II. great alarm for his electoral dominions, which he suspected would be seized by his nephew, Frederick of Prussia, whenever a war broke out. He therefore concluded with the landgrave of Hesse, and subsequently with the empress of Russia, subsidiary treaties of the same sort as had already created so much disgust in England. Newcastle's ministry began to totter. In order to support it he applied to Pitt; but that statesman disdained the seals at the price of subserviency to Hanoverian policy. Fox was not so delicate; he engaged to support the treaties: Robinson was dismissed with a pension, and Fox became secretary of state.

The French meanwhile were making vast naval preparations; they threatened a descent upon England, but their real object was Minorca, which had been secured to the English by the treaty of Utrecht. The duke of Newcastle could not be persuaded that the French harboured any such designs. He neglected all necessary precautions till it was too late; and then he sent out 10 ships badly equipped, under admiral Byng, fourth son of George, viscount Torrington. On April 13, 1756, a French fleet of 12 ships of the line, and a large number of transports, having 16,000 troops on board, appeared off Minorca, and threatened Mahon. The castle of St. Philip, which commands the town and harbour, was a strong fortress; but the garrison had been reduced to 3000 men, and lord Tyrawley, the governor, was absent. The defence of the place therefore fell upon general Blakeney, a brave but old and invalid officer.

When Byng hove in sight of St. Philip's, on May 19, the British flag was still flying there. On the following day the French admiral, De la Galissonière, bore down with his whole force. Byng ranged his ships in line of battle; and admiral West, the second in command, engaged with his division and dispersed the ships opposed to him; but Byng kept aloof. On the following morning the French were out of sight. Byng then called a council of war, expressed his determination to retreat, as his force was inferior to that of the

enemy; and, sailing to Gibraltar, he left Minorca to its fate. Nevertheless St. Philip's held out till June 29, when, some of the out-works having been carried, the garrison was obliged to capitulate,

§ 15. The popular indignation at this loss was uncontrollable. The cry was loud against the ministry, but louder still against Byng. Either treachery or cowardice was universally imputed to him, and he was burnt in effigy in all the great towns of the kingdom. The duke of Newcastle, willing to make a scapegoat of Byng, appointed admiral sir Edward Hawke to supersede him, and to send him and West home as prisoners. West was immediately liberated, but a court-martial was held on Byng in the following December, at Portsmouth. He was acquitted of cowardice and of treachery, but condemned, by the 12th article of war, for not having done all in his power to relieve St. Philip's and attack the French. At the same time he was unanimously recommended to mercy. But the popular clamour was too great to allow this recommendation to prevail. He was shot on the quarter-deck of the *Monarque* (March 14, 1757), and met his fate with courage.*

In dread of the impending storm, Newcastle resigned (November 11, 1756). Fox followed him a few days after. Murray, on the death of sir Dudley Ryder, was made lord chief justice, and obtained a peerage with the title of lord Mansfield (October 25). The king was now reluctantly compelled to have recourse to Pitt (December 4); but he had held the seals as secretary of state only for a few months, when the duke of Cumberland persuaded the king to dismiss him and recal Newcastle (March 29, 1757). As Newcastle found it impossible to form a ministry without Pitt's assistance, for Pitt was popular with the nation for opposing the Hanoverian partialities of George II., the king, after various attempts, was obliged to submit to Pitt's terms. Newcastle returned to the treasury, but without one of his own party at the board. Legge was made chancellor of the exchequer; Pitt became secretary of state; his brother-in-law, earl Temple,† privy seal; and Fox condescended to accept the lucrative

* Byng was accompanied by a clergyman and two of his relatives. He was dressed in a light grey coat, white waistcoat, and white stockings, and wore a large white wig, and held in each hand a white handkerchief. Passing from the great cabin to the larboard side of the quarter-deck, he dropped his hat, knelt on a cushion, tied one handkerchief over his eyes, and let the other fall as a signal for the marines to fire.

† Earl Temple (Richard Grenville), born 1711, was the eldest son of Mr. Grenville and countess Temple, to whose title

he succeeded upon her death in 1752. He died without issue in 1779. His only sister, Hester, was married, in 1754, to William Pitt, afterwards earl of Chatham, by whom she became the mother of the younger Pitt.

George Grenville, second brother of earl Temple, was prime minister in the reign of George III., upon the resignation of lord Bute in 1763. (See p. 610.) He was born 1712, and died 1770. He had three distinguished sons: 1. George, who succeeded his uncle as earl Temple, and became marquess of Buckingham; his

office of paymaster of the forces, without a seat in the cabinet (June 29). This was the first ministry of Pitt, who was now 48 years old.

§ 16. It was too late in the season to attempt any enterprise of importance, and an expedition despatched against Rochefort, consisting of 16 ships of the line, with frigates and transports, commanded by sir Edward Hawke, and having on board 10 regiments of foot under general sir John Mordaunt, proved abortive, through the irresolution of the latter. But England had now another war on hand. In the previous year France and Austria had leagued themselves for the partition of Prussia by the treaty of Versailles (May 1, 1756), to which Russia, Saxony, and Sweden afterwards acceded. Apprised of this confederacy through the treachery of a clerk in the Saxon service, Frederick of Prussia was the first to strike a vigorous blow by seizing Dresden. Thus began the SEVEN YEARS' WAR (1756-1763).

Frederick now drew closer his alliance with England; and in April, 1757, the duke of Cumberland proceeded to the continent to fight in his cause, and to defend the electorate. The French, advancing with a large army, compelled the duke to retreat, and overran all Hanover. Supported by four British men-of-war in the Elbe, the duke took refuge under the guns of Stade. In this critical position he appealed to the mediation of the king of Denmark, and was compelled to enter into the convention of Kloster Seven, by which he agreed to dismiss his auxiliaries, withdraw his troops over the Elbe, and disperse them in cantonments, leaving only a garrison in Stade (September 8). Thus Hanover was lost. George II. was as indignant at this failure as Frederick himself, and received his son on his return with the greatest coldness. Offended by this treatment, the victor of Culloden threw up his employments, and lived in comparative obscurity till 1765, when he died in his 45th year. Frederick, reduced to the last extremity, retrieved his affairs by the victories of Rossbach and Leuthen. This success made him popular in England. He was regarded as the protestant hero; and when, early in 1758, Pitt proposed a new convention with Prussia, with a subsidy of 670,000*l.*, it was carried almost unanimously.

§ 17. In 1758 the war raged in all quarters of the world. The brilliant achievements of Clive, which decided whether the empire of India should fall to England or to France, are related in the next

son became duke of Buckingham; 2. Thomas, who held several high offices in the state, and bequeathed to the country his splendid library, now in the British Museum; 3. William Wyndham,

the friend and colleague of the younger Pitt, who was made lord Grenville in 1790, and who became prime minister in 1806. He died in 1834 without issue.

chapter (§ 4). In Africa, the island of Gorce was wrested from the French. In America, Pitt projected the conquest of Cape Breton and St. John's; and a fleet and army were despatched under admiral Boscawen and general (afterwards lord) Amherst. At the same time Wolfe, who had attracted Pitt's notice during the Rochefort expedition, was sent out as second in command, with the title of brigadier-general. In these appointments, Pitt, disregarding seniority, as well as aristocratic and parliamentary interest, was guided by merit alone. The armament was composed of 150 ships and 12,000 soldiers. Louisburg capitulated after a siege of two months (July 26), in which Wolfe distinguished himself. After the fall of the capital, the whole of Cape Breton submitted; and soon after the island of St. John did the same. The name of the latter was changed to Prince Edward's Island, in honour of the next brother of the prince of Wales.

A secret expedition against Cherbourg was planned by Pitt, under commodore Howe and lord Anson, with 20,000 soldiers and marines, commanded by Charles, second duke of Marlborough, and lord George Sackville. The attempt partially failed, but was renewed with more success in August, under general Bligh, accompanied by prince Edward. When the troops landed, the town was found to be deserted. The forts and basin were destroyed, together with 170 pieces of iron cannon, and 22 brass guns were carried off. The troops were then landed near St. Malo; but the duke d'Aiguillon coming up with superior forces, the English re-embarked in precipitation, and 1000 men of the rear-guard were either killed or made prisoners.

By these exploits, the attention of the French was diverted from the campaign in Germany. Prince Ferdinand of Brunswick not only drove them out of Hanover, but even over the Rhine, whither he followed them, and gained on the left bank a victory at Crefeld; but the advance of the prince de Soubise obliged him to fall back on Münster. Frederick had achieved brilliant successes, chequered by a disastrous defeat inflicted on him at Hochkirchen by the Austrian generals Daun and Laudon (October 14).

§ 18. In 1759 the arms of England were successful by sea and land. The French, though scarcely able to defend their own coasts, threatened an invasion, and made preparations in Havre, Toulon, and other ports; but in July admiral Rodney bombarded Havre, and did great damage to the town, destroying many of their flat-bottomed boats; whilst the Toulon fleet was dispersed with loss by admiral Boscawen, off Lagos in Algarve. Another fleet under sir Edward Hawke blockaded Brest, and a squadron of observation hovered near Dunkirk. Hawke gained a signal victory (November

20) near Quiberon, over a French fleet under De Conflans, consisting of 21 sail of the line and four frigates. Hawke's fleet, which was rather stronger, sunk or burnt three of the Frenchmen and captured two; the others, more or less damaged, succeeded in getting into the river Vilaine.

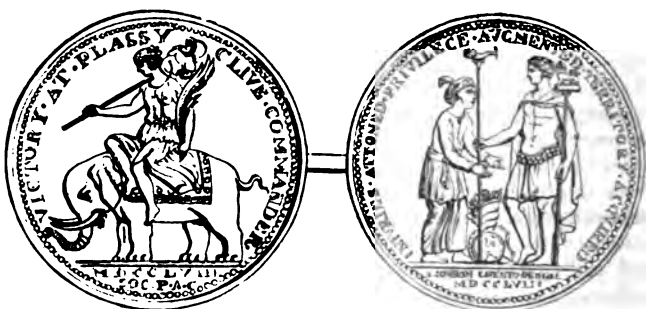
Frederick sustained a terrible defeat this year at Kunersdorf, near Frankfort-on-the-Oder; but from want of cordiality between the Anstrians and Russians, its consequences did not prove very disastrous. On the other hand, prince Ferdinand, who had in his army 10,000 or 12,000 English troops under lord George Sackville, was more fortunate. He failed indeed in an attack on the French position at Bergen; but he more than retrieved this reverse by the brilliant victory of Minden (August 1), which would have been still more complete had Sackville, who commanded the cavalry, obeyed the orders to charge the routed enemy. Loud clamours were raised against him, both in England and Germany, and Pitt dismissed Sackville from all his employments.

But the chief success this year was achieved in Canada. The French had colonized that province in the reign of Francis I., but it was not till the following century that the cities of Quebec and Montreal rose to importance. Pitt proposed a plan of invasion by three separate divisions, which were to unite at Quebec. One of these, composed of colonists and Indians under general Prideaux and sir William Johnson, was to advance by way of Niagara and Lake Ontario towards Montreal; another, of 8000 men, under the command of general Wolfe, was to proceed up the St. Lawrence, and lay siege to Quebec; whilst in the centre the main army under general Amherst was to attack Ticonderoga, secure the navigation of Lake Champlain, and, proceeding by the river Richelieu, form a junction with Wolfe.

The first and last of these expeditions succeeded as far as they went. Niagara and Ticonderoga were captured, but it was too late in the season to form a junction with Wolfe. The fleet of admiral Saunders carried Wolfe safely to the Isle of Orleans, opposite Quebec, where the army disembarked on June 27, 1759. Wolfe formed a lodgment on the westernmost point of the island, where Quebec rose to his view, strong in its natural position, but without artificial defences. It is washed on two sides by the rivers St. Charles and St. Lawrence, whose banks are almost inaccessible, while a little below the town the Montmorency falls into the St. Lawrence. The entrance of the harbour is defended by a sand-bank; the castle of St. Louis commands the approaches; and above the city rise from the St. Lawrence the rugged Heights of Abraham. Quebec at that time contained a population of about

7000; but it had a cathedral, a bishop's palace, and other public buildings. The marquis de Montcalm, the French governor of Canada, a distinguished officer, lay with an army of 10,000 men, chiefly Canadian colonists or native Indians, outside the city, on the line called Beauport, between the rivers St. Charles and Montmorency. The ground was steep; in his front lay the Montmorency; his rear was protected by dense woods, and every open space had been fortified. As Wolfe's attempts to draw Montcalm from this position failed, it only remained to attack him in his entrenchments. Repulsed in an assault on July 31, Wolfe determined on the hazardous exploit of proceeding up the St. Lawrence and scaling the Heights of Abraham, though, through deaths, sickness, and the necessary detachments for securing important points, he could muster no more than 4500 men. Early in the morning of September 13, the troops were silently conveyed by the tide in boats to a small cove, now called Wolfe's Cove, overhung by lofty rocks. As they rowed along to this place, Wolfe repeated in a low voice to the officers in the boat with him Gray's beautiful "Elegy in a Country Churchyard," adding at the end, "Now, gentlemen, I would rather be the author of that poem than take Quebec." Wolfe himself was one of the first to leap ashore. The precipitous path was climbed; an outpost of the enemy fled in alarm; and at daybreak the British army stood arrayed upon the heights, but without cavalry, and having no more than a single gun. Montcalm was now obliged to abandon his position and advance to give battle. The English, by Wolfe's direction, reserved their fire till the enemy were within 40 yards, and then delivered a well-directed and destructive volley. Many fell, the rest wavered; Wolfe, though wounded in the wrist, seized the favourable moment, and springing forwards ordered his grenadiers to charge. At this instant he was struck by another ball in the groin, and shortly after by a third in the breast, which caused him to fall, and he was conveyed to the rear. Before he breathed his last, an officer who was standing by exclaimed, "See, they run!" "Who run?" eagerly cried Wolfe. "The enemy," cried the officer. "Then God be praised!" said Wolfe, "I shall die happy;" and immediately expired. Thus fell this gallant officer at the early age of 33. Montcalm, the French commander, was also mortally wounded. Quebec capitulated on September 17; the French garrison was conveyed by agreement to the nearest French port; and in the following year the conquest of all Canada was achieved.

This event threw a lustre over the close of the reign of George II., which in other respects had not been inglorious. He died suddenly on October 25, 1760, at the age of 77, from the bursting of the right ventricle of the heart.



Medal commemorating Battle of Plassey.

Obv.: VICTORY . AT . PLASSEY CLIVE . COMMANDER. Victory without wings, bearing trophy and palm, seated on elephant, to left. Below, MDCCLVIII.
SOC. P. A. C.
Rev.: INJURIES . ATTONED . PRIVILEGE . AUGMENTED . TERRITORY . ACQUIRED. Clive, in Roman costume, giving a sceptre to an Indian. Below, A BOVHAN GIVEN TO BENGAL.
MDCCLVIII.
(In imitation of the REX PARTHUS DATVS, and the like, of the Roman imperial coinage).

CHAPTER XXXI.

GEORGE III., b. 1738; r. 1760-1820.

FROM THE KING'S ACCESSION TO THE RECOGNITION OF AMERICAN INDEPENDENCE, AND THE PEACE OF VERSAILLES, A.D. 1760-1783.

§ 1. Accession of George III., and settlement of the government. King's marriage and coronation. § 2. State of the campaign. Negotiations. Pitt resigns. § 3. War with Spain. Lord Bute's administration. Peace of Fontainebleau. § 4. Rise and progress of the Indian empire. § 5. Unpopularity of lord Bute. Wilkes and the *North Briton*, No. XLV. General warrants. § 6. Grenville's American Stamp Act. § 7. Lord Rockingham prime minister. Succeeded by lord Chatham. Lord North's American taxes. § 8. Proceedings against Wilkes. Disturbances in America. Lord North prime minister. Royal Marriage Act. § 9. Effect of the tea duties in America. Commencement of the rebellion. Skirmish at Lexington. Battle of Bunker's Hill. § 10. Attempts at conciliation. American independence. Progress of the war. § 11. La Fayette. Philadelphia taken. Capitulation of Saratoga. Treaty between France and the Americans. § 12. Death of Chatham. § 13. The French fleet in America. Actions in the Channel. Spain joins the French and Americans. Paul Jones. § 14. Lord George Gordon's riots. § 15. Rodney's victory at Cape St. Vincent. The "Armed Neutrality." American campaign. Battles of Camden and Eutaw Springs. Capitulation of York Town. § 16. Naval engagements. Losses and disasters. Lord Rockingham's second ministry. Independence of the Irish parliament. Parliamentary reform. § 17. Rodney's victory in the West Indies. Lord Shelburne's ministry.

Foundering of the *Royal George*. Siege of Gibraltar. § 18. Treaty with America, and recognition of American independence. Peace of Versailles.

§ 1. THE young prince who now ascended the throne of his grandfather, with the title of George III., was 22 years of age. His person was tall and strongly built, his countenance open and engaging. In his first address to the parliament he inserted, with his own hand, the words "Born and educated in this country, I glory in the name of Briton"—an expression which could not but awaken a cordial echo in a nation governed by foreigners during the greater part of a century. His conduct answered to his professions. The party distinctions which had prevailed during the reign of his grandfather seemed to be forgotten; the Jacobites, who had absented themselves, returned to court, and some of the principal of them obtained places in the royal household. The old ministers were retained; but it was soon evident that the earl of Bute would be the king's principal adviser, and both he and prince Edward, the king's next brother, were made privy councillors. After the dissolution of parliament (December 23), the seals of secretary of state were transferred from lord Holderness to lord Bute—a step in which Pitt acquiesced, though he had not been consulted. At the same time Legge vacated the chancellorship of the exchequer, and was succeeded by lord Barrington; and lord Henley, who after the resignation of lord Hardwicke had been made lord keeper only, now became lord chancellor.

Next year the king contracted a marriage with Charlotte, second sister of the duke of Mecklenburg Strelitz, then only 17 years of age. In person she was short, thin, and pale; but she was sensible, cheerful, and good-tempered. The king is said to have been captivated by a spirited letter which she wrote to Frederic of Prussia, beseeching him to spare her country. She arrived at St. James's September 8, 1761, and the marriage was celebrated on the same day. The coronation followed (September 22).

§ 2. During the last two or three years the campaign in Germany had proceeded with varied success; and on the whole the contending parties stood much in the same position. The British contingents, under the marquess of Granby and general Conway, had made some atonement for the disgrace of lord Sackville at Minden. The losses sustained by France had made that country sincerely desirous of peace. Its affairs were now conducted by the duke de Choiseul, always, however, under the control of Madame de Pompadour, the mistress of Louis XV. A conference at Angsburg was agreed to by all the belligerents; but between France and England Choiseul preferred a separate negotiation; and with this view M. de

Bussy was accredited to London, and Mr. Hans Stanley to Paris. To strengthen his negotiations, Pitt sent an expedition under commodore Keppel, with 9000 troops under general Hodgson, against Belleisle, a barren island, strongly fortified, on the coast of Brittany. Belleisle was taken (June 7); and it was considered that it might be set off against Minorca, not for its importance, but as a point of honour in the sight of France. Good news also arrived from other quarters. The island of Dominica had been reduced by lord Rolls; and in the east Pondicherry had been captured, the last of the French strongholds in India.

Choiseul might probably have yielded all the points demanded by Pitt, had not the court of France been supported by that of Madrid. Ferdinand VI. had died in 1759; and his brother Charles, formerly king of Naples, now ruled Spain and the Indies with the title of Charles III. He had been obliged to relinquish Naples to his third son Ferdinand, as by the treaty of Vienna the crowns of Spain and Naples could not be united on the same head. Charles naturally regarded the French Bourbons as the head of his house. He was desirous of acting with them, and he had besides several causes of complaint against England. He now proposed that the contemplated peace between England and France should be guaranteed by Spain, and that at the same time certain claims of Spain on England should be adjusted. Pitt at once refused, and the court of Spain was informed that no negotiations could be opened with it through the medium of France. In consequence of this refusal the FAMILY COMPACT, as it was called, was concluded (August 15, 1761). France and Spain mutually agreed to regard for the future the enemy of either as the enemy of both, and to guarantee their respective dominions. The king of Naples too, as a Bourbon, also acceded to this alliance. A secret convention was also entered into, that in case England and France should be still at war on May 1, 1762, Spain should declare war against England, in consideration of which France should restore Minorca to Spain.

As soon as Pitt obtained certain intelligence of this agreement, he strongly advised that the Spanish declaration should be anticipated. He urged the importance of striking the first blow against Spain, and he showed that expense would be saved by taking the Spaniards unawares, and seizing their merchantmen and treasure-ships; but in this daring counsel he could find none to second him, except his relative Temple. They consequently tendered their resignations, which were received by the king with many gracious expressions towards Pitt (October 5, 1761). Thus fell an administration which had raised England to a great pitch of military glory. Pitt was offered the governorship of Canada, without residence, and

5000*l.* a year; or the duchy of Lancaster, with about the same emolument. These offers he rather haughtily refused, but he accepted the title of baroness Chatham for his wife, lady Hester Pitt, and a pension of 3000*l.* per annum for three lives—his own, lady Chatham's, and their eldest son's. Pitt's retirement paved the way for lord Bute.

§ 3. Pitt's anticipations were fulfilled. No sooner were the Spanish West Indiamen safe in harbour, than the Spaniards began to alter their tone; and before the close of the year the ambassadors on both sides were dismissed from London and Madrid. Before his departure, the Spanish minister inveighed against Pitt by name, in an angry memorial which he presented to lord Egremont, the new secretary. War was declared against Spain (January 4, 1762). Shortly afterwards France and Spain made a joint demand on Portugal to renounce her neutrality, and large bodies of Spanish troops were collected on the Portuguese frontiers to enforce it. The king of Portugal gave a spirited refusal, and applied to England for assistance, which Bute, in spite of his pacific policy, could not refuse.

The duke of Newcastle still continued at the head of the treasury, though the chief share of power fell to Bute. But as Bute had refused to support the king of Prussia and had withdrawn the subsidy, Newcastle tendered his resignation, and was surprised to find it accepted (May 14, 1762). Bute was advanced to be first lord of the treasury; George Grenville became secretary of state in his stead, and sir Francis Dashwood was made chancellor of the exchequer. Bute's rapid promotion procured him many enemies. A strong whig phalanx, headed by Pitt, was arrayed against him. Wilkes, who was now beginning to emerge into notice, directed popular indignation against him in the *North Briton*, and was assisted by his friend and fellow-satirist, the poet Churchill.

The thoughts of Bute were constantly directed towards peace, though the arms of Great Britain and her allies had been successful on every side. In Germany, Frederick and prince Ferdinand had been victorious. In Portugal, the British troops under Burgoyne had arrested the progress of the Spaniards. In the West Indies, an armament under admiral Rodney and general Monckton had taken Martinique in January. Grenada, St. Lucia, and St. Vincent, subsequently surrendered; Guadaloupe had been taken in 1759, and thus the whole of the Caribbees were now in the power of England. The Havannah also capitulated after a desperate siege, where the booty, in treasure and merchandise, was computed at three millions (August 12). About the same time, in the eastern hemisphere, Manilla, the capital of the Philippine Islands, was taken; and several rich Spanish prizes were captured at sea.

In spite of these brilliant successes, overtures for a peace, made through the neutral court of Sardinia, were readily caught at. Bute seems to have been alarmed at the great increase of the national debt, which had doubled during the war, and now amounted to 132,600,000*l*. A treaty, concluded at Paris (February 10, 1763), put an end to the Seven Years' War. By the peace of Paris Minorca was exchanged for Belleisle; the provinces of Nova Scotia, Cape Breton, and Canada were ceded to England; the islands of Guadaloupe, Martinique, and St. Lucia were restored; but Tobago, Dominica, St. Vincent, and Grenada were retained. These were the principal provisions with regard to the interests of England. By a clause in the treaty, all conquests made in any part of the world during the negotiations were to be given up. This involved the cession of the Havannah and Manilla, the conquest of which was not yet known. Bute seemed inclined to yield them without an equivalent; and it was only at the pressing instance of George Grenville and lord Egremont that Florida or Porto Rico was demanded in return. The former was readily conceded.

§ 4. Among the places restored to the French was also Pondicherry in the East Indies; but they could never recover their lost influence in that country, and soon after this their East India Company was dissolved. The genius and courage of Clive had now converted an association of traders into the rulers of a large and magnificent empire. Though established in the latter part of Elizabeth's reign, it was not till the time of Charles II. that the East India Company made any considerable advances in wealth and power. Charles granted them a new charter, conveying many exclusive rights and privileges, and also ceded to them the settlement of Bombay, which he had received as a marriage portion with Catherine of Braganza. Fort St. George and the town of Madras had already been founded in the Carnatic. The first English factories were settled at Bantam and Surat, but were subsequently abandoned. At the period of the Revolution a new company was instituted, the rivalry of which produced much mischief, till the two were amalgamated in 1702. In 1698, a grant of land on rent having been obtained from Aurungzebe, the Mogul emperor, at Chutternuttee, on the river Hooghly, Fort William was erected, under shelter of which the town of Calcutta, ultimately expanded into the magnificent capital of modern India. Thus, before the accession of the house of Hanover, the three presidencies of Madras (Fort St. George), Calcutta (Fort William), and Bombay, had already been erected; but no central government yet existed. These settlements had but little territory attached to them, and often trembled for their own safety.

The French, who had established an East India Company in the

reign of Louis XIV., were our only formidable rivals in India. The Portuguese were our allies, and their power was but small; the Dutch confined their attention chiefly to Java and the neighbouring islands. The French had two important settlements: Chandernagore on the Hooghly, higher up than Fort William; and Pondicherry on the coast of the Carnatic, about 80 miles south of Madras. They also possessed two fertile islands in the Indian Ocean: the Isle of Bourbon, and Mauritius or the Isle of France. The wars of the mother countries extended to these colonies. In 1746 the French under La Bourdonnais took Madras; and Dupleix, governor of Pondicherry, in violation of the terms of the capitulation, carried the principal inhabitants to that town, and paraded them through the streets in triumph. Madras was restored at the peace of Aix-la-Chapelle. During the peace, Dupleix, by intrigues with the native princes, endeavoured to extend the French empire in India at the expense of the English; but he was encountered by the superior genius and valour of Clive, a writer or clerk, who had been among the captives of Madras. The taking of Arcot, the victory over Rajah Sahib at Arnee, the capture of the Great Pagoda, were some of the wonderful exploits of that merchant-soldier. After a two years' visit to England for the sake of his health, Clive returned to India in 1755, with the rank of lieutenant-colonel in the king's service, and his appointment from the company as governor of Fort St. David.

His abilities were soon called into action. Surajah Dowlah, viceroy of Bengal, had taken Calcutta, and thrust the English inhabitants, to the number of 146, into a small and loathsome dungeon known as the Black Hole, where in one night 123 of them were stifled (June 20, 1756). But a signal vengeance followed. In January, 1757, Clive, with an army of 900 Europeans and 1500 sepoy, retook Calcutta; kept at bay the Surajah's army of 40,000 men, and compelled him to make peace. Shortly after Clive took Chandernagore, as before related. His next exploit was to defeat the Surajah Dowlah at **PLASSY** (1757). The nabob had 50,000 men and 40 pieces of cannon, Clive only 1000 Europeans and 2000 sepoy, with eight field-pieces and two howitzers; yet the rout was complete, and the Surajah lost all his artillery and baggage. This victory decided the fate of India, and laid the foundation of our empire. Meer Jaffier, a rebellious vassal of the Surajah's, was installed in the capital of Moorshedabad as nabob of Bengal, Orissa, and Bahar; his predecessor was put to death, and the new nabob ceded to the English all the land within the Mahratta ditch or fortification round Calcutta, and all the country from Calcutta to the sea. Clive was now made governor of Bengal

by the East India Company. In return for Clive's assistance against the emperor of Delhi, Meer Jaffier presented him with a domain worth 27,000*l.* a year. In 1760 Clive returned to England, having previously defeated an attempt of the Dutch upon Calcutta. He received an Irish peerage as lord Clive and baron Plassey, and obtained a seat in the House of Commons.

The hostilities between the French and English in India, after the declaration of war in 1758, have already been related, to which it may be added that the defeat of Lally Tollendal by sir Eyre Coote, at Wandewash, and the surrender of Pondicherry (January 17, 1761), secured the Carnatic. The further history of India will be resumed hereafter.

§ 5. As Grenville was deficient in those qualities which are required for the leadership of the House of Commons, he was prevailed upon with great reluctance to make way for Fox, and to exchange the post of secretary of state for that of first lord of the admiralty. The seals were conferred upon the earl of Halifax, Fox still remaining paymaster of the forces, with a seat in the cabinet. Out of doors the peace was very unpopular. Bute was hissed and pelted. But, in spite of a bitter invective against it by Pitt, the address was carried by a large majority in the commons. Another cause of lord Bute's unpopularity was his Scotch descent. Wilkes branded him with the epithet of *favourite*. In some of the rural districts he was burnt under the effigy of a *jack-boot*, a rustic allusion to his name (Bute); and on more than one occasion when he walked the streets, he was accused of being surrounded by prize-fighters. These symptoms of popular dislike drove him to resign (April 8, 1763), to the surprise of all. Fox was at the same time raised to the upper house with the title of lord Holland, still, however, retaining his office. Bute was succeeded by George Grenville, who became first lord of the treasury and chancellor of the exchequer * (April 16). The two secretaries of state were lords Egremont and Halifax.

Parliament was prorogued by a speech from the throne, in which the king adverted to the late peace as honourable to the crown and beneficial to the people (April 18). This was immediately attacked in the *North Briton* (April 23), in the celebrated No. 45. Grenville was impolitic enough to order the prosecution both of author and publisher; and to this circumstance the article owed its notoriety, for it did not equal, either in ability or virulence, many of the preceding numbers. On April 30, Wilkes was arrested in

* "Lord Bute," said Warburton, his political opponent, "is a very unfit man to be prime minister of England. First, he is a Scotchman; secondly, he is the king's friend; and thirdly, he is an honest man."

his own house by virtue of what was called "a general warrant," that is, a warrant not specifying any particular person, but directed against "the authors, printers, and publishers" of the obnoxious paper. His papers were seized at the same time, and he was committed to the Tower. On May 6 he was brought before chief justice Pratt, who, without pronouncing any opinion on general warrants, discharged him on the ground that his offence did not destroy his privilege as a member of parliament.

In the next session, which opened November 15, Wilkes took his seat as usual. Warm debates ensued in the commons. It was voted that No. 45 was a false, scandalous, and malicious libel, and it was ordered to be burnt by the hangman (December 3). The attempt to execute this sentence in the Royal Exchange produced a serious riot. A jack-boot and a petticoat, the latter denoting the princess of Wales, were thrown into the fire prepared for the paper, the mob shouting "Wilkes and liberty for ever!" A few days after, he recovered 1000*l.* damages against Mr. Wood, the under-secretary of state, for seizing his papers (December 6). Some delay was occasioned in the measures against Wilkes from his having been wounded in a duel by Mr. Martin, who challenged him on account of a libel in some former numbers of the *North Briton*. Wilkes fled to Paris, and at length was expelled from the house by a unanimous vote (January 19, 1764). On February 21, a verdict was obtained against him, both for No. 45, and for an obscene and scurrilous pamphlet, called an "Essay on Woman," a parody of Pope's "Essay on Man," containing reflections on lord Sandwich, secretary of state, bishop Warburton, and others. Wilkes remaining still abroad, and not appearing to receive judgment, was outlawed. Wilkes's case derives its chief importance from the question which it raised respecting the legality of general warrants. Chief justice Pratt and the most eminent lawyers of the day declared them illegal from their form, their tenor being to apprehend all persons guilty of a certain crime, thus assuming a guilt which remained to be proved. For the present, however, the government had influence enough to postpone a resolution to that effect being carried in the commons.

§ 6. Another impolitic step of Grenville's, but attended with far more momentous consequences, was that of extending the Stamp Act to the North American colonies. The late war had been very expensive; and, as it had been partly undertaken for the defence of those colonies, it occurred to Grenville that they might not unjustly be called upon to bear a part of the burthen. He consulted the agents of the several North American colonies in London upon his project, inquired whether any other tax would be more agree-

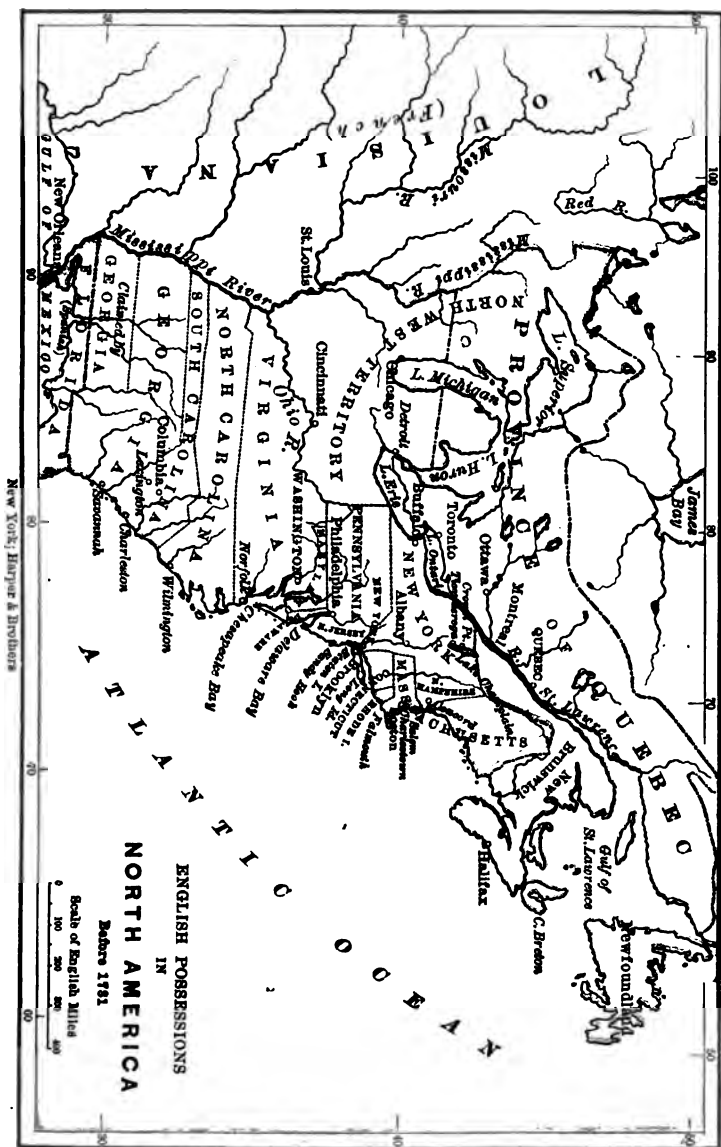
able to them, and gave a year's notice of his plan by a resolution entered on the Journals of the Commons in March, 1764.

The American colonies had been continually increasing in strength and prosperity, and at this time they consisted of 13 states, with a population of about two millions of whites, and half a million of coloured people. They were—1-4. The New England colonies, settled by the puritans, consisting of the four states of Massachusetts, New Hampshire, Connecticut, and Rhode Island; 5. New York; 6. New Jersey; 7. Pennsylvania; 8. Delaware; 9. Maryland; 10. Virginia; 11, 12. The two states of North and South Carolina; and 13. Georgia. Each of these colonies was governed on the English model, and had a House of Assembly elected by the people. There was also a governor appointed by the crown, and a council. In Connecticut the governor was elective.

Hitherto the mother country and her colonies had lived in tolerable harmony; but at this time the Americans were in a distressed and irritable condition. They were suffering from the effects of a terrible border war with the Indians; they considered themselves aggrieved by new duties imposed on their foreign trade, as well as by the stringent regulations by which their illicit traffic with the Spanish colonies was repressed. All were opposed to a stamp act, which from its nature was far more obnoxious than any custom-house duties. The latter might be regarded as imperial, the former was a sort of local excise. They refused to suggest any substitute, but based their opposition on the broad principle, that there should be no taxation without representation, and that they were not represented in the House of Commons. They intimated however a wish that, as in former instances, a letter from the secretary of state, in the king's name, requiring contributions for his service, should be laid before the different Houses of Assembly. It is possible that such a project might have succeeded, partially at least, for a short time longer, and have produced 100,000*l.* a year, as much as was expected from the Stamp Act.

In February, 1765, the measure passed through parliament. It attracted little or no notice. Pitt was absent; Barré alone raised his voice against it, and was languidly supported by three or four more. Nobody suspected that this little spark would burst out into a vast and inextinguishable flame. Even Dr. Franklin, the agent for Pennsylvania, one of the chief and ablest representatives of the views of the colonists, expected little else than acquiescence from his countrymen. (Supplement, Note XV.)

Far different was the spirit which the act excited in some parts of America. It was reprinted with a death's head at top in place of the king's arms, and was hawked about under the title of "The





Folly of England and Ruin of America." The vessels in Boston harbour hoisted their colours half-mast high, and the muffled bells of the churches tolled out a death-knell. The Virginian House of Assembly, roused by the eloquence of Patrick Henry, took the lead in opposition, and drew up a series of resolutions, accompanied by a petition to the king, denying the right of the mother country to tax the colonists without their consent. Most of the other assemblies followed this example, and a general congress was appointed to meet at New York in October, when resolutions and petitions, much the same as those of Virginia, were adopted. In some parts associations were formed against the importation or use of British manufactures; and presently a small party began to appear, who promulgated their views of a federal republic. When the ships arrived with the stamps, it became necessary to stow them away in some place of safety. Nobody would use them, and the persons who had been appointed distributors resigned their posts.

§ 7. While these things were going on, the author of the mischief had been compelled to resign his office. On the 12th of January, 1765, George III. was attacked with a severe illness, accompanied with symptoms of that dreadful malady which darkened his later years. On his recovery, in April, he was the first to propose a regency. The ministers wished to leave out his mother's name, and the king had been surprised into giving his consent, on the assurance that, if it were inserted in the bill, it would be struck out by the House of Commons. It was unanimously restored by the house. But the king's mind was alienated from Grenville in consequence of his behaviour on this occasion, and shortly after he entered into negotiations with Pitt and Temple. On their refusal, the king applied to the marquess of Rockingham. This nobleman, who was descended from a sister of the famous earl of Strafford, and thus inherited his great estates, now became first lord of the treasury (July 13, 1765). Rockingham was one of the greatest landholders in England. Without possessing any shining talents, his judgment was sound and his character honourable. His chief passion was horse-racing. Under him the duke of Grafton and general Conway became secretaries of state; Mr. William Dowdeswell, chancellor of the exchequer; and the veteran duke of Newcastle was propitiated with the privy seal. Pitt was conciliated by the raising of his confidential friend, chief justice Pratt, to the peerage, with the title of lord Camden.

The state of America was very embarrassing for the new ministry. To withdraw the Stamp Act was regarded as an evil precedent and a confession of weakness: to press it would be painful, and might lead to dangerous consequences. The vigour with which Pitt de-

nounced Grenville and attacked his measure, in the session of 1766, decided the cabinet. They brought in two bills: one to repeal the Stamp Act, the other declaring the power of parliament over the colonies to be supreme. Both measures were carried. The majority of the colonists were still loyal, and the news of the repeal of the obnoxious act was received with great satisfaction in America. It was not, however, in human nature but that some soreness should be left behind, as well as a still more dangerous feeling of secret triumph at this recognition of their strength. (Sup. N. XVI.)

Rockingham adopted other measures of a popular nature. A silk bill, introduced by the late ministry, had occasioned serious riots in the preceding year among the Spitalfields weavers; siege had been laid to the duke of Bedford's house in Bloomsbury-square, and it became necessary to disperse the rioters by means of the military. Rockingham now restrained the importation of foreign silks. He also repealed the unpopular cider-tax, obtained a resolution of the House of Commons declaring general warrants illegal, and another condemning the seizure of papers in cases of libel. The ministry, however, was tottering through internal weakness; lord Northington, the chancellor, told the king at the end of the session that they could not go on, and advised him to send for Mr. Pitt. This time Pitt accepted office, and succeeded in forming a ministry; but, to the surprise of all, he reserved for himself the office of privy seal, with a peerage as earl of Chatham (July 30, 1766). Pitt named the duke of Grafton as head of the treasury; Charles Townshend became chancellor of the exchequer; general Conway continued secretary of state and leader of the House of Commons, with the earl of Shelburne* as his colleague; and lord Camden was made chancellor.

The prospect of Pitt's support in the House of Commons had been the chief inducement with most of the ministers to take office, and they were naturally much disappointed to find themselves deprived of it by his elevation to the peerage. "This fatal title," writes Walpole, "blasted all the affection which his country had borne to him." To increase his mortification, his ministry was assailed by the most scurrilous lampooners, hounded on by the ceaseless malignancy of Temple. Disappointment at his proceedings did not end here. He appeared but seldom even in the lords; and in the spring of 1767 he was so prostrated by the gout or some mysterious malady, that he would neither see any one of his colleagues on the most urgent business, nor attend to business.

* William Petty, 2nd earl of Shelburne, in the Irish peerage, and 2nd Baron Wycombe, in England, became prime minister in 1782 (see p. 631), and was created marquess of Lansdowne in 1784.

Edmund Burke, who was now rising into eminence, adverted to him in one of his speeches as a great invisible power—a being so immeasurably high that not even his own cabinet could get access to him.* In his absence the opposition carried a motion to reduce the land-tax, by which the revenue was deprived of half a million. To repair this loss, Charles Townshend resolved to raise a revenue in America by small taxes on tea, glass, paper, and painters' colours, the whole amount of which would not exceed 40,000*l.* a year. He died in the following September, in the 41st year of his age, and lord North accepted the vacant office of chancellor of the exchequer (December 1). Changes soon after occurred in the ministry, and the new office of colonial secretary was established, in which the earl of Hillsborough † was installed (January, 1768).

§ 8. In the elections of 1768 for a new parliament, the second of this reign, Wilkes, who was still under a sentence of outlawry, being rejected by the city of London, contrived to obtain his return as member for Middlesex (April 20). He was committed to prison. On the road a vast mob removed the horses from his coach and drew it to a tavern on Cornhill. But Wilkes effected his escape, and delivered himself up at the King's Bench prison. Parliament met on May 10, when a vast concourse assembled in St. George's Fields, expecting to see Wilkes emerge from confinement on his way to the House of Commons; but being disappointed in their hopes, they became ungovernable, and were fired on by the soldiers. To add to the disorders, the sailors and coal-heavers had risen in a body, filling the whole city with consternation. On June 18 Wilkes's sentence of outlawry was reversed by lord Mansfield; but the original verdicts were confirmed, and Wilkes was sentenced to two years' imprisonment, computed from the day of his arrest, and to pay two fines of 500*l.* each for No. 45 and the "Essay on Woman." Wilkes appealed to the House of Commons, but it pronounced him guilty of an insolent libel, for publishing a letter of lord Weymouth's, now secretary of state, to the magistrates of Surrey, accompanied with some caustic remarks. On the motion of lord Barrington he was expelled the house for the second time (February 3, 1769). His popularity was undiminished. In the city he had been elected alderman of Farringdon Without; and

* In a letter written to a private friend the year before, Burke says of him: "A few days will show whether he will take this part, or that of continuing on his back at Hayes, talking fashion, excluded from all ministerial and incapable of all parliamentary service; for his gout is worse than ever, but his pride may dis-

able him worse than his gout."—"Correspondence." i. 341. Whether it was gout or mortified pride which determined Chatham's strange conduct on this occasion, it is not easy to decide.

† Wills Hill, first earl of Hillsborough, created marquess of Downshire in Ireland in 1799; ancestor of the present marquess

when the election for Middlesex came on, he was again unanimously returned (February 16). The House insisted on his exclusion (February 17). A third time he was returned (March 16), and a third time the House of Commons declared him ineligible (March 17), and ordered a new writ to be issued. Their tactics were now changed. Wilkes was opposed by colonel Luttrell (April 13); and the house pronounced Luttrell duly elected, though Wilkes had a great majority (April 16). So ended "the fifth act of this tragic-comedy," as Burke called it. But though the ministers carried their point, they had rendered Wilkes the idol of the nation. In the autumn he brought an action against lord Halifax for having seized his papers, and obtained 4000*l.* damages (November 10).

Meanwhile Townshend's ill-advised taxes had revived in the North American colonies all the animosity occasioned by the Stamp Act. In this opposition the state of Massachusetts took the lead. A violent altercation arose between the House of Assembly and Bernard the governor, who finally, by lord Hillsborough's instructions, dissolved the Assembly (July 1, 1768). Riots of the most serious description ensued at Boston. The other American states, though not so violent, displayed a sort of passive resistance. Associations were formed calling themselves "Sons of Liberty," and even "Daughters of Liberty," to enter into non-importation agreements, and forbear the use of tea. Subsequently it became customary to strip those who refused to enter into these agreements, and to cover them with tar and feathers. (Supplement, Note XVII.)

The cabinet now deemed it prudent to propose a repeal of the obnoxious taxes; but lord North, at the suggestion of lord Hillsborough, supported the tea-duties, merely as a question of right. Lord Hillsborough communicated the determination of the ministry in a circular to the governors of the North American colonies, but in terms so ungracious, as only served to increase the irritation. Chatham, who had held aloof from the administration, resigned (October 15, 1768), and the duke of Grafton, first lord of the Treasury, became the recognized premier. In July, 1769, Chatham was able to attend the king's levee, and when parliament opened in January, 1770, he appeared in his place and denounced in severe terms both the foreign and the American policy of the ministers, all of whom had been his own chosen colleagues in office a few weeks before. Shortly after Grafton resigned, and North accepted the place of first lord of the treasury, in addition to that of chancellor of the exchequer, and thus became prime minister.

As two of the king's brothers, the dukes of Cumberland and Gloucester, had contracted marriages, the former with Mrs. Horton, sister of colonel Luttrell, the latter with an illegitimate daughter

of sir Edward Walpole, the king caused the Royal Marriage Bill to be introduced into the House of Lords. By this act every prince or princess, the descendant of George II., except only the issue of princesses married abroad, is prohibited from marrying without the king's consent before attaining the age of 25. After that age they may be relieved from the king's veto if, after formal notice to the privy council, parliament expresses no disapprobation of the proposed marriage within 12 months (1772). This statute still remains in force.

§ 9. With the exception of some disturbances in Massachusetts, no great disaffection appeared in America. The colonists apparently acquiesced in the tea-duty, which was only 3*d.* per pound. But in 1773 an act was committed which, though far from being so intended, finally estranged the American colonies. The East India Company had contracted a large debt. An enormous stock of tea was accumulated in their warehouses, for which they could find no sale. In order to relieve them by procuring a market for their stock, lord North now proposed that the tea exported to America, which had a drawback of only three-fifths of the duty paid in England, should have a drawback of the whole duty, thus leaving it subject only to the 3*d.* duty in America. This appeared to be a boon, not only to the East India Company, but also to the American colonists, as it would enable them to purchase their tea at a cheaper rate than they could obtain it even before the 3*d.* duty was imposed. Accordingly the East India Company freighted several ships with tea, and appointed consignees in America for its sale. Meanwhile events had occurred which embittered the feeling of the colonists against England. Mr. Thomas Whately, Grenville's private secretary, and under-secretary of state to lord Suffolk, had been engaged in a private correspondence with Hutchinson, governor of Massachusetts, Oliver, the lieutenant-governor, and other officers of the crown in that province. After Whately died, these letters were purloined, and were confidentially communicated to Dr. Franklin. At Franklin's earnest solicitations, and on his solemn vow of secrecy, they were forwarded to Boston, to be shown, as he promised, only to a few influential friends, and no others. No copies were to be taken. The promise was not observed. The letters were formally laid before the House of Assembly of Massachusetts; they were voted subversive of the constitution, and printed, and a petition was drawn up for the removal of Hutchinson and Oliver. The matter was subsequently referred to the privy council, where Wedderburn, the solicitor-general, attacked Franklin for his breach of confidence in a most biting and sarcastic speech (January 29, 1774). The privy council decided that the petition was founded

on false and erroneous allegations, and that it was groundless, vexatious, and scandalous. Two days after, Franklin was deprived of his post as deputy postmaster-general in America. (Sup. N. XVIII.)

Public feeling in America was in a great state of excitement, when the first tea-ships made their appearance. It was given out that they were only the forerunners of further taxation; that the ships were laden, not with tea, but with fetters. The consignees were threatened, and obliged to fling up their engagements. At Charleston the teas were allowed to be landed, but not to be sold, and were stowed in cellars, where they perished from damp. The Boston people went further. On December 18, 1773, a body of men disguised as Mohawk Indians boarded the tea-ships and scattered their cargoes in the water, to the value, it is computed, of 18,000*l*.

To punish this outrage, lord North carried through parliament certain acts for transferring the Boston custom-houses to Salem, another port of Massachusetts, and he made important alterations in the charter granted to that state by William III. (March 14, 1774). This last step excited the jealousy and alarm of the other states. They were encouraged to resist by finding that they were supported by a powerful party in the British parliament, which numbered in its ranks Chatham, Burke, Charles James Fox, third son of lord Holland, and other eminent men. The royalist colony of Virginia, where the popular feeling was directed by Patrick Henry and Thomas Jefferson, was one of the first to give in its adhesion to the puritan Massachusetts. In imitation of the puritan opposition in Charles I.'s time, they set on foot a "Solemn League and Covenant." Committees of correspondence were established, and a congress was summoned at Philadelphia. Delegates from 12 colonies met in September, and debated with closed doors. The assembly drew up a Declaration of Rights, claiming all the liberties of Englishmen, and adopted resolutions to suspend all trade between England and America till their grievances were redressed. Addresses were prepared to the people of Great Britain, to the people of Canada, and to the king. After appointing another congress for May 10, 1775, the meeting quietly dispersed. (Sup. N. XIX.)

When the parliament met in January, 1775, Burke brought forward his propositions for conciliation, and denounced the attempts which were making to coerce the Americans, as pregnant with the most fatal consequences. They were negatived by a large majority. Meanwhile a militia had been raised in Massachusetts, called *minute men*, because they were to be ready at a minute's notice; arms also and other stores were provided, and deposited in an arsenal at Concord, a town about 18 miles from Boston. General

Gage, who commanded at Boston, secretly despatched a few hundred light troops on the night of April 18, to destroy these stores. The design, however, had oozed out; and the van, on reaching Lexington, a place about six miles from Concord, found about 70 militiamen, part of their main army, drawn up on the parade.* A collision took place, and several Americans were killed and wounded. The troops then proceeded to Concord, spiked three guns, and destroyed some stores. But the whole country, already prepared for this event, was roused; the British, on their return, were surrounded and galled on every side by an incessant fire, poured upon them by marksmen posted behind walls and hedges. Their loss was 273 killed and 174 wounded, while the Americans, sheltered by their mode of fighting, did not lose a third of that number. The ardour of the Americans was excited. A force of 20,000 men was raised in the New England provinces, and blockaded general Gage in Boston; whilst a party of Connecticut men marched to Lake Champlain, and surprised and captured the forts of Ticonderoga and Crown Point.

On the appointed day the congress met at Philadelphia. They prohibited the export of provisions to any British colony, the supply of necessaries to the British army and navy, and the negotiation of bills drawn by British officers. They took measures for providing supplies of men and money. They appointed, as commander-in-chief, George Washington, who had distinguished himself in the wars with the French. On June 21 Washington set out to take the command of the army blockading Boston. The English had then been reinforced by divisions under general Burgoyne, general William Howe, brother of lord Howe, and general Clinton. Their whole force amounted to about 10,000 men. A considerable body of Americans, having been sent to occupy Bunker's Hill, proceeded by mistake to Breed's Hill, which also forms part of the peninsula on which Charlestown stands; and as that frontier overlooks Boston, from which it is separated only by an arm of the sea about as broad as the Thames at London, it became necessary to dislodge them. This was not effected till after three assaults, and with the loss of 1000 men, while the Americans did not lose half that number. This is known as the battle of Bunker's Hill (June 17). (Supplement, Note XX.)

§ 10. A civil war was now fairly kindled. Yet the Americans were still reluctant to break off from the mother country, and in June congress signed a petition to the king, expressing their loyalty and their desire for reconciliation. They called this petition

* As the colonists were still under the crown, these were acts of rebellion which the authorities were bound in duty to suppress.

the "Olive Branch," and sent it to England by Richard Penn. In September it was submitted to the cabinet, by whom it was resolved that no answer should be given, as they could not recognize the congress, which was a self-constituted body and guilty of rebellion. In his opening speech to parliament (October 26), the king stated that the rebellion had become general, showing a purpose of establishing an independent empire; but as he would never consent to surrender the colonies, he was resolved to put an end to these disorders by decisive exertions. Loyal addresses poured in from all parts of the kingdom, expressive of satisfaction at the attitude assumed by the king and his ministers. Several changes took place in the ministry. The colonial secretaryship was transferred to lord George Germaine, formerly lord George Sackville, a man of some ability, but of a violent temper.

On November 23, lord North obtained a repeal of the acts respecting the port of Boston and the Massachusetts charter; but, on the other hand, all commerce with the insurgent colonies was strictly forbidden, so long as they remained in a state of rebellion, and the capture of American goods and vessels was authorized. The burning of the town of Falmouth, and soon after of Norfolk on the Chesapeake, further incensed the Americans. They had this year invaded Canada, and laid siege to Quebec, which they blockaded during the winter; but they were foiled in their purpose by general Guy Carleton, and decamped in the following summer.

As Boston did not afford a good point for entering the country, and they were surrounded by a superior force, the British, under the command of sir William Howe, evacuated the place in March, 1776, by a sort of tacit convention with the "Select Men," that, if their embarkation was not molested, the town should not be injured. They proceeded by sea to Halifax and thence to Staten Island, and Boston was immediately occupied by Washington's troops. The recovery of this place was regarded as a triumph by the Americans. The inhabitants of Staten Island were loyally disposed, and admitted the British without resistance. (Supplement, Note XXI.)

At this time the determination to assert their independence was more fully entertained by the Americans. Their views had expanded with the progress of the rebellion. At first they had merely contemplated redress of grievances; now, a large party was inclined to separation. These sentiments were kept alive by a host of writers, especially by Thomas Paine, an Englishman settled in America. A committee of five was appointed to draw up a Declaration of Independence, which was composed by Jefferson, corrected by Adams and Franklin, and subsequently amended by the congress. It was a long time, however, before the 13 colonies

could be induced to concur in it. South Carolina, Pennsylvania, New York, and Delaware; held back. Maryland acceded reluctantly. At length unanimity prevailed; and, on July 4, 1776, the United Colonies declared themselves Free and Independent States. On July 12, eight days after the proclamation of Independence, lord Howe arrived off Sandy Hook, furnished with full powers to treat. He sent a letter with a flag of truce to Washington (July 14); but as it was addressed to G. Washington, Esq., instead of *General* Washington, it was not received. Howe then addressed himself to Franklin, but was met with discourtesy. (Sup. N. XXII.)

The British government had collected a body of about 13,000 German troops, for which they paid large subsidies to the landgrave of Hesse, the duke of Brunswick, and other petty German sovereigns. On receiving these reinforcements, general Howe sent over in August a detachment of 8000 men to Brooklyn, where the Americans were defeated and compelled to evacuate the town. In this affair the American general Sullivan had been captured, through whom lord Howe induced congress to send three members to Staten Island, to discuss an accommodation, in the character of private gentlemen. The congress deputed three of their members known to be most inimical to the British connection: namely, Dr. Franklin, John Adams, and Edward Rutledge of South Carolina. As this deputation at once declared that the colonies could enter into no peace, except as independent states, the conference proved abortive (September 11). (Supplement, Note XXIII.)

Four days after, Howe crossed the water and attacked New York, which was abandoned on his approach. In the autumn the Americans gradually retired before the British, till they had crossed the Delaware into Pennsylvania. Howe was loth to pursue his advantages, and he ordered lord Cornwallis, who had overrun New Jersey, not to attempt to follow the enemy over the Delaware, but to disperse his troops in winter quarters. Washington, on the other hand, recrossed that river, and by his skilful manœuvres recovered nearly the whole of the Jerseys. These successes produced a great moral effect on the Americans, and the congress which met at Baltimore conferred extraordinary powers upon their general.

§ 11. Out of hatred to this country, the American cause was popular in France. Franklin and Silas Deane had been sent as envoys to Paris, to solicit the support of the French; and, though the latter were not yet prepared to declare openly in favour of the Americans, they gave them secret assistance. Many French officers proceeded to America to offer their services, among whom the most distinguished in rank and fortune was the young marquis de la Fayette, who was not yet 20 years of age. The Americans gave

him the rank of major-general, and he undertook to serve without emolument. In England, Chatham appeared in the House of Lords (May 30, 1777), and made an eloquent appeal for conciliating America, but was defeated by a large majority. Public opinion, with the exception of a few turbulent demagogues, was against any surrender. To them it served as an occasion for exciting sedition and disturbance. The Rev. Mr. Horne, better known by his subsequent name of Horne Tooke, was convicted before lord Mansfield of a libel, for having, in advertising for subscriptions for the relief of the Americans, stigmatized the affairs at Lexington and Concord as inhuman murders; and he was sentenced to twelve months' imprisonment.

Abandoning the design of reaching Philadelphia through the Jerseys, Howe, withdrawing his troops, embarked them at New York, with the intention of proceeding by water. Finding the banks of the Delaware well fortified, he proceeded up the Chesapeake, and landed his men at the head of the Elk. Midway between that place and Philadelphia runs the stream called the Brandywine, where the Americans occupied a strong position. They were attacked and completely routed (September 11), and the British vanguard took possession of Philadelphia without resistance. In an attempt to recover it, the Americans were repulsed at German Town. These successes were more than counterbalanced by reverses in the north, in which quarter General Burgoyne was directed to operate down the Hudson, in order to prevent any further attempts on Canada. He took Ticonderoga, but two advanced divisions, consisting chiefly of Germans, which he had thrown across the Hudson, were defeated at Bennington by general Starke. After collecting provisions, Burgoyne again crossed that river and advanced beyond Saratoga. He defeated the Americans at Bemis's Heights (September 19), but gained no advantage by the victory; and he was himself shortly afterwards attacked near the same spot by Arnold, who was presently superseded by the abler general Gates. After waiting in vain for the expected co-operation of sir Henry Clinton, and having failed in an effort to force his way onwards, Burgoyne attempted to retrace his steps towards Canada. But on reaching the fords of the Hudson, near Saratoga, he found himself almost surrounded by the enemy; and, as his provisions were nearly exhausted, he had no course left but to enter into a convention with general Gates, by which he agreed to lay down his arms (October 17). His fighting men had been reduced to 3500, whilst Gates had upwards of 13,000 fit for duty. This capitulation was the turning-point in the American war. (Sup. N. XXIV.)

The news of Burgoyne's disaster roused a patriotic spirit in Eng-

land. Voluntary subscriptions were opened, and a sum was raised sufficient to maintain 15,000 soldiers without the aid of government. In France the news had a decisive effect. It was officially announced to the American envoys that Louis XVI. was prepared to acknowledge the independence of America; and two treaties of commerce and alliance with that country were signed at Paris (February 6, 1778).

Now, when it was too late, lord North attempted measures of conciliation. He formally renounced the right of the British parliament to tax America; he appointed five commissioners with the most ample powers, who were instructed to raise no difficulties respecting the rank or legal position of those who might be appointed to treat with them; and it seemed to be intimated that any terms short of independence would be conceded. The bills were received by parliament with astonishment and dejection; but no opposition was made, and the royal assent was given (March 11, 1778). Two days after, the marquis de Noailles, the French ambassador, delivered a note, couched in ironical and insulting terms, announcing the treaties concluded between France and the United States. At this juncture, in the hour of danger, lord North deserted his post. On the very next day he tendered his resignation to the king, and advised him to send for lord Chatham; but the king's mind was embittered against that statesman by his previous conduct and his groundless insinuations of Bute's secret influence, which had long ceased to exist. The king expressed his determination not to accept the services of that "perfidious man," except in a subordinate post.

§ 12. But the days of Chatham were drawing to a close. Although suffering severely from the gout, he was supported into the house by his second son, William Pitt, and his son-in-law, lord Mahon (April 7). He had resolved to oppose a motion of the duke of Richmond for an address to the king recommending peace and the recognition of American independence; for, though Chatham had always been the warm advocate of conciliation, he regarded such a step with the utmost abhorrence, as a dismemberment of the empire, and especially under present circumstances, when it would seem to be taken at the dictation of France. He made a speech against the motion, in which, though traces of faltering were sometimes visible, flashes of his former eloquence seemed to revive as if for some grand and last occasion. He was answered by the duke of Richmond; and, as Chatham rose to reply, he staggered and fell back in convulsions. The peers crowded round him with marks of the deepest sympathy. He was carried to a neighbouring house, where, with the aid of a physician, he rallied

in some degree, and was conveyed to his house at Hayes, where, after lingering a few weeks, he expired (May 11), in the 70th year of his age. Parliament voted a public funeral, with a monument in Westminster Abbey, an annuity of 4000*l.*, to be attached for ever to the earldom of Chatham, and a sum of 20,000*l.* to discharge his debts.

The king had prevailed upon lord North to continue in office; and the ministry was strengthened in the House of Lords by conferring the great seal upon Thurlow.

§ 13. The Americans had been encouraged by the French alliance, and by the retreat of sir Henry Clinton from Philadelphia to New York; and congress refused to hold any conference with lord North's commissioners unless the British fleets and armies were first withdrawn from America, or unless at all events the independence of the United States was acknowledged—conditions which were of course inadmissible; and all communications were consequently broken off (June 17). In July a French fleet of 12 ships of the line and six frigates, under count d'Estaing, appeared off the coast of America. This summer, Clinton reduced the whole province of Georgia, the inhabitants of which were for the most part loyally inclined. By orders from home, 5000 of his troops had been detached, and effected the conquest of St. Lucia, St. Pierre, and Miquelon; but, on the other hand, the French took Dominica.

Several actions were fought in the Channel, where admiral Keppel commanded the English fleet. In July a general engagement took place off Ushant. The French fleet, under d'Orvilliers, was much superior in force; but the action was indecisive, and the respective fleets retired to Brest and Plymouth. Keppel had signalled sir Hugh Palliser, his second in command, to bear up with his squadron and renew the combat; but, Palliser's ship being much crippled, he was unable to comply. Both of these admirals had seats in parliament, and, being political adversaries, they now began to inculpate each other. Keppel was brought to a court-martial on charges made against him by Palliser, and after a trial of 32 days was honourably acquitted. As he was the popular favourite, all London was illuminated on his acquittal, whilst Palliser was burnt in effigy. The latter, having demanded a court-martial on himself, was also acquitted.

In the next summer (1779), Spain joined France in the war against England; and manifestoes were published, both at Paris and Madrid, containing long statements of alleged grievances. In answer to the former, Gibbon the historian drew up a *Mémoire Justificatif*, which, though not exactly official, was circulated in the different courts of Europe as a state paper. The combined

Spanish and French fleets amounted to 66 sail of the line, besides frigates and other smaller vessels. The French began to threaten an invasion, and 50,000 men were spread along the coast of France, from Havre to St. Malo. The threat, as usual, created considerable alarm in England, which was perhaps all that was contemplated. Sir Charles Hardy, who now commanded the English fleet, had only 38 ships, and was therefore obliged to remain on the defensive; but dissensions broke out between the enemy's admirals about the mode of conducting the war, and, the Spanish commander having retired into port, it became necessary for the French admiral to follow his example. It was at this time that Paul Jones, a Scotchman by birth, but holding a commission in the American service, appeared off the eastern coast of Scotland, with three small ships of war and one armed brigantine. He attacked our Baltic fleet, captured the *Scrapis* and the *Scarborough* that were convoying it (September 23), and carried his prizes to Holland. He then appeared in the Firth of Forth, and filled Edinburgh with alarm and humiliation, till a steady west wind blew him out of the Firth. (Supplement, Note XXV.)

The war was now raging in various quarters of the globe. The Spaniards formed the siege of Gibraltar; the French made an attempt upon Jersey, took Senegal in Africa, but lost Goree. In the West Indies, D'Estaing, in the absence of admiral Byron, reduced St. Vincent and Grenada (July 4, 1779); but an attempt which he made, in conjunction with some American land forces, on Savannah, the capital of Georgia, was repulsed.

§ 14. The year 1780 is memorable for the "No popery riots" excited by lord George Gordon. To explain their origin it will be necessary to remember that, in 1778, sir George Savile had procured the repeal of a very severe act against the Roman catholics, passed in 1699 in consequence of the number of priests that came over to England after the peace of Ryswick. By this law priests or Jesuits exercising their functions, or teaching, were liable to imprisonment for life; and all catholics who within six months after attaining the age of 18 refused to take the oaths of allegiance and supremacy, and to subscribe the declarations against transubstantiation and the worship of saints, were declared incapable of purchasing, inheriting, or holding landed property, which passed, during their lives, to their next of kin who happened to be protestants. The very severity of this law had rendered it inoperative, yet its repeal excited among the more bigoted protestants, especially in Scotland, and among the English populace, the most violent animosity. Protestant associations were formed, both in England and Scotland; and lord George Gordon, a younger son of the duké

of Gordon, a young man of turbulent temper, fond of notoriety, but without either ability or principle, put himself at the head of the movement. He made many silly and violent speeches in the House of Commons, and even went so far as to insinuate that the king himself was at heart a Roman catholic. On June 2 he assembled a vast mob in St. George's Fields, to accompany him to the House with a petition against the recent changes in the penal laws. Many of the members of both Houses were insulted and ill-treated; the mob broke into the lobby of the House of Commons, and, knocking violently at the door, shouted out "No popery!" while lord George appeared at the top of the gallery stairs to encourage and incite them. There was then no organized police; but lord North, who displayed the utmost courage and firmness, privately sent for a detachment of the Guards. Colonel Murray, a kinsman of lord George, drew his sword and threatened to run him through the body if any one of the mob entered the House. The Guards arrived and cleared the lobby. Lord George Gordon's proposal for immediate deliberation was rejected by a majority of 192 to 6, and the rioters dispersed, but not before they had burnt the chapels of the Sardinian and Bavarian legations. On the following day (Saturday) the mob was tolerably quiet; but on Sunday the blue cockades reassembled in great numbers, and burnt two or three catholic chapels. On Monday more chapels were burnt, as well as the house of sir George Savile in Leicester Fields. On Tuesday, lord George having appeared in the House with a blue cockade, colonel Herbert desired him to remove it, or threatened to remove it himself. For some days the mob were in possession of London. Fiercer spirits had now appeared—men who thirsted for plunder and revolution. On Tuesday evening Newgate was broken open, the prisoners to the number of 300 were released, and the building, lately rebuilt at a cost of 140,000*l.*, was reduced to a heap of smouldering ruins. Clerkenwell was also entered, and the houses of three or four magistrates were destroyed. Towards midnight the mob proceeded to the residence of lord Mansfield in Bloomsbury-square, destroyed all his furniture, and his valuable library, containing letters which he had been collecting nearly 50 years, with the view of writing the history of his times. Lord and lady Mansfield had barely time to escape by the back door. On June 7 the riot was at its height. All the shops were shut, the mob were uncontrolled masters, and most of the prisons were forced and their inmates released. The magistrates seemed paralyzed. Kennett, the lord mayor, displayed a great dereliction of duty, for which he was afterwards prosecuted and convicted; while alderman Wilkes, on the contrary, was active in suppressing the tumult. The king him-

self showed the greatest resolution on this occasion. Having assembled a council, he caused a proclamation to be issued warning the people to keep within doors, and intimating that the military had instructions to act without waiting for orders from the civil magistrates. That night London bore the aspect of a place taken by storm. In various quarters parties of soldiers fired upon the mob, and the fire was sometimes returned; people might be seen removing their goods in haste and alarm from the numerous houses which had been set on fire; and the streets resounded with the groans and yells of the wounded and the drunken. Nearly 500 persons were killed or wounded. But the riot was at an end: next day London was tranquil. Lord George Gordon was apprehended on the 9th, and committed to the Tower on a charge of high treason, of which he was acquitted; but at last he died, mad, in Newgate, a prisoner on another charge (1793). Shortly afterwards 59 of the rioters were convicted, of whom 21 were executed. On this occasion Wedderburn, the solicitor-general, was made chief justice of the common pleas, with the title of lord Loughborough, his predecessor, sir William de Grey, having resigned in alarm.

§ 15. Admiral sir George Rodney gained a signal victory this year (January 16) over the Spanish fleet off Cape St. Vincent. Eight Spanish ships were taken or destroyed, and only four of their fleet escaped into Cadiz. He had previously captured a rich Spanish convoy in the Bay of Biscay. But the Spaniards amply avenged their losses by intercepting, off the Azores, our East and West India fleets, which had been sent to sea with a convoy of only two men-of-war. These escaped, but nearly 60 sail of merchantmen, freighted with valuable cargoes, were carried into Cadiz. Besides her declared enemies, England had now to contend with the neutral powers, who, under cover of their flags, supplied our enemies with warlike stores. Our first quarrel on this account was with the Dutch; and in February the empress Catharine of Russia issued a declaration to the belligerent courts, in which it was insisted that free ships make free goods; that no goods are contraband, except those declared such by treaty; and that blockades to be acknowledged must be effective. This declaration became the basis of the "armed neutrality" subsequently established between Russia, Sweden, and Denmark, to which Holland and Prussia, and eventually Spain and France, also acceded. Its object was to support the claims of neutrals, if necessary, by force of arms. Thus all the more powerful nations of Europe seemed arrayed against England, if not actively, at all events in sullen and indirect hostility. Before the end of the year the Dutch were added to the number. On board an American packet that had

been captured, there was found among the papers of Mr. Laurens, an envoy to Holland, the plan of an alliance between Holland and America, dated as far back as September, 1778. Remonstrances and negotiations ensued; and on December 20, 1780, war was declared against the Dutch.

During this year's campaign in America, sir Henry Clinton succeeded in taking Charleston after a protracted siege (May 12). All the American naval force at that place was destroyed or seized by admiral Arbuthnot, and 400 guns and a great quantity of stores were captured. On the news that a French fleet, with a considerable number of troops on board, had sailed for New England, Clinton re-embarked for New York with a portion of his force, leaving lord Cornwallis, with about 4000 men, to hold Charleston and South Carolina, and, if possible, to subdue North Carolina. General Gates was now approaching with a considerable army; and on August 16 an engagement ensued at Camden, in which the Americans were completely routed and dispersed, with the loss of all their baggage. The French expedition against New England appeared off Rhode Island in July; but admiral Arbuthnot, having been reinforced by admiral Graves, blockaded the French in Newport harbour during the remainder of the year. Clinton had now arrived at a just appreciation of the war. He perceived that his force was not strong enough, by some thousands, effectually to reduce the revolted provinces; and he wrote home to that effect, at the same time tendering his resignation.

The campaign in America ceased in the next year (1781), though the war was not absolutely terminated. The last action, at Ewtaw Springs, about 60 miles from Charleston, fought on September 8, was one of the sharpest of the whole war. The American artillery was taken and retaken several times, and several hundreds of men were slain. Notwithstanding their great inferiority in numbers, the English, who were commanded by colonel Stewart, remained masters of the field; yet, in spite of their victory, they were obliged to retreat to Charleston Neck, and the Americans recovered the greater part of South Carolina and Georgia. To increase the disproportion between the two combatants, the count de Grasse now arrived from the West Indies with 28 sail of the line and about 4000 troops. Sir Samuel Hood had followed him with only 14 ships; but, being reinforced by admiral Graves with five ships, he brought the French to an action off the coast of Virginia (September 5). It proved indecisive, and both fleets retired—the English to New York, the French to the Chesapeake, where De Grasse landed the troops intended for the Americans. (Sup. N. XXVI.)

Lord Cornwallis, with only 7000 men, took up a position at the

half-fortified village of York Town, surrounded by an army of 18,000 men, with 50 or 60 pieces of artillery, commanded by Washington, La Fayette, and St. Simon. The bombardment commenced on October 9. By the 14th two redoubts had been carried, and the town more closely invested. As all relief or escape was impossible, Cornwallis was now obliged to capitulate, and he obtained certain honours of war (October 19). With this capitulation the American war may be said to have ceased.

§ 16. In other quarters the British were more successful. In the West Indies admiral Rodney captured the Dutch island of St. Eustatius, with an immense amount of property and ships (February 3, 1781). The Dutch shipping lying at Demerara and Essequibo was also captured by English privateers, and these settlements were surrendered to the governor of Barbadoes. On August 5, admiral Hyde Parker, convoying a fleet from the Baltic, fell in with a Dutch fleet and convoy off the Dogger Bank; but though the Dutch admiral, Zoutman, was beaten, and bore away for the Texel, Parker was in no condition to pursue (November 27). General Elliott made a vigorous sortie from Gibraltar, and succeeded in destroying the immense batteries raised by the Spaniards. But these successes did little to relieve the general despondency. Tobago was taken by the French, and the island of St. Eustatius was recaptured by the marquis de Bouillé (November 26). Demerara and Essequibo were lost, together with St. Kitt's, Nevis, and Montserrat; so that of all the Leeward Islands England retained only Barbadoes and Antigua. These misfortunes were crowned by the surrender of Minorca (February 6, 1782), after an heroic defence; and when, chiefly from the ravages of disease, only about 700 men were left fit for duty.

Parliament met on November 27, 1781. On February 27, 1782, general Conway carried a resolution in the House of Commons against any further attempts to reduce the insurgent colonies; and subsequently an address to the king, that whosoever should advise the prosecution of the war should be regarded as enemies of the throne and the nation. On March 15, the ministry escaped a vote of non-confidence, proposed by sir John Rous, only by a majority of nine, and lord North announced his resignation four days after. The marquess of Rockingham now became prime minister a second time, with lord John Cavendish as chancellor of the exchequer, admiral viscount Keppel first lord of the admiralty, the duke of Richmond master of the ordnance, the earl of Shelburne and Mr. Fox secretaries of state, and general Conway commander-in-chief. The tory chancellor, lord Thurlow, retained the seals (March 27). Burke was not admitted into the cabinet, but was made paymaster of the forces; and a small appointment was conferred upon his son.

In the preceding year two young men of distinguished ability had entered on their political career: Richard Brinsley Sheridan, and William Pitt, the second son of lord Chatham. Sheridan's maiden speech was a failure. Pitt's first address, on the contrary, was that of a practised orator, and was received with applause and warm congratulations, even by his opponents. Sheridan accepted the place of under-secretary of state in the new ministry. A choice of some of the smaller posts was offered to Pitt, but, though he was only 23 years of age, he had already declared in the House of Commons that he would not accept any subordinate position.

The ministry were embarrassed at the outset by the state of Ireland, where great discontent prevailed on account of commercial restrictions. The catholic question had not yet arisen, but the question of the independence of the Irish parliament was agitated with great warmth. Henry Grattan, the eloquent leader of the opposition, was a protestant. On April 16, 1782, he carried an address to the crown, declaratory of the legislative independence of the Irish houses. Such an independence was clearly an anomaly, which might lead to the greatest practical inconvenience, if, for instance, the Irish parliament should vote for peace with a foreign country against which England had declared war. The English ministers could not but perceive this glaring evil; but the present state of the country rendered a breach with Ireland highly inexpedient, and Fox carried a motion (May 17) which, by repealing the act 6 Geo. I., acknowledged the independence of the Irish legislature. The gratitude of the Irish was unbounded. They immediately passed a vote to raise 20,000 seamen, and they prevailed upon Grattan to accept 50,000*l.* for himself.

The question of parliamentary reform had now begun to excite considerable attention in England. It had been warmly advocated by lord Chatham; and Pitt, who took up his father's views on this subject, moved for a committee to inquire into the state of the representation. Opinions were divided in the cabinet, but the motion was negatived in the commons by 20 votes (May 7). Some measures of reform were introduced by the ministry, such as a bill to prevent revenue officers from voting at elections, and another forbidding contractors to sit in the House of Commons. Burke carried a bill by which many useless offices were abolished, the pension-list was reduced, and the amount of secret-service money limited.

§ 17. On April 12, 1782, admiral Rodney succeeded in bringing to an engagement the French fleet under De Grasse, which, with a large body of troops on board, had sailed from Martinique to attack Jamaica. Each fleet consisted of upwards of 30 ships of the line. The action lasted nearly 11 hours, and was desperately contested.

but ended in the decisive victory of the English. The *Ville de Paris*, carrying admiral De Grasse's flag, the largest ship in the French navy, was taken, together with four more first-rate vessels, and another was sunk. Admiral Hood captured two more as they were retreating. Owing to the French vessels being crowded with troops, they are said to have lost 3000 killed and 6000 wounded, whilst the loss on the side of the English did not exceed 1100 men. In the *Ville de Paris* were 36 chests of money to pay the soldiers, and their whole train of artillery was on board the other captured ships. The remainder of the French fleet were scattered, and could not contrive to reunite. Thus was Jamaica saved. The ministry had just before sent out orders recalling Rodney, with every mark of coolness and almost disgrace; but they now found themselves called upon to reward him with a barony and a pension. An Irish barony was bestowed on Hood.

Negotiations for a peace had already been opened at Paris. Dr. Franklin, the American minister there, refused to treat on any other terms than the recognition of the independence of the United States, to which also he at first added a demand for the cession of Canada. In the midst of these negotiations lord Rockingham died (July 1). The king now sent for the earl of Shelburne, who accepted the office of first lord of the treasury, upon which many of the ministry, including Fox, lord John Cavendish, the duke of Portland, Burke, and Sheridan, resigned. Under lord Shelburne, Pitt became chancellor of the exchequer, Thomas Townshend and lord Grantham secretaries of state.

The combined French and Spanish fleets again swept the Channel this summer, yet lord Howe, with a far inferior force, contrived to screen from them the East and West India merchantmen convoyed by sir Peter Parker. After Howe's return to Portsmouth, the *Royal George*, of 108 guns, reckoned the first ship in the British navy, having been laid slightly on her side in order to stop a leak, was capsized at Spithead by a squall. As all her ports were open, she sank immediately. Most of the crew were drowned, with many women and children who had come on board, as well as admiral Kampenfeldt, who was writing in his cabin (August 29) Rodney's prizes also, including the *Ville de Paris*, unfortunately foundered on their way home from the West Indies.

On September 11, lord Howe sailed with 34 ships of the line to relieve Gibraltar, which had now endured a memorable siege of more than three years. It was defended by sir George Eliott, with a garrison of more than 5000 men. They had been relieved on different occasions by admirals Rodney and Darby, but were reduced at times to such distress as to feed on vegetables and even

weeds. In the spring of 1781 the bombardment was terrible. It is computed that the enemy fired 56,000 balls and 20,000 shells from the middle of April till the end of May, yet the casemates afforded so effectual a protection that only 70 men were killed. The bombardment was relaxed during the summer, but was renewed again in the autumn. On the night of November 26, Elliott made a sortie with 2000 men. The Spaniards were taken by surprise, and fled on all sides; their works were destroyed, their guns spiked, their ammunition blown up. It was long before the bombardment was renewed, and then not with the previous vigour. Early in 1782 the Spaniards were encouraged by the arrival of De Crillon, the victor of Minorca, who assumed the chief command. The total French and Spanish force now collected before Gibraltar amounted to 33,000 men, with 170 pieces of heavy artillery. The English had likewise been reinforced, and had a garrison of 7000 men, with 80 guns of large calibre. The siege now attracted the eyes of all Europe. The comte d'Artois and the duke of Bourbon came from Paris to share the expected glory of its termination. King Charles of Spain was accustomed to ask every morning on waking, "Is it taken?" and to the invariable "No," he invariably replied, "It will be soon." De Crillon, deeming the land side impregnable, caused immense floating batteries to be constructed, mounted with 142 guns; and on the morning of September 18 a fire was opened on the English works at a distance of about 600 yards, the batteries on the land side playing at the same time. All day this terrific bombardment continued, but towards evening the red-hot shot from the English batteries began to tell; and before midnight one of the largest floating batteries, as well as the Spanish flag-ship *Pastora*, was in flames. The light served to direct the aim of the besieged, and at last every one of the battering-ships was on fire. The enemy lost 1600 men on this occasion. Soon afterwards lord Howe entered the bay, and the combined fleet did not venture to attack him. The siege was continued till the peace in 1783, but only nominally. General Elliott, on his return to England in 1787, was raised to the peerage as lord Heathfield of Gibraltar.*

§ 18. As France and Spain seemed desirous of continuing the war, lord Shelburne hastened to renew the negotiations for a separate treaty with America; and though the terms of the American alliance with France, which had been carried out in the most liberal spirit by the latter country, strictly precluded a separate peace, yet as it was obvious that the continuance of the war for any object beyond the recognition of the independence of the American States could serve only French or Spanish interests, Dr. Franklin, and the three

* The title became extinct on the death of the second lord Heathfield in 1813.

other American commissioners in Paris, did not hesitate to respond to the advances of the British government. Articles were signed at Paris (November 30, 1782), the chief of which were the recognition of the independence of the United States, an advantageous arrangement of their boundaries, and the concession of the right of fishing on the banks of Newfoundland. Great Britain recognized and satisfied the claims of the American loyalists, to the extent of nearly ten millions sterling for losses of real or personal property, and of 120,000*l.* per annum in life annuities for loss of income in trades or professions—a splendid instance of good faith after so expensive a war. Many, however, withdrew and settled in Nova Scotia and Canada, to escape the hostility of their countrymen. It was not till June, 1785, that George III. had an interview with Mr. Adams, the first minister from the United States, which naturally occasioned considerable emotion on both sides. The king received Mr. Adams with affability and frankness. He remarked that he wished it to be understood in America, that, though he had been the last to consent to a separation, he would be the first to welcome the friendship of the United States as an independent power. (Sup. N. XXVII.)

During the Christmas recess the ministers exerted themselves to bring to a close the negotiations with France and Spain. The latter power at first insisted on the restoration of Gibraltar, and lord Shelburne seemed not unwilling to exchange it against Porto Rico, whilst his colleagues required the addition of Trinidad. But since its gallant defence, the heart of the nation was fixed on that barren rock: and lord Shelburne, perceiving that to cede it would bring great unpopularity upon the ministry, informed the Spaniards that no terms would tempt him to its surrender. The Spanish court were indignant; but, finding they were not backed by France, they sullenly acquiesced, and the preliminaries of a peace between the three countries were signed at Versailles (January 20, 1783). England restored St. Lucia and ceded Tobago to France, receiving in return Grenada, St. Vincent, Dominica, Nevis, and Montserrat. In Africa England yielded Senegal and Goree, retaining Fort James and the river Gambia. In India the French recovered Chandernagore, Pondicherry, Mahé, and the Comptoir of Surat. French pride was gratified by the abrogation of the articles in the treaty of Utrecht relative to the demolition of Dunkirk—a place which no outlay could have been rendered capable of receiving ships of the line.

To Spain were ceded Minorca and both the Floridas, while king Charles guaranteed to England the right of cutting logwood within certain boundaries to be hereafter determined, and agreed to restore the Bahamas. Some months after, a treaty was also concluded with the Dutch on the basis of mutual restitution of conquests.



Medal in commemoration of Lord Howe's victory over the French fleet, June 1, 1794.
 OVR.: EARL HOWE ADM. OF THE WHITE K. G.: Bust to right. Below, MDCCLXXXIV.
 REV.: FRENCH FLEET DEFEATED OFF USHANT THE SAIL OF THE LINE CAPTURED JUNE MDCCLXXXIV. Neptune, drawn by two sea-horses, to right.

CHAPTER XXXII.

GEORGE III.—CONTINUED. FROM THE PEACE OF VERSAILLES TO THE PEACE OF AMIENS. A.D. 1783-1801.

1. Coalition ministry. Fox's India Bill. Pitt prime minister. His India Bill. Financial Measures and Treaty of Commerce with France.
- § 2. Impeachment of Warren Hastings. Affairs of India till his governor-generalship. Vote of censure on lord Clive. His suicide.
- § 3. Administration of Warren Hastings.
- § 4. His extortions in Oude. Charges against him. Result of his impeachment.
- § 5. The king's illness. Outbreak of the French Revolution.
- § 6. Riots at Birmingham. Attitude of Europe. State of feeling in England. The French declare war.
- § 7. Campaign in Flanders. Insurrection of Toulon, and siege of that city.
- § 8. Campaign of 1794. Holland overrun by the French.
- § 9. Naval successes. Lord Howe's victory.
- § 10. Sedition in England. Expedition to Quiberon. Dutch colonies taken.
- § 11. Alliance between France and Spain. Lord Malmesbury's negotiations. Attempted invasions of England. Bank Restriction Act.
- § 12. Battle of Cape St. Vincent. Duncan's victory off Camperdown.
- § 13. Mutinies at Portsmouth and the Nore. Threatened invasion.
- § 14. Expedition to Ostend. The French in Egypt. Battle of the Nile. Its consequences.
- § 15. English and Russian expedition to Holland. The Helder taken. The duke of York capitulates. Siege of Acre and flight of Bonaparte from Egypt.
- § 16. Disturbances in Ireland. Irish Union.
- § 17. Pitt's opinions on Parliamentary Reform and Catholic Emancipation. Warlike operations. The armed neutrality.
- § 18. Pitt resigns. Addington prime minister. Expedition against Copenhagen. Dissolution of the armed neutrality.
- § 19. Threatened invasion, and attack on Boulogne. The French in Egypt. Battle of Alexandria, and death of Abercromby.
- § 20. The French expelled from Egypt. Peace of Amiens.

§ 1. THE war had added upwards of 100 millions to the national debt, and the country was so exhausted that it would have been

difficult to send 3000 men on any foreign expedition. These particulars, however, were not generally known; and when the conditions of the peace were communicated to the parliament, they were received by the opposition with a storm of disapprobation. The cession of Chandernagore and Pondicherry was especially the object of animadversion. The ministers having been twice left in minorities in the commons, lord Shelburne resigned. The state of parties rendered it difficult to form a new administration. Mr. Pitt declined the task, and for some weeks a sort of interregnum ensued. At length a coalition ministry was formed (April 5, 1783). The duke of Portland, a man of small abilities, became first lord of the treasury. The virtual ministers were lord North and Fox, the secretaries of state; yet only a little previously Fox had publicly declared that, if ever he could be persuaded to act with lord North, he should consider himself worthy of eternal infamy! Their power, however, was of no long duration. In November Fox brought in a bill to reform the government of India, which passed the commons, but was rejected by the lords. The ministers, having a large majority in the former house, did not think it necessary to resign; but the king, who had always viewed the coalition with disgust, sent messages to lord North and Fox requiring them to deliver up the seals (December 18). Pitt, in his 25th year, as first lord of the treasury and chancellor of the exchequer, now became the head of a ministry, of which the principal members were lord Thurlow, lord chancellor; earl Gower, president of the council; the duke of Rutland, privy seal; lord Carmarthen and lord Sydney, secretaries of state; and lord Howe, first lord of the admiralty.

Pitt, like his predecessors, was defeated in the commons, on a bill which he introduced to regulate the government of India; but he resorted to a dissolution, and the elections, which took place in April, 1784, secured a large majority for the ministry. In August he succeeded in carrying his India bill, the main feature of which was the creation of the Board of Control, consisting of six privy councillors nominated by the king, who, with the principal secretaries of state and the chancellor of the exchequer, were to be commissioners for India, with supreme control over the civil and military government and the affairs of the company. This double government lasted till 1858. Pitt also adopted important measures for remedying the disordered state of the finances. He lowered the customs duties and imposed various new taxes, amounting to nearly a million per annum. His financial reform was completed, in 1786, by the simplification of the indirect taxes, namely, the customs, excise, and stamps. At the same time, he negotiated a treaty of commerce

with France, which had only been in operation long enough to indicate the benefits it would have conferred on both nations, when its first-fruits were blighted by the events of 1789, and the realization of Pitt's policy was postponed till 1860. He was likewise before his age in proposing (1785) a bill for a reform of parliament, which was supported by some of his opponents, and opposed by some of his supporters, but was finally lost by a majority of 74.

George prince of Wales, the king's eldest son, had attained his majority in 1783, when he had a separate establishment assigned him, with Carlton House as a residence. Like other heirs-apparent of this house, he had thrown himself into the ranks of the opposition, from which his friends were chiefly selected, as lord North, Fox, Burke, Sheridan, Windham, Erskine, and others. By improving his residence, by losses at the gaming-table and on the turf, as well as by the expenses incident to his station, and to a youthful prince of gay and voluptuous habits, he had contracted a large debt; and such was his distress that, in 1786, an execution was put into his house for the sum of 600*l*. The king, whose regular and moral habits led him to view the prince's course of life with high disapprobation, refused to assist him, especially as it was believed that, in violation of the Royal Marriage Act, he had contracted a private marriage with Mrs. Fitzherbert, a Roman catholic lady of great personal charms, correct conduct, and elegant manners. The prince was obliged to reduce his establishment, sell his horses, and suspend the works at Carlton House. At length the prince's embarrassments were forced upon the notice of Mr. Pitt by the opposition; and, to avoid a threatened motion upon the subject, the king instructed the minister to propose, on the understanding that the prince would reform his expenditure, an increase of 10,000*l*. per annum to his income, together with the sum of 161,000*l*. for the discharge of his debts, and 20,000*l*. for the works at Carlton House.

§ 2. In 1786 Burke brought forward his celebrated impeachment of Warren Hastings. To understand this subject it will be necessary briefly to resume the history of India from an earlier period.* Great disorder had prevailed during the absence of Clive. The government had fallen into the hands of Mr. Vansittart, who was by no means competent to conduct it. The native princes could no longer be kept in subjection; the servants of the company were amassing great wealth by bribery and extortion, whilst the company itself was on the verge of bankruptcy. In May, 1785, lord Clive again landed at Calcutta, having, after an arduous struggle, obtained the appointment of governor and commander-in-chief in Bengal. As yet there was no central government; and the three

* See p. 610.

presidencies of Calcutta, Madras, and Bombay, were in a state of rivalry. Clive first applied himself to remedy the abuses in the company's service. He made the civil officers bind themselves in writing to accept no more presents from the native princes; and he ordered the military to relinquish the double *batta*, or additional allowances, granted to them by Meer Jaffier after the battle of Plassy. This order produced a mutiny. Nearly 200 officers, and among them sir Robert Fletcher, the second in command, conspired to throw up their commissions on the same day. Clive immediately repaired to the camp at Monghir; and, having assembled the officers, pointed out to them the guilt of their conduct, declared his resolution to suppress the mutiny, and to supply the place of the mutineers by other officers from Madras, or even by the clerks and civil servants of the company. He then cashiered sir R. Fletcher, and caused the ringleaders to be arrested and sent to Calcutta for trial. The rest now entreated to be allowed to recal their resignations—a request which was in most instances granted, but only as an act of grace and favour, whilst the vacancies were supplied by a judicious promotion of subalterns. Clive also placed the jurisdiction of the company on a satisfactory footing; and he procured from Shah Alum, emperor of Delhi, a deed conferring on them the sole administration of the provinces of Bengal, Orissa, and Behar. Clive returned to England in January, 1767.

In his absence affairs again went wrong. In the Madras presidency, Hyder Ali, founder of the kingdom of Mysore, the most daring and skilful enemy the English had ever encountered in India, finding his advances neglected by the company, joined the Mahratta chieftains, threatened the capital itself, and extorted an advantageous peace. The company's trade suffered to such an extent that, in the spring of 1769, India stock fell 60 per cent. In 1770 Bengal was afflicted by a famine, which is computed to have carried off one-third of the inhabitants. The disasters and misrule in India, and the declining state of the company's affairs, at length attracted the attention of government, and committees of inquiry were appointed in 1772. In the spring of the following year lord North, by the act called the Regulating Act, made several reforms in the constitution of the company, both with regard to the court at home and the management of affairs in India. The most remarkable feature of this act was, that the governor of Bengal was invested with authority over the other presidencies, and with the title of governor-general of India, but was himself subjected to the control of his council. Warren Hastings, who had been appointed to the government of Bengal in the previous year, was the first governor-general of India.

In the same year general, at that time colonel, Burgoyne, a soldier who had seen little service, moved a vote of censure on the man who had established our empire in the East. Clive's wealth, and his magnificent seat at Claremont, had attracted envy; and there were questionable circumstances in his extraordinary career. He had, in his public capacity, fought deceit with its own weapons. He had sanctioned the forgery of admiral Watson's signature in order to deceive the traitor Omichund, who had threatened to reveal the conspiracy to dethrone Surajah Dowlah. But Clive derived no private advantage from the act. This and other matters were objected to him, whilst all his eminent services were forgotten or overlooked. Burgoyne carried the first part of his resolutions, affirming certain matters of fact that had been proved against Clive; the second part, censuring him for having abused his powers, was negatived; and, on the motion of Wedderburn, it was unanimously added to the resolutions carried, "that Robert, lord Clive, did at the same time render great and meritorious services to his country." But the taunts to which he had been subjected had sunk deep into his mind; he was accustomed to complain that he had been examined like a sheep-stealer; and his melancholy temperament, which even in early youth had displayed itself in an attempt at suicide, now further aggravated by ill health and perhaps also by a life of inaction, led him to lay violent hands on himself (November 22, 1774), before he had attained his 50th year.*

§ 3. The administration of Warren Hastings was able and vigorous. He reformed and improved the revenues of India; he transferred the government of Bengal to the company, leaving only a phantom of power at Moorsshedabad; he resumed the possession of Allahabad and Corah, and discontinued the tribute to Shah Alum. But his measures for replenishing the company's treasury were not always scrupulous. The vizier of Oude being desirous of subjugating the neighbouring country of Rohilcund, Hastings did not hesitate to lend him some British bayonets for that purpose, in consideration, when the conquest was accomplished, of a payment of 40 lacs of rupees. The measures of Hastings were impeded and disconcerted by his council. In October, 1774, general Clavering, colonel Monson, and Mr. Philip Francis arrived in India, having been appointed members of the governor-general's council. These men were utterly ignorant of Indian affairs, yet they united in opposing every measure of Hastings. Francis was their leader,

* His son was created an English baron in 1794, and earl Powis in 1804, having assumed the name of Herbert instead of Clive. The family of Herbert.

and he and his confederates formed the majority of the council, which consisted, besides them, only of Hastings himself and Mr. Barwell. Thus they were able to control all the steps of the governor, and to wrest from him his patronage; nay, they even took steps to bring him to trial on a charge of corruption, but Hastings refused to submit to their jurisdiction. He afterwards prosecuted in the supreme court some of the natives who had been incited to accuse him; and in August, 1775, one of them, the Rajah Nuncomar, was hanged. By this decisive step Hastings recovered the respect of the natives, of which the conduct of the council had deprived him.

After the death of colonel Monson, in September, 1776, Hastings recovered his authority in the council, by virtue of his casting vote. Attempts were made both in India and at home to deprive him of the government, but without success; and when the war with France broke out in 1778, it was felt, even by his enemies, that his great abilities could not be spared. It was under his auspices, and with the assistance of sir Hector Munro, that Chandernagore, Pondicherry, and the other French settlements in India, were captured. An expedition against the Mahratta chiefs proved not so fortunate. The British force, hemmed in at Wargaum, was obliged to capitulate, on condition of restoring all the conquests made from the Mahrattas since 1756. All India seemed now in a conspiracy against us. Hyder Ali availed himself of our entanglement with the Mahrattas to overrun the Madras presidency; and a body of 3000 of our troops, under colonel Baillie, was surprised and cut to pieces. Munro, at the head of 5000 more, only saved himself by a precipitate flight. All the open country lay at Hyder's mercy; and the smoke of the burning villages around struck alarm into the capital itself. At this juncture Hastings signally displayed his genius and presence of mind. He immediately abandoned his favourite scheme of the Mahratta war, and, conceding to the chiefs the main points at issue, tendered offers not only of peace but even of alliance. He then despatched every available soldier in Bengal, under the command of sir Eyre Coote, by whose military genius he was ably seconded, to the rescue of Madras. Coote defeated Hyder Ali in a great battle at Porto Novo (July 1, 1781), again at Pollalore (August 27), and a third time at Vellore (September 27). These victories led to the recovery of the open country, and saved the Carnatic. In 1782, after again defeating Hyder Ali at Arnee (June 2), Coote retired for a while to Calcutta. In December of that year Hyder died, and Coote, anxious to measure swords with his son and successor Tippoo, proceeded in 1783 to the Carnatic. The vessel in which he sailed was chased two days and nights by

some French men-of-war. Coote's anxiety kept him constantly on deck; his feeble health received a fatal blow, and two days after landing at Madras he expired.

§ 4. The exertions for the relief of Madras had exhausted the resources of Bengal; yet the India proprietors at home expected large remittances. In order to raise them, Hastings had recourse to the feudatory rajahs, and above all to Cheyte Sing, rajah of Benares, from whom he was accused of extorting an exorbitant fine of 500,000*l.* for having delayed to pay 50,000*l.* He was said also to have received from this rajah two lacs of rupees for his private use, to have retained the money some time, and then placed it to the credit of the company. But it was his treatment of the Begums of Oude that was most loudly denounced by his enemies. The government had large claims on Asaph ul Dowlah, nabob vizier of Oude. To satisfy these claims Hastings compelled him to extort large sums from the Begums, his mother and grandmother, the mother and widow of Sujah ul Dowlah; although Asaph ul Dowlah, after wringing large sums of money from them, had signed a treaty, sanctioned by the council of Bengal, by which he pledged himself to make no further demands upon them. As this treaty, however, had been made contrary to the wishes of Hastings, and when his authority was overruled by the council, he now disregarded it. To extort the money from the Begums, two aged eunuchs, their principal ministers, were thrown into prison and deprived of all food till they consented to reveal the place where the treasure of the princesses was concealed. Many other severities were continued through the year 1782, till upwards of a million sterling had been extorted.

Hastings concluded a peace with Tippoo in the autumn of 1783, on the basis of mutual restitution, and then proceeded to Lucknow to tranquillize that district. Towards the close of 1784, he announced his intention of retiring; and when he sailed for England in the spring of 1785, peace prevailed throughout India. Mr. M'Pherson, senior member of the council, succeeded to the vacant government, till lord Cornwallis was appointed governor-general (February, 1786).

Such were the chief transactions which, whether truly or falsely represented, gave rise to the impeachment of Warren Hastings by Burke, who brought forward 22 articles, comprehending a great variety of charges. The first, on the subject of the Rohilla war, was negatived by a considerable majority, and the whole impeachment seemed to be upset. But on May 13 Fox moved the charge respecting Cheyte Sing and the proceedings at Benares; when Pitt, after a speech in which at first he appeared to exculpate Hastings, concluded by observing that he had acted in an arbitrary and

tyrannical manner, by imposing a fine so shamefully exorbitant. This conclusion took the house by surprise, and on a division the impeachment was voted. Nothing further was done in the matter till February, 1787, when Sheridan moved the Oude charge in a most brilliant harangue. This motion was also supported by Pitt, and an impeachment was voted. Other articles were subsequently carried, and Burke, accompanied by a great number of members, proceeded to the bar of the House of Lords, and impeached Hastings of high crimes and misdemeanours. Hastings was committed to custody, but released on bail. His trial did not commence till the spring of 1788, and lasted seven years, when he was acquitted by a large majority on all the charges. Whatever may be thought of the acts which he committed for the interest of the East India Company, his personal disinterestedness was proved by the fact that he was indebted to the bounty of the directors for the means of passing the remainder of his days in a manner becoming his high station.

§ 5. In 1788 the king was seized with a violent illness. As the symptoms terminated in lunacy, it became necessary in October to subject him to medical treatment, and he was placed under the care of Dr. Willis, who was both a physician and a clergyman. In this seclusion of the crown, Fox insisted on the exclusive right of the prince of Wales to be appointed regent—a position which Pitt triumphantly refuted. Not, however, that he opposed the nomination of the prince; he merely denied that he had any natural or legal right, without the authority of parliament. Committees were appointed in both houses to search for precedents; but, whilst the bill for a regency was in progress, the king's convalescence was announced (February, 1789). (Supplement, Note XXVIII.)

An event was now impending which was destined to shake Europe to its foundations. To outward appearance France seemed to be in a prosperous condition. She was at peace with all Europe; she had achieved a triumph over England, her ancient rival, by helping to emancipate her rebellious colonies; yet she was herself on the brink of a terrible convulsion. To trace the causes, or to detail the events, of the French Revolution, falls not within the scope of this book. Our notice of it must be confined to those results which, from the vicinity of the two countries, and their constant intercourse, could not fail of affecting this country. The French had been regarded in England as the slaves of an absolute monarch, and the early efforts of the revolution were looked upon by many amongst us as the first steps towards a system of constitutional freedom. The storming of the Bastille was almost as much applauded in London as in Paris. But the burnings, the

plundering, the murders, which ensued, and degraded what once had been considered the politest nation in the world into a horde of savages, soon alienated most English hearts. Party feeling was embittered in England; the names of democrat and aristocrat bade fair to supplant those of whig and tory; and a stronger line of demarcation than ever was drawn between political sections. Friends who had long acted together now parted for ever; in particular, the separation of Burke from Fox and his party was conspicuous from the genius and eminence of the men. The congratulations addressed to the National Assembly of France by a club in London, called the Revolution Society, established to commemorate the Revolution of 1688, under the signature of Carl Stanhope, their chairman, incited Burke to publish his "Reflections on the Revolution in France, and on the Proceedings of certain Societies in London." In the most eloquent and impressive language, he denounced the proceedings in France, and almost prophetically foretold the future destinies of that country (1790).^{*} This publication called forth many attacks and answers, of which the most remarkable were Thomas Paine's "Rights of Man," and the *Vindiciæ Gallicæ* of Sir James Macintosh. The former is written in a coarse but forcible style; the latter in elegant language, palliating the excesses of the movement as the necessary concomitants of all revolutions. These three works produced a prodigious effect on public opinion in England. It was not, however, till May, 1791, in a debate concerning Canada, that Burke, in a powerful and affecting speech, wholly separated himself from Fox.

§ 6: The Unitarians were the most ardent admirers of the French revolution. Dr. Priestley, a leading member of the sect, proposed to celebrate at Birmingham the anniversary of the capture of the Bastille by a dinner, which was prepared on the appointed day (July 14, 1790) at an hotel in the town, in spite of the plainest symptoms of an intended riot. The party, consisting of upwards of 80 gentlemen, were received with hisses by the mob; the windows of the hotel were smashed; two meeting-houses were destroyed, as well as the dwelling of Dr. Priestley, together with his valuable library and philosophical instruments, and the manuscripts of works which had cost him years of labour.

The decree of the Constituent Assembly (September 14, 1791), wresting Avignon and the Venaissin from the pope, showed that the French revolutionary power would not long respect the territorial

^{*} It is not so much as a history of the French Revolution that Burke's "Reflections" are valuable, as for the profound philosophical insight the work affords into

the principles of the English constitution, of politics in general, and the immutable laws on which they rest.

rights of others. The person and authority of Louis XVI. were no longer respected. His attempted flight, which was stopped at Varennes (June, 1791), and the outcries of the French emigrants, headed by the Comte d'Artois, filled Europe, and especially Germany, with alarm. The emperor Leopold II., and Frederick III., king of Prussia, attended by many of their chief nobility, held a conference in August at Pilnitz, near Dresden. They signed a declaration that the interests of Europe were imperilled in the person of Louis. Hopes of succour were held out; Russia, Spain, and the principal states of Italy, subsequently declared their adherence to these views. England alone observed a strict neutrality. The war was begun by France. Leopold died in March, 1792, and Dumouriez, the Girondist minister for foreign affairs (for the Girondins were now in the ascendant), demanded from the emperor Francis II., as king of Hungary and Bohemia, an explanation of his views with regard to France. As his answers were considered evasive, war was declared (April 20). An army of Austrians and Prussians now took the field, under the command of the duke of Brunswick, who on July 25 published, against his own better judgment, that ill-considered manifesto which probably hastened the dethronement and murder of Louis XVI. The irritating and offensive language of the manifesto was not supported by vigorous action. The deposition of the king, the massacres of September in Paris, the defeat of Valmy, and finally the retreat of the duke of Brunswick, followed in rapid succession.

These events occasioned a great ferment in London. The militia was embodied, the Tower was fortified and guarded. A numerous meeting of merchants, bankers, and traders signed a loyal declaration, pledging themselves to uphold the constitution. The execution of the French king (January 21, 1793) provoked a still deeper sensation throughout the country. The French ambassador was dismissed, and immediate hostilities were anticipated. The ancient jealousies and rivalries between the two nations still subsisted, in spite of the imitation of English fashions, and some ill-understood admiration of English literature, which had been introduced into France by the duke of Orleans, and obtained the name of *Anglo-mania*. The French had displayed their willingness to interfere in the domestic affairs of other countries, by the decree of November 19, 1792, declaring themselves ready to fraternize with all nations desirous of recovering their liberty. In England various meetings and societies had voted congratulatory addresses to the French on their proceedings. Monge, the French minister of marine, in a circular letter of December 31, 1792, distinctly avowed the notion of flying to the assistance of the English republicans against their

tyrannical government; and on February 3, 1793, the French declared war against England and Holland.

Till now Pitt had been sanguine of peace. He was busy in establishing his great project of a sinking fund for reducing the national debt. He had supported the efforts of Wilberforce for the abolition of slavery; and, like most of his countrymen, he contemplated the further extension of the revolution with the strongest aversion.

§ 7. The whole of Europe was arrayed against the French, but the vigour of their measures enabled them to disconcert the ill-conceived and dilatory schemes of their enemies. In a short time they had no fewer than eight armies on foot; but into the detail of military operations we cannot enter, even briefly, further than England is concerned. In the course of the spring (1793) 10,000 British troops under the duke of York landed at Ostend; and, having joined the imperial army under the prince of Coburg, assisted to defeat the French at St. Amand. The success of the attack on the French camp at Famars (May 23) was chiefly owing to the British division, which turned the enemy's right. They were next employed in the siege of Valenciennes, which surrendered (July 25). The duke of York subsequently undertook the siege of Dunkirk, but without success; he was obliged to retreat upon Furnes, and in November the armies went into winter quarters. In the East and West Indies the English arms were more successful. In the former, Chandernagore, Pondicherry, and one or two smaller French settlements, fell into our hands; in the latter, Tobago, as well as St. Pierre and Miquelon, near Newfoundland, were captured, but the attempts on Martinique and St. Domingo failed.

In the same year the insurrection at Toulon was aided by the fleet cruising in the Mediterranean under the command of lord Hood, consisting of English, Spanish, and Neapolitan vessels. A French fleet of 18 sail of the line lay in Toulon harbour; but, after a little show of resistance, Hood and the Spanish commander took possession of the place in the name of Louis XVII. General O'Hara arrived from Gibraltar with reinforcements, and assumed the command. But even then the garrison was too small for the defence of Toulon against a besieging army of 30,000 men, especially as they had to struggle with jealousies and dissensions among themselves and treachery on the part of the inhabitants. It was on this scene that that extraordinary man first appeared, who was to sway for a brief period the destinies of Europe. Napoleon Bonaparte, then a *chef de bataillon*, was despatched to Toulon by the Committee of Public Safety as second in command of the artillery; but the siege was in reality conducted by his advice. By degrees, the heights

which surround the place were captured by the French; and when the eminence of Pharon fell into their hands, Toulon was no longer tenable. Before retiring it was determined to burn the fleet and arsenal; a task which was intrusted to the Spanish, under admiral Langara, and a body of British under captain sir Sidney Smith: but, owing to the remissness of the former, the operation was badly conducted. Nevertheless three sail of the line and 12 frigates were carried to England, and nine sail of the line and some smaller vessels were burnt by Smith. The allies also carried off as many of the royalist inhabitants as possible, to save them from the vengeance of the republican army.

§ 8. In September Garnier des Saintes proposed and carried in the Convention a vote denouncing Pitt as an enemy of the human race. This patron of mankind wished to add to the resolution that anybody had a right to assassinate the English minister; but the Convention was not quite prepared to adopt so abominable a doctrine. The manufactures of Great Britain were strictly prohibited in France; and it was ordered that all British subjects in whatever part of the republic should be arrested, and their property confiscated.

The preparations for the campaign of 1794 seemed to promise something of importance. The French had three armies on their northern frontier, those of the North, the Rhine, and the Moselle, amounting to 500,000 men, and mostly animated with an enthusiastic spirit. Voltaire, one of the literary patriarchs of the revolution, had laughed at the English shooting admiral Byng, "pour encourager les autres;" but the French themselves had on this occasion provided a like stimulus for defective patriotism or valour. An ambulatory guillotine, under the superintendence of St. Just and Le Bas, accompanied the march of the French army, and in cases of failure it was put into operation. The forces of the allies were also large, but inferior to the French. The emperor commanded in person 140,000 men, and had besides an army of 60,000 Austrians on the Rhine; the Prussians amounted to 65,000; the duke of York was at the head of 40,000 British and Hanoverians; and there was also a body of 32,000 emigrants and others. But division reigned among the allies. Austria and Prussia were jealous of each other, and intent on objects of selfish aggrandisement, to which the affairs of France were quite subordinated. Prussia demanded and received large subsidies from England, nor would Russia move an army without the same support.

The plan of the campaign was to take Landrecies and advance upon Paris. The siege was assigned to three divisions of the allied army, under the duke of York, the prince of Coburg, and the here-

ditary prince of Orange. There was much manœuvring along the whole line of frontier from Luxembourg to Nieuport, and several skirmishes and battles, attended with various success. The most remarkable of these was the battle of Turcoing. The object was to cut off the left wing of the French and drive them towards the sea, when they must have surrendered. The emperor superintended the attack in person, which was made with 90,000 men; but the operation proved a failure in consequence of the various divisions not arriving at the appointed time. On the following morning (May 18, 1794), the duke of York was surrounded at Turcoing by superior bodies of French, who took 1500 prisoners and 50 guns, but left 4000 men on the field. The duke himself escaped only through the fleetness of his horse. The British troops retrieved this disgrace a few days afterwards at Pont-à-chin; where Pichegru, the French general, with 100,000 men, made a general attack on the right wing of the allies. The battle had raged from 5 a.m. to 3 p.m., and the allies were beginning to give way, when the duke of York despatched to their support seven battalions of Austrians and the 2nd brigade of British infantry. The latter threw themselves into the centre of the French army, bayonet in hand, and completely routed them. Alarmed at the display of British valour on this and other occasions, the Convention passed a dastardly and ferocious decree, that no quarter should be given to British or Hanoverians. But the French generals refused to execute it.

On June 26 the allies were totally defeated on the plains of Fleurus, and were compelled to retreat. This battle sealed the fate of Flanders, nearly all the towns of which fell into the hands of the French. Led by generals Moreau, Jourdan, and Pichegru, they were equally successful on the Rhine and wherever they were engaged. During this time the Reign of Terror was in full vigour in France; but it was drawing towards its close, and on July 28 Robespierre was executed.

The prince of Orange and duke of York had been compelled to retire gradually before the overwhelming armies of the French. Towards winter they entered Amsterdam, and a little afterwards the duke resigned his command to general Walmoden and returned to England. The Dutch had determined to defend themselves by inundating the country; but they were deprived of this resource by a severe frost. The French crossed the rivers and canals on the ice; and then was beheld the singular spectacle of a fleet, frozen up at the entrance of the Zuyder Zee, captured by land forces and artillery. The Stadtholder and a great number of Dutch of the higher classes fled to England. The British troops, unable to maintain their position in the province of Utrecht, retreated towards Westphalia,

enduring the most dreadful sufferings, both from the rigour of the season and the barbarity of their allies, who plundered, insulted, and sometimes murdered the sick and wounded. At length they reached Bremen, and embarked for England in March, 1795. A large portion of the Dutch nation were willing to fraternize with the French, and Holland submitted to them without resistance.

§ 9. As in the preceding year, the disasters of England on the continent were in a great degree compensated by her naval successes and her victories in other quarters. In the summer of 1794, Corsica was taken by admiral lord Hood and annexed to the British crown; but in 1796 the French recovered it by a revolt of the inhabitants. In this expedition colonel Moore and captain Nelson highly distinguished themselves. At the siege of Calvi, Nelson received a wound which destroyed the sight of his right eye. But the most brilliant victory of the year was that gained by lord Howe. The French had resolved to dispute the sovereignty of the seas, and had prepared at Brest a fleet of 26 ships of the line, commanded by Jean Bon St. André, once a calvinist minister. Howe fell in with them (May 28) with a larger number of ships; but in weight of metal the French were much superior, having 1290 guns to 1012 of the English. A general engagement ensued on June 1, when, after an hour's hard fighting, Howe succeeded in breaking the French line. The French admiral then made for port, followed by all the ships capable of carrying sail. Seven ships were captured and one sunk during the action. For this victory lord Howe and the fleet received the thanks of parliament; London was illuminated three nights; and the king and queen, accompanied by some of the younger branches of the royal family, visited the fleet at Spithead, when the king presented Howe with a magnificent sword set in diamonds. Success also attended our arms in the West Indies, where admiral sir John Jervis and lieutenant-general sir Charles Grey captured Martinique, St. Lucie, and Les Saintes. But an attack upon the French portion of St. Domingo proved a failure.

§ 10. In England attempts were made this year by seditious admirers of the French revolution to excite disturbances; but the great mass of the public remained unmoved. Several prosecutions were instituted by government, the most remarkable of which were those of Hardy, Horne Tooke, and Thelwall; but convictions were obtained only in two instances at Edinburgh, where one individual was hanged and another transported for life. The ill success of the continental campaigns had increased the peace party; but Mr. Pitt warmly supported the war as just and necessary. In April, 1795, Prussia, though she had accepted a subsidy from England, made a separate treaty with France, and the emperor required a loan of

four or five millions to continue the war, which was granted. The western provinces of France were still in arms in favour of monarchy, and Pitt entertained their applications for assistance. A considerable body of French royalists, accompanied by a few English troops, landed at Quiberon in June; but discord prevailed among the emigrants. They were opposed by the brave and skilful general Hoche, and were speedily obliged to surrender (July).

After the flight of the Stadtholder to England, an embargo was laid on all Dutch shipping in English ports; and, as the United Provinces had submitted to French domination, orders were issued for reprisals against them. In the West Indies, the Dutch colonies of Demerara, Berbice, and Essequibo, were captured; in the East, the greater part of the island of Ceylon, Malacca, Cochin, and the other Dutch settlements on the continent. About the same time the Cape of Good Hope was taken; and the whole of a squadron sent out by the Dutch in the following year to recapture it fell into the hands of admiral Elphinstone. Against these successes must be set off the retaking of St. Lucie and St. Vincent's by the French. Towards the close of the year a great disaster occurred. To retrieve our losses in the West Indies, a large fleet was despatched under admiral Christian, with 15,000 troops commanded by sir Ralph Abercrombie. Scarcely had they passed the isle of Portland when they were caught in a violent gale from the west; many transports were wrecked; the Chesil beach was strewn with corpses; and the fleet was so much damaged that the expedition was wholly discontinued. In the following year, however, the remains of it were refitted and despatched under admiral Cornwallis, and St. Lucie and St. Vincent's were recovered.

In England sedition was inflamed by a bad harvest and the high price of bread. The king, proceeding to open parliament (October 29), was assailed with groans and hootings, and a bullet, or marble, supposed to have been discharged from an air-gun, passed through his carriage-window. The same spirit was manifested on his return. Missiles of every kind were hurled at his coach; and when he had alighted, the rabble followed it to the Mews, and broke it to pieces. During these outrages the king displayed the greatest composure, and delivered his speech with his usual firmness.

§ 11. A peace had been effected between France and Spain by Don Emanuel Godoy, afterwards styled the Prince of the Peace; and in the spring of 1796 an offensive and defensive alliance, with regard to England only, was concluded between these powers at San Ildefonso. The design of this alliance was to injure British commerce by coercing Portugal. A French army was to march through Spain upon Lisbon; and the queen of Portugal, in her alarm, con-

sented to declare that city a free port. Spain, which soon afterwards declared war against Great Britain, was by this alliance placed as much at the disposal of France as by the Family Compact; but she only prepared the way for her own subsequent misfortunes.

After their retreat from Holland, the English for a long time took no part in the struggle on the continent, and the war was confined to France and Austria by land, and France, Spain, and Great Britain at sea. This was the year of Bonaparte's splendid campaign in Italy (1796); but, in spite of their great successes in that quarter, the French met with reverses on the Rhine. The Directory seemed not disinclined for peace, and lord Malmesbury, who was despatched to make overtures, was received with acclamations by the Parisians. It was, however, soon evident, from the arrogant and insincere tone of the French minister, that peace was not really desired. Every opportunity was taken to insult and irritate lord Malmesbury. In December he received a rude message to quit Paris in 48 hours. The negotiations had been protracted so long merely to prepare an expedition against Ireland; and two days after lord Malmesbury's departure a French fleet sailed from Brest. It was, however, dispersed by a storm. Only a small portion of it succeeded in reaching Bantry Bay; but the inhabitants proved hostile, and the attempt was frustrated. This attempt was connected with another scheme for the invasion of England. A body of about 1200 malefactors and galley-slaves were to have ascended the Avon and burnt Bristol; but, having been landed at Fishguard Bay in Pembrokeshire, they surrendered to about half their number of fencibles and militia collected by lord Cawdor. The two frigates which brought them were captured on their way home.

The war had pressed heavily upon the resources of the country, and early in 1797 it was evident that the Bank of England, which had advanced 10½ millions for the public service, would be unable to meet its payments in specie. In February an order in council appeared, prohibiting the Bank from paying their notes in specie. At a meeting of the principal bankers and merchants in London, it was resolved to take Bank notes to any amount; notes of 1*l*. and 2*l*. were issued, and in March Pitt brought in his Bank Restriction Bill, the main provisions of which were to indemnify the Bank for refusing cash payments, and to prohibit them from making such payments except in sums under 20*s*. The bill was to continue in force till June 24. Afterwards the term was prolonged, and the Bank did not resume cash payments till some years after the war (in 1821).

§ 12. The French, to whom Spain and Holland were now subsidiary, determined upon an invasion of England on a grand scale, and large fleets, amounting to more than 70 sail, were got ready at

the Texel, Brest, and Cadiz. Commodore Nelson, whilst sailing with a convoy to Gibraltar, descried a Spanish fleet of 27 sail of the line off Cape St. Vincent, and hastened to notify it to admiral Jervis, who was cruising with 15 sail of the line. Nelson hoisted his pendant on board the *Captain*, of 74 guns; and the hostile fleets came in sight at daybreak on February 14, 1797. The Spaniards were not only superior in number, but also in the size of their ships. Among them was the *Santissima Trinidad*, of 136 guns on four decks, supposed to be the largest man-of-war in the world. Jervis cut off nine of their ships before they could form their line of battle, eight of which immediately took to flight. Of their remaining ships, Nelson, supported by captain Trowbridge in the *Culloden*, engaged no fewer than six; namely, the *Santissima Trinidad*, the *San Josef*, and the *Salvador del Mondo*, each of 112 guns, and three seventy-fours. He was nobly supported by captain Frederick in the *Blenheim*, and captain Collingwood in the *Excellent*. When Nelson's ship was nearly disabled, and his ammunition almost expended, he found himself exposed to the fire from the *San Josef*. Boarding the *San Nicolas*, he next headed a party and took the *San Josef*, himself leading the way, and exclaiming, "Westminster Abbey or victory!" The Spanish admiral declined renewing the fight, though many of our ships were quite disabled, and at the close of the day he made his escape in the *Santissima Trinidad*. For this victory sir John Jervis was raised to the peerage by the title of earl St. Vincent, with a pension of 3000*l.* a year. Nelson was included in a promotion of rear-admirals, and received the Order of the Bath. In July he made an unsuccessful attempt on the town of Santa Cruz in Teneriffe, with a small squadron, but, on the point of landing, his right arm was shattered by a shot, and he was obliged to have it amputated.

§ 13. Though our navy formed both the glory and the safeguard of the country, yet in this very year it threatened to be the source of our disgrace and ruin. Discontent was lurking among the seamen, who complained that they only received the wages fixed in the reign of Charles II., though the prices of articles had risen at least 30 per cent.;—that their provisions were deficient in weight and measure;—that they were not properly tended when sick;—that their pay was stopped when they were wounded;—and that when in port they were detained on board ship. On May 7 a mutiny broke out in the fleet at Spithead. Upon the signal being given to weigh, the crew of the *Queen Charlotte*, the flag-ship, instead of obeying, ran up the shrouds and gave three cheers, which were answered from the other ships. Two delegates from each then went on board the *Queen Charlotte*, where orders were framed for the government of

the fleet, and petitions were drawn up to the House of Commons and the lords of the Admiralty for a redress of grievances. This alarming mutiny was at length suppressed by judicious concessions, and by the personal influence of lord Howe, who was deservedly popular among the seamen, and who, at the king's request, proceeded on board the fleet. But no sooner was the mutiny at Spithead quelled, than another still more dangerous broke out among the ships in the Medway. One Richard Parker, formerly a small shopkeeper in Scotland, was the ringleader. Though illiterate, he was a man of quick intellect and determined will, and assumed the style of rear-admiral Parker. The ships were withdrawn from Sheerness to the Nore, to be out of reach of the batteries; the obnoxious officers were sent on shore and the red flag hoisted. The demands of the mutineers were more peremptory and more extensive than those made at Portsmouth, and embraced important alterations in the Articles of War. Altogether 24 or 25 ships were included in the mutiny. The mutineers seized certain store-ships, fired on some frigates that were about to put to sea, and had even the audacity to blockade the mouth of the Thames. Gloom and depression pervaded the metropolis, and the Funds fell to an unheard-of price. All attempts at conciliation having failed, it became necessary to resort to stringent measures. Pitt brought in a bill for the better prevention and punishment of attempts to seduce seamen; and another forbidding all intercourse with the mutineers, on the penalty of felony. Several ships and numerous gunboats were armed; batteries were erected on shore; the mutineers were prevented from landing to obtain fresh water or provisions; and all the buoys and beacons were removed, so as to render egress from the Thames impossible. A great part of the crews had in their hearts continued loyal, and the proposal to carry the fleet into a French port was rejected with horror. One by one the ships engaged in the mutiny began to drop off, and at last the *Sandwich*, Parker's flag-ship, ran in under the batteries and delivered up the ringleaders. Parker was hanged at the yard-arm (June 30). He behaved at his death with great modesty and firmness, expressing a hope that his fate would be considered as some atonement for his crimes, and save the lives of others.

Notwithstanding the defeat of their Spanish auxiliaries at St. Vincent, the French did not abandon their project of an invasion, and during the summer a fleet of 15 sail of the line, with frigates, under admiral de Winter, was prepared in the Texel to convey 15,000 men to Ireland, then on the point of rebellion. Admiral Duncan, who was refitting in Yarmouth Roads after the mutiny, hearing that De Winter had put to sea, joined his fleet in sight of the enemy, placed himself between them and a lee shore, off Camper-

down, and after a desperate engagement, which lasted four hours, captured eight sail of the line, two ships of 56 guns, and a frigate (October 11). For this victory he was made viscount Duncan* of Camperdown, with a pension of 3000*l*.

Duncan's victory was an effectual bar to all projects of invasion; nevertheless the French still continued their empty menaces. Bonaparte, who was now rapidly advancing towards supreme power, had conceived a deadly hatred of this country. After compelling the Austrians to the peace of Campo Formio (October 17), he had returned to Paris, where he was enthusiastically received; the Directory called him to their councils, and consulted him on every occasion. An army, called the Army of England, was marched towards the Channel. A proclamation was issued, in which it is difficult to say whether the abuse of England or the vaunting laudation of France was the more silly and extravagant. A loan of about four millions sterling was proposed to be raised on the security of the contemplated conquest, but without effect. The threatened invasion was only a mask, intended to conceal an expedition which Bonaparte was now meditating against Egypt.

§ 14. The English in their turn were not backward. In May, 1793, Havre was bombarded by sir Richard Strahan; and in the same month an expedition, under sir Home Popham, was undertaken against Ostend. General Coote landed with 1000 men, and destroyed the basin, gates, and sluices of the Bruges canal, in order to interrupt the navigation between France and Flanders. But as the surf prevented their return to the ships, and on the following morning they were surrounded by several columns of the enemy drawn from the adjacent garrisons, they were outnumbered, and obliged to surrender.

At the same period, Bonaparte, accompanied by a body of *savans*, sailed from Toulon on his Egyptian expedition, with 13 ships of the line and transports, conveying 20,000 men (May 19). His object was a mere desire of spoliation and aggrandizement, for the French had not the shadow of a grievance to allege against the Porte. On the way, Malta, then governed by the Grand Master and Knights of St. John, was surprised and seized with as little pretence. At the beginning of July the French landed between 3000 and 4000 men near Alexandria, and captured that city after a slight resistance. They took Aboukir and Rosetta, and thus gained the command of one of the mouths of the Nile. Bonaparte issued a proclamation, in which he declared that the French were "true Mussulmans," and took credit for driving out the Christian Knights of Malta. He then crossed the desert, fought the battles of Chebreiss and the Pyramids, and seized Cairo, the capital of Egypt.

* His son was created earl of Camperdown in 1831.

Meanwhile Nelson had been vainly looking out for the French fleet, and it was not till August 1 that he descried their transports in the harbour of Alexandria. Their men-of-war were anchored in the Bay of Aboukir, as close as possible to the shore. Nevertheless Nelson determined to get inside of them with some of his vessels, a manœuvre for which they were not prepared; and, though the *Culloden* grounded in the attempt, Nelson persevered. Thus a great part of the enemy's fleet was placed between two fires. The battle began at six in the evening. By eight o'clock four ships of the French van had struck, but the combat still raged in the centre. Between nine and ten o'clock, the French admiral's ship, *L'Orient*, having caught fire, blew up with a terrible explosion, followed by a deep silence of full ten minutes. The battle was then renewed, and continued through the night, with only an hour's respite. Separate engagements occurred throughout the following day, and at noon rear-admiral Villeneuve escaped with four ships. On the following morning the only French ships remaining uncaptured or undestroyed were the *Timoléon* and the *Tonnant*, when the latter surrendered, and the former was set on fire and abandoned by the crew. Such was the victory known as the "Battle of the Nile." From the heights of Rosetta the French beheld with consternation and dismay the destruction of their fleet, which deprived them of the means of returning to their country. Soon afterwards the islands of Gozo and Minorca fell into the hands of the English.

The news of Nelson's victory was received with the sincerest demonstrations of joy not only at home, but through a great part of Europe. He was created baron Nelson of the Nile and of Burnham Thorpe in Norfolk; the thanks of both houses of parliament were voted to him, and an annuity of 2000'. He received also magnificent presents from the Grand Seignor, the emperor of Russia, and the king of Sardinia. His return to the Bay of Naples animated the king to undertake an expedition against Rome, which was recovered from the French. At the same time Nelson landed 6000 men and captured Leghorn. These enterprises, however, were rash and ill-considered. In a few days the French retook Rome and marched upon Naples itself, when the king took refuge on board Nelson's ship and proceeded to Sicily, which for some time became his home. Naples, deserted by the sovereign and the greater part of the nobility, was heroically defended by the lower classes and the lazzaroni; but, as they had no artillery, they were forced to succumb, and the French established the Parthenopean Republic.

In consequence of the battle of the Nile, an alliance was formed between England, Russia, and the Porte; and early in 1799 hostilities were recommenced between Austria and France. The Congress of

Rastadt, which had been some time sitting with the view of arranging a general pacification, was dissolved, and the French, defeated by the archduke Charles at the battle of Stockach, near the Lake of Constance (March 25), were obliged to recross the Rhine. At the same time the Russians under Suwarov, advancing into Italy, recovered with extraordinary rapidity all the conquests made by Bonaparte, with the exception of Genoa. Suwarov then invaded Switzerland, but all his successes were compromised by the want of cordial co-operation between him and the Austrians.

§ 15. After the alliance between England and Russia, a joint expedition was agreed upon for the recovery of Holland, which was to be undertaken with 30,000 British troops under sir Ralph Abercrombie and 17,000 Russians (1799). The first division of the British, under sir James Pulteney, general Moore, and general Coote, effected a landing, and after two severe encounters took the towns of the Helder and Huysduinen. The fleet entered the Texel, and the Dutch fleet of 13 ships of war, together with some Indiamen and transports, surrendered by capitulation to admiral Mitchell (August 30). In the middle of September, by the arrival of some Russian divisions, and of the duke of York with three British brigades, the allied army amounted to 33,000 men, of which the duke was commander-in-chief. Several actions took place, attended with varying success and considerable losses on both sides. At length the duke, sensible of the advancing season, and finding that his army was reduced by 10,000 men, retired to a fortified position at the Zype, which he might have maintained by inundating the country; but, as such an operation would have destroyed an immense amount of property and occasioned great misery to the Dutch, he preferred to capitulate. It was agreed that he should restore the Helder in the same state as before its capture, together with 8000 Dutch and French prisoners, and that the allied army should re-embark without molestation before the end of November. Thus ended an expedition which, though unfortunate, can hardly be called disgraceful. As a sort of compensation, the Dutch colony of Surinam was conquered this summer.

Meanwhile the situation of the French in Egypt had become very critical. The army was seized with alarm and dejection; many committed suicide; but Bonaparte retained his presence of mind. Having despatched Desaix against the Mamelukes in Upper Egypt, he himself undertook an expedition into Palestine against Djezzar Pasha. El Arish, Gaza, Jaffa, yielded to his arms. At Jaffa he massacred in cold blood between 3000 and 4000 prisoners. But at St. Jean d'Acre, the key of Syria, he was met by sir Sidney Smith, to whom the sultan had entrusted his fleet. Sir Sidney destroyed

the flotilla that was conveying the French battering-train, nevertheless they continued the siege with field-pieces. After a siege of two months, and several assaults, Bonaparte was compelled to retreat, though he had resorted to the treachery of ordering an assault after sending in a flag of truce. Returning to Egypt towards the end of August, he went on board a French man-of-war in the night, accompanied by some of his best generals, leaving the command of the army to Ménou and Kléber. By hugging the African coast he escaped the English cruisers, and arrived safely at Fréjus. Notwithstanding his ill success, his popularity had if possible increased in Paris. On the 18th of Brumaire (November 9), he turned out the two Legislative Assemblies at St. Cloud. The five Directors were compelled to resign, and a new executive, consisting of three consuls, Bonaparte, Siéyès, and Roger Ducos, took their places.

§ 16. A measure was now in agitation in England for consolidating the power and integrity of the empire by a union with Ireland. That country had been for some years in a very disturbed state. The examples of America and France had inspired many with the idea of establishing an independent republic. About 1793 the society of United Irishmen, consisting mostly of Protestants, was formed. Its projector, a barrister named Theobald Wolfe Tone, having become secretary of the committee for managing the affairs of the Irish Roman catholics, effected an alliance between the two religious parties. The ramifications of this society extended throughout Ireland. Tone, having been detected in a treasonable correspondence with the French, was obliged to fly to America, whence he soon afterwards passed over to France, and employed himself in forwarding the projected invasions already mentioned in 1796 and 1797. Notwithstanding the frustration of these expeditions, the Irish malcontents did not abandon their plan of an insurrection. One of their principal leaders was lord Edward Fitzgerald, brother to the duke of Leinster. Fitzgerald was seconded by Arthur O'Connor, Napper Tandy, Thomas Addis Emmet, Oliver Bond, and others. But the conspiracy was divulged by one Thomas Reynolds, and some of the principal conspirators were arrested at a meeting held by them in Bond's house. (March 12, 1798). Fitzgerald happened not to be present, but he was discovered and seized about two months afterwards. He made a desperate resistance, wounding two of the officers sent to apprehend him, one of whom died of his injuries. He himself was shot with a bullet in the shoulder, the effects of which proved fatal. After this discovery martial law was proclaimed in Ireland, and many acts of violence and cruelty took place on both sides. Numerous

engagements occurred in various quarters, in which the rebels were almost invariably defeated, except in Wexford, where they were in greatest force, and where they sometimes made head against the king's troops. Their principal camp or station was at Vinegar Hill, near the town of Wexford, and here they were defeated (June 21) by general Lake, the commander-in-chief. Lord Cornwallis, the new viceroy, who arrived shortly afterwards, succeeded in reducing the country to comparative tranquillity.

The union of England and Ireland had been discussed for many years as a speculative question, and these disturbances forced it upon the serious attention of the government. The king, in his speech on opening parliament (Jan. 22, 1800), alluded to the subject, and a few days afterwards Pitt brought forward a series of resolutions, which were carried after considerable debate. A bill embodying these resolutions passed both houses in the following July. By its main provisions, 100* Irish members were added to the English House of Commons, 32 Irish peers to the House of Lords—four spiritual and 28 temporal—whose seats were to be held for life. The measure passed both houses of the Irish parliament, and it was agreed that the Union should take effect on January 1, 1801. On that day, a council was held consisting of the most eminent dignitaries in church and state, including the royal princes. They issued proclamations for making the necessary changes in the king's title, the national arms, and the liturgy. The title of "King of France" was dropped and the *fleurs de lys* expunged from the royal arms; long since an empty pretension, which had proved inconvenient in recent negotiations with France.

§ 17. When Pitt brought forward this measure, he publicly renounced the opinions which he had formerly held on the subject of parliamentary reform. England had now, he considered, ridden through the revolutionary storm, and the change of circumstances produced by the French revolution justified a change of views.

During the debates on the Union the Irish catholics remained almost entirely neutral, and what little feeling they displayed was in its favour. This is attributable to their hatred of the Orangemen, the warmest opponents of union, as also to the expectation that their demands would be more favourably considered in a united parliament than by a separate Irish legislature. Pitt was not adverse to their claims, and held out to them hopes to that effect.

This year the king was shot at in his box at Drury-lane theatre (May 15). When the assassin was apprehended, he was found to be a lunatic named James Hatfield, and the attempt was not in any way connected with politics. But the deficient harvest this year, and

* Now 105.

the consequent high price of bread, occasioned much distress and discontent. Attacks on the property of farmers, millers, and corn-dealers, were frequent in the country and riots occurred in London.

On December 25, 1799, Bonaparte addressed a letter personally to George III., containing overtures of peace; but on receiving only an unfavourable reply, couched in official terms, and another of similar import from Austria, he crossed the Alps, and defeated the Austrians at Marengo (June 14, 1800). By this success he became master of northern Italy, while the battle of Hohenlinden, in Bavaria, gained by Moreau in December, by opening to the French the way to Vienna, enabled Bonaparte to dictate peace to the Austrians at Luneville (February 9, 1801). On the other hand, Malta surrendered to the British, after a blockade of two years (September 5, 1800).

Disputes had again occurred between England and the northern powers respecting the right of search, and they were artfully fomented by France. The emperor Paul was also offended by the rejection of his claims upon Malta, to which he thought himself entitled as Grand Master. In November, 1800, he proceeded to lay an embargo on British vessels and to sequester all British property in Russia. The masters and crews of about 300 ships were seized and carried in dispersed parties into the interior, where only a miserable pittance was assigned for their subsistence. Before the end of the year a league of armed neutrality was formed between Russia and Sweden, and was soon after joined by Denmark.

§ 18. While new difficulties were thus gathering around England, the statesman who had hitherto so ably directed her course was about to retire from the helm. Previously to the Union, Pitt had expressed himself in favour of the catholic claims, and before the first parliament of Great Britain and Ireland assembled he addressed a letter to the king (January 31, 1801), in which he expressed the opinion of himself and his colleagues, that Roman catholics should be admitted to sit in parliament and to hold public offices. George III. entertained very strong scruples on this subject. He regarded any relaxation of the catholic disabilities as a breach of his coronation oath, and in this opinion he was confirmed by lord Loughborough, the chancellor. In his reply the king entreated Pitt not to leave office, but he would make no concessions to his views, and Pitt determined to resign. The king then sent for Mr. Addington, the speaker, who after some delay succeeded in forming a ministry. Sir John Scott obtained the chancellorship, with the title of lord Eldon; his predecessor, lord Loughborough, retiring with a pension and the higher title of earl of Rosslyn.

The threatening nature of the northern league now demanded

serious attention. In March the king of Prussia had notified to the Hanoverian government his accession to the league, and the closing of the mouths of the Elbe, the Weser, and the Ems. He demanded and obtained immediate military possession of Hanover. A little previously Hamburg had been seized in the name of the king of Denmark by prince Charles of Hesse, at the head of 15,000 men, and an embargo laid on all British property. Remonstrances having failed, a fleet of 18 sail of the line, with frigates, gunboats, and bomb-vessels, was despatched to Denmark, under the command of sir Hyde Parker, with Nelson as second in command. The Danish navy itself was considerably superior to the force despatched against it, and Nelson pressed the necessity of hastening operations before the breaking up of the ice should enable the Russians to come to the assistance of the enemy. The passage of the Sound was preferred to that of the Belt, though more exposed to the guns of the enemy, and by keeping near the Swedish coast the fire of Kronburg castle was avoided. Between Copenhagen and the sand-bank which defends its approach, the Danes had moored floating batteries mounting 70 guns; and 13 men-of-war were also posted before the town. Nelson led in with the greater part of the fleet, and anchored off Draco point, while sir Hyde Parker with the remainder menaced the Crown batteries. Two of Nelson's ships grounded in going in, so that he could not extend his line. The action was hot, and sir Hyde Parker hoisted the signal to desist; but Nelson would not see it, and, hoisting his own for closer action, ordered it to be nailed to the mast. The Danes, encouraged by the presence of the crown-prince, fought with desperate valour; but by half-past three the Danish ships had all struck, though it was impossible to carry them off on account of the batteries. Nelson now sent a note ashore addressed "to the brothers of Englishmen, the Danes," in which he remarked that if he could effect a reconciliation between the two countries, he should consider it the greatest victory he ever had gained (April 2, 1801). Subsequently he had an audience with Christian VII., and Denmark was detached from the league.

The happy effects of this blow were seconded by an accident. Just at this time the emperor Paul was assassinated. His son and successor, Alexander I., immediately declared his intention of governing on the principles of Catharine, and he ordered all British prisoners to be liberated and all sequestered British property to be restored. When Nelson proceeded from Copenhagen to Cronstadt, he found that the pacific disposition of Alexander rendered all attack superfluous, even had the strength of the place permitted it. Lord St. Helens negotiated a treaty at St. Petersburg, to which the king of Sweden acceded. On June 17 a definitive treaty was signed by

Great Britain, Russia, Denmark, and Sweden. By this treaty the rights of neutral navigation were placed on a satisfactory footing, the neutrality of the Elbe was re-established, the troops withdrawn from Hamburg and Lubeck, and the embargo on British property removed. On the other hand, England restored all captured vessels belonging to the northern powers, and the islands in the West Indies which she had taken from the Danes and Sweden. These results were due in great part to the unhesitating vigour of Nelson.

§ 19. Foiled in their northern projects, the French renewed the threat of invasion. Camps had been formed at Ostend, Dunkirk, Brest, and St. Malo; but the main force was assembled at Boulogne. It was rumoured that immense rafts, to be impelled by mechanical power, and capable of conveying an army, were to be constructed. But, though so chimerical a project was never realized, precautions against it were adopted in England. Nelson, having taken the command of a squadron, commissioned to operate between Orfordness and Beachy Head, sent a few vessels into Boulogne, which succeeded in destroying two floating batteries, two gunboats, and a gun-brig. An attempt to cut out the flotilla in that harbour with boats proved abortive, and the French triumphed in the result as if the memory of Copenhagen and the Nile had been obliterated (August 16).

Ever since the accession of Mr. Addington to power, negotiations had been attempted for a peace with France, but the haughty views of the first consul rendered them abortive. The eyes of the English ministry were still anxiously directed towards Egypt, from which, on account of our East Indian possessions, as well as for other reasons, it was highly desirable that the French should be expelled. Towards the close of 1800, an army of about 15,000 men, under the command of sir Ralph Abercrombie, was despatched to Egypt. The French force there had been greatly underrated. In spite of our cruisers, they had managed to procure reinforcements. Their army numbered more than 32,000 men, with upwards of 1000 pieces of artillery and some excellent cavalry, whilst the English were very deficient in both. Early in March, 1801, the first British division, consisting of 5000 or 6000 men, landed in boats in Aboukir Bay, under a hot discharge of shot, shell, grape, and musketry from the castle, and from artillery planted on the sand-hills. In the midst of this fire the British troops formed on the beach as they landed, and without firing a shot drove the French from the position at the point of the bayonet. Their loss, however, was very considerable. On March 18, Aboukir castle surrendered. Early in the morning of the 21st, Ménou, who had succeeded Kléber as commander-in-chief, advancing from Cairo

with a large force, attempted to surprise the English camp. The combat was sustained with great obstinacy, and the ammunition of both parties being exhausted, was carried on with stones. At length, after a struggle of nearly seven hours and the loss of 4000 men, Ménéu retired. The English loss was only about 1500, but among them was Abercrombie, who received a wound of which he expired in a week.

§ 20. General Hutchinson, on whom the command now devolved, being reinforced by the Turks, successively captured Rosetta, El Aft, and Cairo, which last surrendered on June 27, after a siege of 20 days. It was agreed that the garrison, consisting of about 13,000 French, should be conveyed to France at the expense of the allied powers. Ménéu still held out in Alexandria. General Hutchinson, being again reinforced by 7000 or 8000 Sepoys from India as well as by British troops, laid siege to that city on August 3, and on the 22nd it surrendered in spite of Ménéu's boast of holding out to the last extremity. The French garrison of 11,500 men obtained the same terms as that of Cairo. Six ships of war in the harbour were divided between the English and Turks. The arsenals were permitted to retain their private papers, but all manuscripts and collections of art and science made for the republic were surrendered.*

The French now began to listen to proposals for peace, and the preliminaries were signed (October 1). England was to cede all the French, Spanish, and Dutch colonies acquired during the war, except Trinidad and Ceylon; the Cape of Good Hope was to be open to both the contracting parties; Minorca was finally given back to Spain; Malta to be restored to the Order of St. John, Egypt to the Porte; the French were to evacuate Naples and the States of the Church, the English Porto Ferrajo in Elba. On these terms a definitive treaty was signed at Amiens between Great Britain, France, and Holland (March 27, 1802). It was joyfully received in London as well as in Paris; yet even the ministers did not venture to call it great or glorious. It left France in a state of unjust aggrandizement, whilst we had acquired little or nothing by the expenditure of so much blood and treasure. France retained the Austrian Netherlands, Dutch Flanders, the course of the Scheldt, and part of Dutch Brabant, Maestricht, Venloo, and other fortresses of importance, the German territories on the left bank of the Rhine, Avignon, Savoy, Geneva, Nice, etc. Yet Bonaparte's ambition was not satisfied. Charles Emmanuel IV., king of Sardinia,

* It was on this occasion that the celebrated Rosetta stone was acquired, together with many statues, oriental MSS., &c., which, presented to the nation by

George III., formed the foundation of the collection of Egyptian antiquities in the British Museum.

having abdicated his throne in favour of his brother, Victor Emmanuel I. (June 4), Bonaparte annexed Piedmont to France as the 27th military department, on the pretence that, this being the king's second abdication, his subjects were released from their allegiance. Soon after, on the death of the grand duke of Parma, his territories were also seized. In all the neighbouring countries the influence of France was paramount. Spain was her abject vassal; her troops, under pretence of a Jacobin plot, still occupied Holland, contrary to the treaty of Amiens; and in Switzerland, whose constitution had been overthrown by Bonaparte, he reigned supreme under the title of Mediator. France herself was rapidly passing from anarchy to despotism. On May 9, Bonaparte was elected consul for ten years, and in August for life. In his court at the Tuileries and St. Cloud he displayed as much magnificence as the ancient sovereigns of France. His power was supported by the establishment of the Legion of Honour, a sort of new nobility, consisting of 7000 men receiving honours and pensions, and dispersed throughout the republic. But amidst these selfish aims much was also effected for the public good by the establishment of the code, still in force as the "Code Napoléon," by the diffusion of public instruction, and by other measures of the like nature. The church and the authority of the pope were restored by a concordat, though the clergy were still held in an oppressed and degraded state. (Supplement, Note XXIX.)



Medal in commemoration of the Battle of Trafalgar.

Obv.: HORATIO VISCOUNT NELSON: K. B. DUKE OF BRONTË. &c. But to left.

CHAPTER XXXIII.

GEORGE III.—CONTINUED. FROM THE PEACE OF AMIENS TO THE DEATH OF THE KING. A.D. 1802-1820.

1. Hostile feelings between France and England. Declaration of war. Hanover seized. § 2. Change of ministry. Pitt premier. War with Spain. Bonaparte proclaimed emperor, as NAPOLEON I. His violent measures. § 3. Impeachment of lord Melville. League between England, Russia, and Sweden. Napoleon enters Vienna. § 4. Nelson chases the French fleet to the West Indies. Sir Robert Calder's action. Battle of Trafalgar, and death of Nelson. § 5. Death of Pitt. The "Talents" ministry. Fox vainly attempts a peace. § 6. Battle of Maida. War between France and Prussia. Berlin Decree. § 7. Death of Fox. Duke of Portland prime minister. Abolition of the slave-trade. § 8. Expeditions to Rio de la Plata, to Constantinople, and to Egypt. § 9. Peace of Tilsit. Expedition to Copenhagen and capture of the Danish fleet. § 10. Napoleon seizes Lisbon. Milan Decree. The throne of Spain seized for Joseph Bonaparte. Sir Arthur Wellesley proceeds to Portugal. § 11. Battle of Vimiera. Advance and retreat of sir John Moore. Battle of Corunna, and death of Moore. § 12. Colonel Wardle's charges against the duke of York. Sir A. Wellesley commander-in-chief in Portugal. Battle of Talavera. § 13. Napoleon conquers the Austrians. Expedition to Walcheren. Expedition to Calabria. Ionian islands captured. § 14 Change in the ministry. Mr. Perceval premier. Burdett riots. Massena advances into Portugal. Battle of Busaco. Wellington occupies the lines of Torres Vedras. § 15. George III.'s illness. The regency. Retreat of Massena. Battles of Barrosa, of Fuentes de Oñoro, and of Albuera. § 16. Perceval shot. Lord Liverpool prime minister. Ciudad Rodrigo and Badajoz taken. Battle of Salamanca. Wellington enters Madrid. § 17. War with the Americans. Napoleon's Russian expedition. Treaties with Sweden and Russia. § 18. Wellington advances into



REV.: ENGLAND EXPECTS EVERY MAN WILL DO HIS DUTY. English and French fleet engaged. Below, TRAFALGAR OCT. 21. 1805.

Spain. Battle of Vittoria. Retreat of the French, and battles of the Pyrenees. Wellington enters France. § 19. Coalition against Napoleon. Battles of Orthez and Toulouse. Abdication of Napoleon. § 20. Congress of Châtillon. The allies enter Paris. Restoration of Louis XVIII., and peace of Paris. § 21. Progress of the American war. Peace of Ghent. § 22. Congress of Vienna. Escape of Napoleon. Battle of Waterloo. § 23. The allies enter Paris. Napoleon carried to St. Helena. Peace of Paris. § 24. Distress and discontent in England. Hampden clubs. Spa-fields riot. Algiers reduced. § 25. Hone's trial. Death of the princess Charlotte. Royal marriages. Congress of Aix-la-Chapelle. § 26. Peel's Act to repeal the Bank restriction. Manchester riots. Repressive measures. Death and character of George III.

§ 1. It was soon felt that the peace could not last. Bonaparte evidently designed to exclude England from all continental influence or even commerce. Libels and invectives appeared both in the French and English newspapers. The harbouring of French emigrants in England, and allowing them to wear orders which had been abolished, furnished prominent topics of complaint. To remove one cause of dissatisfaction, Peltier, the editor of a French paper published in London, called the *Ambigu*, was prosecuted and convicted of a libel on Bonaparte; but before sentence was passed he escaped punishment, owing to the altered relations between the two countries.

It was known that extensive preparations were making in the ports of France and Holland, designed, as it was pretended, for the French colonies; but George III., in a message to parliament (March 8, 1803), adverted to the necessity of being prepared, and it was resolved to call out the militia and augment the naval

force. This message excited the indignation of the first consul. In a crowded court at the Tuileries he addressed our ambassador, lord Whitworth, in an angry tone (March 13). He made bitter complaints of the delay in the evacuation of Malta, and displayed so much irritation that lord Whitworth refused to attend the court, without some assurance that such conduct should not be repeated. After some further negotiations, and an ultimatum to which no satisfactory answer was returned, lord Whitworth quitted Paris (May 12), and at the same time general Andréossi, the French ambassador, was directed to leave London. Thus, after a short and anxious peace, or rather suspension of hostilities, the two nations were again plunged into war (May 18).

Lord Whitworth's departure was protracted as long as possible by Talleyrand; nevertheless there was time to seize about 200 Dutch and French vessels, valued at nearly three millions sterling. In retaliation, Bonaparte ordered all English residents or travellers in France, and in all places subject to the French, to be seized and detained. About 10,000 persons of every class and condition, and of all ages and sexes, were apprehended and conveyed to prison. Subsequently a considerable portion of them were cantoned at Verdun and in other French towns. Immediately after the declaration of war, a French army, under marshal Mortier, marched into Hanover; the duke of Cambridge, the viceroy, capitulated, and retired beyond the Elbe, and the French entered the capital (June 5). On the other hand, the French and Dutch colonies in the West Indies soon fell into our possession. The most enthusiastic patriotism was exhibited in England. No fewer than 300,000 men enrolled themselves in different volunteer corps and associations. The French camp at Boulogne still held out an empty menace of invasion, and in July the "Army of England" was reviewed by Bonaparte; but our cruisers swept the Channel, and occasionally bombarded the enemy's towns.

§ 2. Early in 1804 the king had a slight return of his former malady. Upon his convalescence, Addington, whose decreasing majorities rendered it impossible for him to carry on the ministry, retired from office, and Pitt again became premier (May 12). Pitt was very popular, especially in the city. After the peace of Amiens, a deputation of London merchants had waited upon him and informed him that 100,000*l.* had been subscribed for his use, and that the names of the contributors would never be known; but he declined this magnificent offer. The state of the king's health, as well as the alarming crisis of the country, induced Pitt to waive for the present the question of the catholic claims.

The friendship of Spain was more than doubtful. A large arma-

ment was preparing in the port of Ferrol, and its destination could hardly be questionable. It was therefore determined to intercept four Spanish frigates, laden with treasure, on their return to Cadiz from Monte Video. Captain Graham Moore, with four English frigates, having in vain summoned them to surrender, an action ensued, in which three of the Spaniards were captured and the fourth blown up (October 5, 1804). The treasure taken on this occasion was valued at nearly a million sterling. The policy of the act, setting aside the question of justice, may, however, be questioned, as it alienated from us a large party in Spain that was hostile to the French. It was, of course, followed by a formal declaration of war on the part of Spain (December 12).

Bonaparte had been proclaimed emperor, as NAPOLEON I. (May 18, 1804). Shortly before, on the groundless suspicion that the duke d'Enghien, a Bourbon prince who was residing at the castle of Ettenheim in the neutral territory of Baden, had been concerned in the conspiracy of Georges and Pichegru, Napoleon ordered him to be secretly seized in the night, and conveyed to the castle of Vincennes, where he was shot in the ditch. On October 24, sir George Rumbold, the English minister at Hamburg, was seized in like manner by a detachment of 250 French soldiers of the army occupying Hanover. He was conveyed to Paris and confined in the Temple, but was released at the intervention of Prussia. By means of an infamous spy named De la Touche, who received money at once both from the French and the English governments, Napoleon contrived to expel our envoys from Munich and Stuttgart, on the charge of favouring a plot for his assassination. Though the accusation was false, the dependent states of Europe, and even the court of Prussia, congratulated Napoleon on his happy escape.

§ 3. Pitt's ministry was not strong. Lord Grenville, having coalesced with Fox and the party called the "Talents," offered a formidable opposition. Towards the end of the year, by the suggestion of the king, a reconciliation was effected between Pitt and Addington: the latter was created viscount Sidmouth, and became president of the council, in place of the duke of Portland. Soon afterwards lord Melville (Dundas), first lord of the admiralty, was compelled to resign, as Mr. Whitbread had carried a charge (April 6) against him of conniving at the misapplication of the public money, and even of deriving benefit from it himself. Pitt, with a bitter pang, was compelled to advise the king to erase the name of his old friend and companion from the list of the privy council. Lord Melville acknowledged at the bar of the House of Commons that his paymaster, Mr. Trotter, might have used the public money for his own advantage; and, as there were some cir-

cumstances of suspicion against Melville himself, Mr. Whitbread, in the name of the commons of England, impeached him of high crimes and misdemeanours at the bar of the lords (June 26). The impeachment was not heard till the following year, when he was acquitted after a trial of 16 days (June 12, 1806). His culpability appears to have been owing rather to negligence than dishonesty.

In April a treaty was concluded between England and Russia, by which they bound themselves to resist the encroachments of France, and to secure the independence of Europe. The league was afterwards joined by Sweden and Austria; but the king of Prussia kept aloof, intent on appropriating the Hanoverian dominions of his relative and ally.

The year 1805 was the period of Napoleon's most brilliant successes. In May he was crowned king of Italy in the cathedral of Milan with the iron crown of the Lombard kings; and he appointed his stepson, Eugene Beauharnais, to be viceroy of that kingdom.* At the same time the republic of Genoa was united to France. Napoleon introduced the conscription into Italy, and an army of 40,000 Italians proved of great service to him in his subsequent wars with Austria. On his return from Italy, he again repaired to Boulogne; but when the hostile disposition of Austria was ascertained, the "Army of England," consisting of 150,000 men, was declared to be the Army of Germany, and was rapidly marched towards the Rhine (August 28). The Austrians, who had postponed hostilities too long, afterwards precipitated them before the Russians could come to their support; and the power of Austria was completely broken by the disgraceful capitulation of general Mack at Ulm (October 17). The road was now open to Vienna, which was occupied without a struggle (November 14). Meanwhile Massena had driven the archduke Charles out of Italy, and obtained possession of the Tyrol. Napoleon pushed on into Moravia, the emperor and the czar retreating before him. The court of Berlin, guided by the counsels of its minister Haugwitz, temporized, waiting the result of another battle. That battle was fought at Austerlitz (December 2), where the Russians and Austrians were completely defeated. The former retired into their own country; and Austria made a separate peace with France, by which she lost Trieste, her only port, and recognized the regal titles of Bavaria and Würtemberg.† The Confederation of the Rhine was now formed, with Napoleon for its protector (July, 1806).

* Josephine, the wife of Napoleon, was the widow of General Beauharnais, and had by him a son Eugene, and a daughter Hortense, married to Louis Napoleon's brother, king of Holland. Hortense was

mother of Napoleon III.

† Francis II. resigned the old title of emperor of the Holy Roman Empire, and took rank as the first emperor of Austria, under the title of Francis I.

§ 4. Thus the objects of the English and Russian league seemed completely frustrated; and England appeared destined to be successful only when she acted by herself on her own peculiar domain, the ocean. Nelson had been in command of the Mediterranean fleet since 1803. The winter of 1804 was spent in watching the harbour of Toulon, where the French fleet was preparing to embark a large body of troops whose destination was unknown. To draw them out, Nelson sailed for Barcelona, and in his absence Villeneuve, the French admiral, put to sea with 10 sail of the line, besides several frigates and brigs (March, 1805). Nelson concluded that they were bound for Egypt, and made sail for Sicily; but he soon learned that they had passed the Straits of Gibraltar. At Cadiz they were reinforced by six Spanish and two French line-of-battle ships, thus making their whole number 18 sail of the line. Nevertheless, as soon as the wind permitted, Nelson followed them to the West Indies with 10 sail of the line, but returned to Europe without having been fortunate enough to discover them. Being in a bad state of health, he struck his flag at Spithead, and retired to his seat at Merton.

Sir Robert Calder was more fortunate. On July 22, he fell in with the enemy at some distance from Cape Finisterre, and, though much inferior in force, brought them to action. Two of the Spanish ships were taken. Calder, having neglected to renew the engagement on the following day, was brought to a court-martial and reprimanded. Villeneuve ultimately got into Cadiz, where he found his fleet now amounting to 35 sail of the line. Collingwood, who was watching that port, communicated the interesting intelligence to Nelson, who had led his friends to expect that he had finally retired from the service. But at this news his ardour could no longer be restrained. He immediately volunteered his services to the admiralty, which were gladly accepted, and on the 15th of September he was again on board the *Victory*, accompanied by the *Ajax*, the *Thunderer*, and the *Euryalus* frigate. On the 29th, his birthday, he arrived off Cadiz, and joined Collingwood; but his arrival was kept secret from the enemy, lest they should not venture out of port. No salute was fired, and Nelson kept well out at sea.

On October 19, want of provisions obliged Villeneuve to leave Cadiz, and the English fleet immediately gave chase, the course being towards the Straits of Gibraltar. It was not till the 21st that Nelson fell in with them about seven miles east of Cape Trafalgar, there being a light breeze from the west. Nelson felt a sure presentiment of victory, but at the same time of death. The enemy tacked, in order to be able, if necessary, to run back to Cadiz, when

Nelson steered a little more to the north, in order to cut off their van. He now asked captain Blackwood of the *Euryalus*, who was on board the *Victory*, whether a signal was not wanted. The latter replied that he thought all knew what they were about; but Nelson ran up to the mast-head his last signal—ENGLAND EXPECTS THAT EVERY MAN WILL DO HIS DUTY—which was greeted with three cheers from every ship. Nelson led the weather-line in the *Victory*; but the lee-line, under Collingwood, was the first to get into action. The British fleet comprised 27 sail of the line, 4 frigates, a schooner, and a cutter; the combined French and Spanish fleets numbered 33 sail of the line, 5 frigates, and 2 brigs; and they were vastly superior in weight of metal, having 2626 guns to 2148 of the English. The enemy's line had accidentally fallen into the shape of a crescent, which rendered the attack more difficult. It was a little after noon that Collingwood, in the *Royal Sovereign*, began the action. He was soon surrounded by five French and Spanish vessels; but, finding that they damaged one another, they gradually drew off and left Collingwood in single combat with the *Santa Anna*. He had been engaged nearly a quarter of an hour before the other ships got into action. As the *Victory* bore down, she was made a mark by the enemy: her rigging was much damaged, her wheel shot away, and 50 officers and men killed or wounded before she had fired a shot. The foremost ships of the enemy, to the number of 19, closed round Nelson's column, leaving a gap of nearly a mile between it and the spot where Collingwood and his comrades were engaging the remaining 14. Nelson, in the *Victory*, first engaged with Villeneuve's flag-ship, the *Bucentaur*, of 80 guns, and after disabling it he attacked the *Redoubtable*; that ship and the *Victory* getting as it were locked together by their anchors. The tops of the *Redoubtable* were filled with riflemen, and Nelson, on going into action, afforded a conspicuous mark. The action had lasted about half an hour, when he was struck by a musket-ball and fell on the quarter-deck. On his captain expressing a hope that he was not seriously wounded, Nelson replied, "They have done for me at last, Hardy—my backbone is shot through." He was carried to the cockpit, where it was found that the shot, having entered the left shoulder at the epaulette, had lodged in the spine, inflicting a mortal wound. While the hero lay there expiring, the battle still raged two hours, distressing him with the concussion of the firing, though ever and anon he was cheered by the huzzas of the crew as one after another the enemy's ships struck their colours. He had the satisfaction to hear from captain Hardy before his death that he had gained a complete victory. Almost his last words were to recommend to his country lady Hamilton, with whom he lived, and his daughter.

Then exclaiming, "Thank God, I have done my duty!" he expired, at the age of 47 (October 21), almost without a struggle, about three hours after receiving his wound. He had said, almost prophetically, when going into action, that he should be content with 20 ships; 19 of the enemy's line actually struck at Trafalgar, and one blew up. The prisoners, including the troops on board, amounted to 12,000. Four ships that had taken little part in the action were subsequently captured by Sir Richard Strachan (November 4). By this glorious victory the French navy was nearly annihilated, and England rescued from all chance of an invasion.

Nelson was honoured with a magnificent public funeral. The body lay in state in Greenwich Hospital, and was attended to St. Paul's by a procession by land and water. His brother, a clergyman, was made an earl; 100,000*l.* were voted him to buy an estate, with a pension of 6000*l.* a year; and 10,000*l.* were given to each of his sisters (November 9).

§ 5. Pitt did not long survive England's greatest naval commander. The cares and anxieties of office, at a crisis so tremendously agitating, had undermined a constitution naturally feeble. He expired at the age of 46, January 23, 1806. Of his disinterestedness no greater proof can be offered than that, in spite of his apparent opportunities of enriching himself, he died 40,000*l.* in debt. His debts were discharged by a vote of the Commons, and a funeral decreed for him, at the public expense, in Westminster Abbey: the latter was ungenerously opposed by Fox and his party. Pitt must be regarded as one of the greatest ministers this country ever saw. His councils chiefly enabled England to stem the overbearing insolence and ambition of the French republic. To him the nation is indebted for the financial policy carried out by Peel and Gladstone. His measures for freedom of commerce with Ireland were rejected by the Irish parliament (1785), and his commercial treaty with France (1786) was nullified by the revolutionary movements in that country. He was, in fact, one of the very few statesmen who combined a thorough mastery of great principles, financial and legislative, with consummate practical tact and sagacity.

Attempts were made to patch up the ministry, but failed, and the king was obliged to have recourse to lord Grenville and "All the Talents." This involved the readmission of Fox, who was now allied with that party, and the king was obliged to waive his personal dislike of that statesman. Early in February a ministry was formed, with lord Grenville first lord of the treasury, Fox foreign secretary, lord Howick (afterwards earl Grey) first lord of the admiralty, and Erskine lord chancellor.

It was naturally expected that Fox, who had so long denounced the war both as iniquitous and impolitic, would exert himself to terminate it; and he did, indeed, open communications with the French government through lord Yarmouth, afterwards marquess of Hertford, one of the *détenus* at Verdun. But he soon discovered that Napoleon would never agree to terms which this country could accept with honour. The financial measures of the new government were universally complained of, and especially the increase of the obnoxious property-tax to 10 per cent.

§ 6. Napoleon had now installed his brother Joseph as king of Naples, his brother Louis as king of Holland, and had bestowed 12 Italian duchies upon as many of his most favoured generals. Ferdinand IV. of Naples had been driven to take refuge in Sicily, as already related. At the request of his consort, Caroline of Austria, sister of the unfortunate Marie Antoinette, sir John Stuart, who commanded the British forces in that island, was induced to pass over into Calabria with a small army of less than 5000 men, and to try his fortune against the French general Regnier, who occupied that province. On July 6, an engagement took place at Maida, in which the French, though considerably the stronger, were entirely defeated. Regnier fled across the Apennines, and Stuart cleared the whole of Lower Calabria of the French; but his force was too small to hold it, and he was obliged to return to Sicily. It was one of the mistakes of the government to fritter away the strength of the nation in small expeditions of this fruitless kind. At the same time sir Sidney Smith's squadron harassed the French on the coast of Italy, from the Tiber to the bay of Naples.

During his negotiations with the new ministry, Napoleon had offered to restore Hanover. The desire of possessing that country had induced the court of Prussia to desert the cause of Germany. They had likewise found other causes of complaint against France in the Confederation of the Rhine, and in the depreciatory tone in which the *Moniteur* spoke of Prussia and her pretensions. On October 1, Prussia required the French to evacuate Germany; on the 14th the battle of Jena laid her at the feet of Napoleon, a fitting reward of her perfidy and selfishness. On the 25th the French entered Berlin, and Mortier was sent forward to occupy Hamburg and seize all British property. On November 20 appeared the celebrated Berlin Decree, forbidding all intercourse with England, and all use of her manufactures or colonial products.

§ 7. Fox did not live to see this event. He had been attacked with dropsy, and after July became too unwell to attend to business. On September 13, he expired, in his 59th year, at the duke of Devonshire's seat at Chiswick, whither he had proceeded on his

way to his own house at St. Ann's Hill. He received a public funeral, and was buried in Westminster Abbey (October 10), by the side of his great rival Pitt. Posterity will be rather at a loss to discover in his character any transcendent merits as a statesman, or to point out any great benefits that he achieved for his country. His influence during his lifetime seems to have been principally acquired by his powerful and fervid oratory, and by his engaging qualities, which attached to him a host of personal friends. His death did not break up the ministry; lord Howick succeeded to the place of foreign secretary, and Mr. Thomas Grenville became first lord of the admiralty.

Lord Grenville had made no compact with the sovereign on the subject of catholic emancipation, but early in March, 1807, lord Howick brought in a bill to enable Roman catholic officers to serve in the army and navy in England as well as in Ireland. In the latter country a Roman catholic officer could attain any rank, except commander-in-chief, master general of the ordnance, or general on the staff. The bill was opposed by Spencer Perceval and others; and, as the king had a great repugnance to the measure, it was not difficult to persuade him to dismiss his ministers. Before the end of the month a new administration was formed, with the duke of Portland as first lord of the treasury, George Canning foreign secretary, lord Castlereagh secretary at war and for the colonies, Spencer Perceval chancellor of the exchequer, and lord Eldon chancellor in place of Erskine. A "No Popery" cry was raised, in which the majority of the country joined; the ministers took advantage of it to dissolve the parliament, though it had been returned only a few months, and the elections secured them a large majority.

A little before the dismissal of lord Grenville, the abolition of the slave-trade had been carried. That question had now been 20 years in agitation. A society had been formed for its promotion, of which Mr. Granville Sharpe was chairman, and Wilberforce and Clarkson distinguished members. This inhuman traffic had been denounced by several writers, but it required all the zeal and enthusiasm of the evangelical party, which had sprung up of late years, in order to effect its abolition. The society adopted every means, by newspaper articles, pamphlets, speeches, and letters, to influence the public mind on the subject. Pitt approved the cause, and a board of the privy council had been formed to consider the state of the African trade; but the commercial interests of the country offered a great impediment, and all that could be obtained at first was a mitigation of the horrors of the middle passage.

§ 8. The military plans arranged by lord Grenville's ministry

turned out unfortunate in all quarters. Two expeditions had been despatched early in 1807 against Constantinople and Egypt. French intrigues, ably conducted by general Sebastiani, had induced the Turks to declare war against Russia, and had thus diverted a great part of the force which might have been used against Napoleon. Sir John Duckworth was despatched with a squadron to bring the Turks to reason: he succeeded in passing the Dardanelles, and appeared before Constantinople in February. But the Turks amused him with negotiations, till they had put the Dardanelles in a formidable posture of defence; and Duckworth made a disgraceful retreat, for which he was subsequently brought to a court-martial. At the same time the expedition to Egypt under major-general Frazer proved equally unfortunate; the new ministry declined to support it; and, in September, the remnant of the British force was obliged to return to Sicily. The only effect of these proceedings was that the Turks declared war against Great Britain, and confiscated all British property.

§ 9. Meanwhile Russia, exhausted by the well-contested fields of Eylau and Friedland, and receiving no assistance either in men or money from England, concluded with France the peace of Tilsit (July 7, 1807), to which Prussia afterwards acceded. Both countries agreed to shut their ports against the English; and, indeed, the French were in possession of those of Prussia. When it was too late, Canning despatched lord Leveson-Gower to conciliate the emperor Alexander. He could not even obtain an audience, and returned with the conviction that Alexander, by a secret article of the treaty of Tilsit, had placed not only his own fleet, but also those of Sweden and Denmark, at the disposal of Napoleon. He had been drawn into this engagement by the fascination of the French emperor, who had dazzled the young czar with a vision of empire, in which Europe and Asia were to be partitioned into west and east under two great heads. For the accomplishing of this object the destruction of Great Britain was a necessary preliminary. There was no time for hesitation. Denmark commanded the entrance to the Baltic; a large fleet was lying in her harbours; the north of Germany was full of French troops; and, however friendly might be the disposition of the Danes, it was evident that their movements would depend on the will of Napoleon. A powerful armament, consisting of 17 sail of the line, 21 frigates and other small vessels, and 377 transports carrying 27,000 troops, was secretly and promptly fitted out, and sailed from Yarmouth Roads, under the command of admiral Gambier (July 26). Lord Cathcart was at the head of the land forces, and under him served sir Arthur Wellesley, an officer who had greatly distinguished himself in

India. On August 9, the expedition was safely anchored in the roads of Elsinore, and the fleet was strengthened by the arrival of eight sail of the line and 19 frigates. Negotiations were opened for the delivery of the Danish fleet, under the solemn promise that it should be restored on the conclusion of a peace with France. The proposal being indignantly rejected by the crown prince, preparations were made to enforce it. The fleet proceeded to Copenhagen, the troops were landed, and batteries constructed; and on September 2 a bombardment commenced both by sea and land. On the evening of the 5th the Danish commander surrendered, and on the 8th Gambier took possession of Copenhagen. Our whole loss did not much exceed 200 men. By October 20 the whole of the Danish fleet was prepared for sea, to be carried off to England, together with an immense quantity of naval stores, and between 2000 and 3000 pieces of artillery. But of the 17 line-of-battle ships four only proved to be fit for service. The island of Heligoland was also captured (September 5), and served as a *dépôt* for English goods to be smuggled into the continent. The rage of Bonaparte at this intelligence was terrific. The entry of the French into Stralsund (September 1) showed the wisdom of our rapid and decisive movement. The Danes declared war against us, the consequence of which was the capture of the Danish West India islands of St. Thomas, St. John's, and Santa Croce, in December.

§ 10. The king of Portugal having refused to enforce the Berlin Decree against England, Napoleon determined to attack that country. For that purpose he entered into a treaty with Spain (October 27), which was to have a portion of Portugal; and before the treaty was signed he despatched an army of 30,000 men under Junot across the Bidassoa, and proclaimed that the house of Braganza had ceased to reign. Junot entered Lisbon (November 30). Don John, the regent, afterwards John VI., with many of his nobility and 18,000 of his subjects, had sailed the day previously for Brazil. Towards winter Napoleon visited Italy, and issued, in the capital of Lombardy (December 27), his celebrated Milan Decree, declaring all vessels, of whatsoever nation, that should submit to the British orders in council, lawful prizes. These orders had been issued in retaliation for the Berlin Decree. They declared the whole French coast in a state of blockade, thus rendering neutral vessels with French goods on board liable to seizure, a proceeding which formed the principal ground of quarrel with the Americans. But, in fact, both the Berlin Decree and the orders in council were in great degree inoperative. (Sup. N. XXX.)

No sooner was Bonaparte in possession of Portugal than, with the help of Godoy, the Prince of the Peace, the prime minister of

Spain and paramour of the queen, he treacherously turned his arms against that country. Murat occupied Madrid with a French division. The imbecile Charles IV., and his son Ferdinand, who was not much better, together with Godoy and the queen, were decoyed to Bayonne, where a renunciation of the Spanish throne in favour of Napoleon was extorted from them, in consideration of the palace and domains of Navarre and a pension of 400,000 francs! (May 8, 1808). It was declared that the Spanish Bourbons had ceased to reign. Joseph Bonaparte, much against his will, was compelled to exchange the crown of Naples for that of Spain, while the former was bestowed upon Napoleon's brother-in-law, Murat. King Joseph entered Madrid (July 20); but by this time the Spaniards, who had risen in insurrection, had established at Seville a "Supreme Junta of Spain and the Indies," and had declared Ferdinand king, with the title of Ferdinand VII., though he was now residing in Talleyrand's house at Valençay. In this struggle the Spaniards displayed the greatest animosity towards the French, and murdered all the stragglers they could lay hands on.

These revolutions were destined again to bring the English into contact with the French on land as well as sea. General Castaños, who commanded the Spanish army of Andalusia, applied to sir Hew Dalrymple, commandant of Gibraltar, with a view to obtain the assistance of England. The merchants of that place supplied the junta of Seville with money; Collingwood carried his fleet into Cadiz and lent the Spaniards what assistance he could in ammunition and stores; and the English government at length undertook to aid the Spanish loyalists with troops. On July 10 sir Arthur Wellesley sailed from Cork for the Peninsula with about 10,000 men. Proceeding the fleet in a fast vessel, he landed at Corunna in order to consult the junta of Galicia as to his proceedings. By their advice, with which his own views entirely coincided, he determined to land near Oporto. Portugal at this time, like Spain, was in full insurrection against the French. In the latter country, Joseph had been driven out of his new capital before he had been a fortnight in it. He had taken up his abode at Vittoria in order to be nearer the French frontier, and Madrid had been occupied by Castaños. The British army landed near the town of Figueira (August 1), and, being reinforced by some troops from Cadiz, numbered in all about 14,000 men. Junot had 17,000 or 18,000 men in Portugal; but, as many of these were in garrison, his disposable force was not much larger than the British; and the success of the loyalists in Spain had cut him off from all communication with his countrymen in that kingdom. Such was the beginning of the Peninsular war.

§ 11. Wellesley began his march upon Lisbon (August 9). In about a week he came upon a French division of 5000 men, under Delaborde, occupying a strong position at Roliça, which was carried after a struggle of two hours (August 17). On the 19th he reached Vimiera, where he was reinforced by two British brigades, under generals Anstruther and Acland, making his whole force about 17,000 men, besides 1600 Portuguese. On the 21st was fought the battle of Vimiera, where in two hours the French were completely defeated, with the loss of 14 guns and many prisoners. But Wellesley was superseded the same day by sir Harry Burrard. The government had determined to raise the army in the Peninsula to 30,000, under sir Hew Dalrymple, with sir Harry Burrard as second in command, while sir Arthur Wellesley, sir John Moore, and others were to be generals of division. Sir H. Burrard by suspending the pursuit lost the fruits of the victory, and the French, to their own great astonishment, got safe to Torres Vedras. Next day sir Hew Dalrymple arrived, the command being thus twice changed in 24 hours. On August 30 a convention was signed, by which Junot agreed to evacuate Portugal.* The French were deprived of the spoils of the royal museum and library, church plate, and other plunder, which they were preparing to carry off. A Russian fleet blockaded in the Tagus was surrendered. Early in September the British army entered Lisbon. The three generals were recalled; Sir H. Dalrymple was censured (December 22); but sir A. Wellesley was marked out for high command.

Sir John Moore, who had remained with the army in Portugal, was reinforced; and, with 20,000 men, was directed to co-operate with the Spaniards in driving the French from the north of Spain. On November 11 he crossed the frontier into Leon, and advanced by Ciudad Rodrigo to Salamanca. Meanwhile Napoleon himself had entered Spain at the head of some chosen troops; and, having replaced his brother at Madrid (December 4), he proceeded to seek sir John Moore. Moore had discovered that there was no Spanish force on which he could rely for support, and he had been contemplating a retreat; but in consequence of wrong intelligence received from Mr. Frere, formerly our minister at Madrid, he determined to advance, and, before Napoleon could come up, strike a blow at Soult, who was on the banks of the Carion with about 18,000 men. But Soult had withdrawn; and Moore, apprehensive of being sur-

* This treaty is often erroneously called the "Convention of Cintra," because sir H. Dalrymple's despatches announcing it were dated from that place: but in fact Cintra lies between Torres Vedras and Lisbon; and consequently, had the con-

vention been made there, the British must have been already in possession of the former strong position, which, on the contrary, fell into their hands through the convention.

rounded, commenced a retreat. Napoleon was close at his heels. On January 1, 1809, he was at Astorga with 70,000 infantry, 10,000 cavalry, and 200 guns; and from this place he could descry the British rear. But he was now called away by news from Austria, and left the pursuit to Soult. The weather was bad, the roads miserable, provisions scanty, and the British had often to face about and repulse the enemy. At last, on January 13, Moore reached Corunna; but the transports did not arrive till the following day. Soult had got possession of the hills round the town, and it was necessary to fight a battle to cover the embarkation. This took place on the 16th. Moore had between 15,000 and 16,000 infantry in line, Soult about 20,000,—the ground was not good for cavalry. In defending the village of Elvina, against which the French were making a concentrated attack, Moore was struck in the breast by a spent cannon-ball, and was carried to Corunna in a blanket, often stopping to look back on the progress of the battle. The French were beaten off along the whole line, but night coming on prevented all pursuit; and, as the remainder of Soult's forces might be expected every hour, it was determined to hasten the embarkation. Sir John Moore died that evening, and was buried at midnight on the ramparts "with his martial cloak around him." The embarkation, being covered by some line-of-battle ships, was completed in safety by the 18th. During the whole campaign Moore received no assistance from the Spaniards, who, on the contrary, were a positive hindrance to him by crossing his line of retreat at Astorga.

§ 12. The English ministry, however, were determined to pursue the war in the Peninsula, in which they were encouraged by the distraction caused to the French arms by the renewal of the war with Austria; and Mr. Canning executed a treaty of alliance with the Spanish insurgents, or rather royalists (January 14). The English nation, in spite of the long struggle it had already maintained, was so little crippled in its resources, that a loan of eleven millions was raised at a lower interest than had ever before been known. Many abuses were at this time discovered in the bestowal of military and naval patronage, in some of which the duke of York himself, the commander-in-chief, was implicated. It appeared, from some charges brought against him in the House of Commons by Mr. Wardle, a Welsh colonel of militia, that the duke, abandoning himself to the influence of Mrs. Clarke, had bestowed commissions in the army on several unworthy persons, such as Mrs. Clarke's brother, and even her footman. Before the termination of the proceedings the duke resigned his office, and the investigation was dropped. About the same time the commissioners of naval and those of military enquiry brought to light a great many

abuses and frauds in the method of conducting the business of those departments.

The chief command in the Peninsula was now given to sir Arthur Wellesley, who advised that in the first instance our exertions should be confined to Portugal. On April 22 he arrived at Lisbon, where he found himself at the head of about 25,000 men, including a body of Portuguese under general Beresford. On the 9th of May he directed his march upon Oporto, now occupied by Soult, who, after the battle of Corunna, had invaded Portugal. In a few days the Douro was crossed by a daring manœuvre, and the French were driven out in precipitate flight. Wellesley now entered Spain, and formed a junction with the Spanish general Cuesta at Oropesa in Estremadura. Cuesta's army, however, amounting to about 30,000 men, was in very bad condition. On July 26, and the two following days, marshals Victor and Sebastiani attacked the position of the allied armies before Talavera. The attack was mainly directed against the allied left, held by the British, and especially against a height occupied by general Rowland Hill: the Spaniards on the right were comparatively safe, from the nature of the ground. At one time the British centre was broken, the guards, after repulsing the French, having got into disorder by pursuing them too far; but the advance of the enemy was arrested by the 48th regiment. On the evening of the 28th all firing ceased, both armies retaining their original position; but in the night the French retreated over the Alberche. This was one of the most bloody and best contested battles in the Peninsular war. The French lost 7000 men killed and wounded; the British upwards of 5000. This victory gained Wellesley the title of viscount Wellington of Talavera. The British, however, were not in a condition to penetrate further. The French, who had 200,000 men dispersed in Spain, were gathering round them from all sides, and early in August, besides Victor and Sebastiani, marshals Soult, Ney, Mortier, Kellermann, and king Joseph himself, were in Estremadura. The English general retired into Portugal by Truxillo and Badajoz; and sir Robert Wilson, who at the head of a light corps of Spanish and Portuguese had pushed on as far as Madrid, also returned. Before the end of the year the French had virtually annihilated the Spanish forces, and lord Wellington now concentrated his attention on the defence of Portugal, fixing his head-quarters at Viseu, with advanced posts towards Ciudad Rodrigo.

§ 13. We have adverted before to Napoleon's sudden abandonment of the pursuit of sir John Moore, which was occasioned by a breach with Austria. In March, 1809, the emperor Francis declared war against him. But Napoleon, after inflicting a severe defeat upon the archduke Charles at Eckmühl, marched rapidly to Vienna, which he

entered with little resistance (May 13). He had still, however, to fight the battle of Aspern, near Vienna, in which he may be said to have been defeated. But the French army was allowed time to recover from the shock, and the bloody battle of Wagram followed, which laid Austria at Napoleon's feet (July 5). This was succeeded by the disgraceful peace of Schönbrunn (October 14), which subsequently led to the marriage of Napoleon with the arch-duchess Maria Louisa (April 2, 1810). In the same year Napoleon annexed the States of the Church to France, and, having been excommunicated by Pius VII., he caused that pontiff to be carried off to Savona.

In order to support the Austrian struggle, the English ministry resolved to divert the French arms by an expedition to the Scheldt; especially as Napoleon was attempting to convert Antwerp and Flushing into great naval depôts. Before the end of July, 37 sail of the line and an army of 40,000 men were despatched, under a most incompetent leader—the earl of Chatham, Pitt's elder brother, assisted by rear-admiral sir Richard Strachan. The opinion of the most experienced officers was for a *coup-de-main* on Antwerp; instead of which, a fortnight was spent in reducing Flushing, during which time the Scheldt had been strongly fortified, and 40,000 men thrown into Antwerp. The enterprise was then abandoned as impracticable, and the expedition returned home, leaving about 16,000 men in possession of the isle of Walcheren. These, however, began rapidly to disappear, from the effects of the fever and ague common on that unhealthy coast, and in a short time half the force were in hospital. After the treaty of Schönbrunn, the occupation of Walcheren was deemed of no advantage and towards the middle of November it was evacuated, the harbour, arsenal, and magazines of Flushing having been destroyed as far as possible. Such was the end of an expedition said to have cost 20 millions.

Another diversion was attempted in Calabria, where the news of Napoleon's excommunication had excited a great sensation among the people. In June sir J. Stuart again crossed over from Sicily, with 15,000 men, while sir William Hoste's squadron and flotillas of gunboats and small armed vessels operated upon the coast. The French retired before sir J. Stuart, but little was effected besides the dismantling of the castles of Ischia and Procida. In the autumn five of the seven Ionian islands, then held by the French, were captured. Santa Maura held out till the following spring; and Corfu, the most important of the whole, was not obtained till 1814, when it was ceded to the Ionian republic, under an English protectorate, by Louis XVIII.

§ 14. A feeling of jealousy had long existed between Mr. Canning and lord Castlereagh, which being heightened by mutual recriminations after the failure of the Walcheren expedition, a duel ensued, in which Canning was wounded (September 21). Both had previously resigned; and, the duke of Portland dying soon after, the ministry seemed tottering to its fall. Mr. Perceval, however, accepted the office of first lord of the treasury, retaining also the exchequer; the marquess Wellesley, our representative with the Spanish junta, was sent for and became foreign secretary in place of Canning; lord Liverpool was transferred from the home office to lord Castlereagh's place, with lord Palmerston as secretary at war; the right honourable Richard Ryder took the home department.

In the spring of 1810 serious riots occurred in London. John Gale Jones being brought to the bar of the House of Commons, charged with the publication of a placard reflecting on the proceedings of the house, was committed to Newgate (February 21). In defending Jones sir Francis Burdett contended that by his committal the House of Commons had infringed the laws of the land. Defeated on this motion, sir Francis pursued the same argument in *Cobbett's Register*. For this violation of the privileges of the house (March 26), he was committed to the Tower. On his way thither the mob were very riotous; the windows of several unpopular noblemen and gentlemen were broken, and some lives were lost. On the prorogation of parliament sir Francis was of course liberated; but he disappointed the populace of an expected ovation by returning home by water.

In the Peninsula the Spaniards had been beaten at every point, and the junta itself was obliged to take refuge in Cadiz, which in February, 1810, was invested by a French army. A British force of about 6000 men had been thrown into that place to assist in the defence, and the English fleet kept open the communication by sea; but the blockade was not raised till August, 1812. After the peace with Austria, Napoleon was enabled to throw large reinforcements into Spain, including some of his best troops. The "Army of Portugal," comprising 90,000 men under Massena, was cantoned in Old Castile and Leon. Massena promised to drive the English out of Portugal in three months, for which purpose he advanced with a force of more than 60,000 men. Lord Wellington had 24,000 British troops, and more than double that number of Portuguese, who made much better soldiers than the Spaniards; but part of his force was detached south of the Tagus, to watch Soult's Army of Andalusia. The French advanced by Ciudad Rodrigo and Almeida, which they took; and Wellington fell back upon a strong position at the Sierra de Busaco, near Coimbra. The British line, ex-

tending nearly eight miles, but with considerable gaps, was attacked by the French with great vigour on the morning of September 27. They were repulsed, however, with the loss of 5000 men; and Massena, instead of renewing the attempt, seized the pass of Boialva, thus opening the road to Coimbra by turning the British left. Wellington now retired upon the famous lines of Torres Vedras, nearly 30 miles north of Lisbon, a position which his eagle eye had marked out in the preceding year. These lines were three-fold: the first or outermost ran from Alhandra on the Tagus to the heights of Torres Vedras, and thence along the little river Zizambre to the sea; the second began at Quintilla, lower down the Tagus, and ran, at a distance varying from six to ten miles from the former, by Bucellas and Montachique to the mouth of the little river San Lorenzo; the third or innermost was merely intended, in case of need, to cover the embarkation of the army on board the fleet in the Tagus. The streams were dammed up and reservoirs formed, so that the ground could be inundated if necessary. The right of the lines was covered by the fleet and gunboats in the Tagus. The lines were fortified with breast-works, abattis, etc., and nearly 100 redoubts or forts, mounting upwards of 600 guns. Some of them were capable of holding several hundred men, and one required a garrison of 3000. Wellington entered these lines on October 10. Massena came up three days afterwards, and was filled with despair at the sight. After viewing them about a month, he retired in the middle of November into winter quarters, without having attempted anything.

Our general operations this year were not unattended with success. An attempt of the French upon Sicily was repulsed with great loss. By the end of the year they had been deprived of all their possessions in both Indies. The Dutch had also lost most of their East Indian settlements, and in the following year the remainder were reduced. On the continent, however, the French empire was extended. Napoleon, having deposed his intractable brother Louis, annexed Holland to France; and, the German coast up to Hamburg being afterwards added, the French empire might be said to reach from Naples to the frontiers of Denmark, embracing a population of 80 millions. Nearly all the rest of Europe were Napoleon's allies; and Bernadotte, one of his marshals, had been elected crown prince of Sweden. Between him and Napoleon, however, there was a great antipathy; and when the former came next year to the Swedish crown, he adopted Swedish views, conciliated the friendship of England, and ultimately declared against his former patron.

THE REGENCY.

§ 15. At home the scene was clouded by a return of the king's malady, brought on perhaps by the death of his beloved daughter, the princess Amelia (November 2, 1810), at the age of 28. Mr. Perceval now proposed the prince of Wales as regent, under the same restrictions with regard to the creation of peers, and the granting of offices, as those laid down by Pitt in 1788. The arrangements were not finally completed till January, 1811. George III. never recovered, and the regency consequently lasted till his death in 1820. At first it was anticipated that there would be a change of ministry, and lords Grey and Grenville were actually employed to draw up answers to the addresses of parliament; but, being disgusted by some alterations suggested by Sheridan, they declined any further interference, and the old ministry was retained. Shortly after, the duke of York was reinstated as commander-in-chief.

Early in 1811, Soult invaded Portugal from Andalusia, in order to co-operate with Massena. He took Olivenza and Badajoz (March 10); but by this time Massena's army was in a state of sickness and disorganization, and he was obliged to commence a retreat, closely followed by the English. His march was first directed on Coimbra and Oporto; but his attempt to pass the Mondego at the former place being repulsed, he retreated up the left bank of that river, much harassed by the British. The French committed the most horrible cruelties and devastations in their retreat. The absence of several general officers, who had returned to England on pretence of private business, was bitterly reflected on in the English newspapers, and occasioned no small concern to Wellington.

The draughts made by Soult for Portugal having reduced the French army blockading Cadiz to 16,000 men, general Graham (afterwards lord Lynedoch), with about 4000 men, partly Portuguese, proceeded by sea to Algeçiras, in the bay of Gibraltar; and, having been joined at Tarifa by 7000 Spaniards, marched by way of Medina Sidonia towards the French position, with the view of taking them in the rear. Graham had expected that the Spaniards would have held the heights of Barrosa; but when he arrived there, he found them occupied by marshal Victor with 8000 men and a formidable artillery. With his small division Graham carried them at the point of the bayonet in little more than an hour, with great loss, indeed, though almost twice as great on the side of the French. But, failing of support from the Spaniards, he was unable to follow up his victory, and the whole enterprise led to no result (March 5, 1811).

Towards the end of April, Massena, who had received reinforcements which swelled his army to 40,000 foot and 5000 horse, re-entered Portugal with the view of relieving the fortress of Almeida. Wellington marched to oppose him with 32,000 foot and 1200 horse. They met at Fuentes de Oñoro, on the evening of May 3: a fierce struggle ensued for the possession of the place, and ultimately the French were driven out. Early on the morning of the 5th, Massena vigorously renewed the attack, which was kept up till evening, when the French retired with great loss. A few days after they evacuated Almeida. Napoleon was so dissatisfied with Massena, that he superseded him in the command by general Marmont. Marmont, however, could do no better than his predecessor, and retired to Salamanca.

On May 16, a memorable battle was fought at Albuera between marshal Beresford, who was besieging Badajoz, and Soult, who had marched to its relief. Soult had about 28,000 men and 50 guns; Beresford had 27,000; but of these more than a third were Spaniards, who fled at the first attack, and left the centre, where the British were posted, exposed to all the fury of the French assault. The victory fell to Beresford after six hours of desperate fighting; but of 6000 British who contended with the French columns for the ridge of Albuera, only about 1500 were left unwounded. The French lost 9000 men. As Beresford was reinforced a day or two after with 1500 English, Soult did not think fit to renew the attack, but retreated towards Seville. On the 19th, Wellington arrived with two fresh divisions, and the siege of Badajoz was resumed (May 25). But a large French force approaching, the siege was abandoned after two unsuccessful assaults, and Wellington fell back on Campo Mayor (June 10). A little after, the successes of general Hill obliged the French to evacuate the greater part of Estremadura. But in the eastern provinces of Spain they were everywhere triumphant.

§ 16. The beginning of 1812 was marked by ministerial changes. The marquess Wellesley resigned, objecting to serve under Mr. Perceval, and lord Castlereagh occupied his place as foreign secretary. Shortly afterwards Perceval was shot in the lobby of the House of Commons, about five o'clock in the afternoon of May 11, by one Bellingham, a Liverpool broker, whose petitions had been rejected. The assassin was convicted and hanged within a week. Upon this event all the ministers tendered their resignations. A fruitless attempt was made to construct a whig cabinet. Lord Liverpool now became premier, with Mr. Vansittart as chancellor of the exchequer. The financial measures of Perceval were adopted, and it was resolved to push the war with vigour.

Wellington had opened the campaign in the Peninsula with the capture of Ciudad Rodrigo, after less than a fortnight's siege (January 19, 1812). The Spaniards now first began to appreciate his genius: the Cortes voted him their thanks, and the title of duke of Ciudad Rodrigo. The English parliament granted him an annuity of 2000*l.*, to be annexed to the earldom to which he was now raised. Shortly after Badajoz was again invested (March 16), and was carried (April 6) with a terrible slaughter. Soult, who was advancing to its relief, now again retreated towards Seville, pursued by the British, who overtook and routed his rear-guard at Villa Garcia. General Hill having by a masterly movement cut off the communication between Soult and Marmont, by seizing Almaraz (May 19), which covered the passage of the Tagus, Wellington, no longer reduced to the defensive, prepared to advance into Spain. He had now 40,000 men, but one division consisted of Spaniards. Marmont had about 50,000, and was much superior in cavalry and artillery, yet he evacuated Salamanca when Wellington appeared before it (June 16). As an instance of the barbarous manner in which the French conducted the war in Spain, it may be mentioned that during their occupation of this celebrated university town they had destroyed 22 out of its 25 colleges. In July both armies were facing each other on the banks of the Guareña. On the 20th, Marmont, who had been reinforced, put his army in motion to regain the banks of the Tormes, and cut off Wellington's communication with Salamanca. Wellington immediately started after him, the two armies moving in parallel columns within sight of each other, yet refraining from all hostilities, except the occasional exchange of a cannon-shot. It was a sort of race which should arrive first at the Tormes. The armies crossed that river, the British at the bridge of Salamanca, the French at the fords higher up; and both took up positions on the south bank. On the 22nd, Marmont having too much extended and weakened his left, Wellington took advantage of the error and completely defeated him. Wellington in his despatch calculates the French loss at from 17,000 to 20,000 men, and says it was admitted that their whole army would have been in his hands had there been an hour more daylight. Marmont himself was wounded by a shell. The French, now under general Clausel, fled precipitately to Valladolid, which they abandoned on the approach of the British. Hearing that king Joseph, with 20,000 men, was threatening his flank and rear, Wellington, leaving a force on the Duero to watch Clausel, turned upon him, pursued him on the road to Madrid through San Ildefonso, and entered the Spanish capital (August 14), the French and their Spanish partisans hurrying from it in the greatest haste. On the

14th the French garrison in the Retiro palace surrendered, when 180 guns, 20,000 stand of arms, and an immense quantity of warlike stores, were captured.

One of the first results of the fall of the capital was that Soult abandoned the blockade of Cadiz and retired to Granada; but Wellington soon found that it would be impossible with his small force to hold an open town like Madrid in the presence of the large and well-disciplined French armies both in the north and south of Spain, and he retired on Salamanca, and subsequently went into winter quarters at Ciudad Rodrigo.

§ 17. During our arduous struggle with the French, the Americans had displayed an unfriendly disposition towards this country. They were incensed at our exercise of the right of search, which had been forced upon us by the Berlin Decree, and they insisted on the doctrine that the neutral flag makes free goods. In 1811 Napoleon released the Americans from the observance of the Berlin and Milan decrees; and in the same year the Americans passed against us a non-intercourse act, by which all British goods arriving in America were to be seized, unless we recalled the obnoxious orders in council before alluded to. These were revoked in favour of America in June, 1812, although we had been already subjected to many insults from the Americans, which we had disregarded. But the concession came too late: the Americans had declared war a few days previously. They had long been making preparations for a struggle which promised to be profitable to them; and they immediately despatched to Canada a body of 2500 men under general Hull. Proclamations were issued inviting the Canadians to throw off the British yoke; but they remained faithful, and the military measures adopted by general Brock were so judicious that in less than two months Hull was obliged to capitulate. A second attempt under general Wadsworth was repulsed with great loss. At sea the Americans succeeded in capturing some of our frigates, owing to their own being much more heavily armed.

Meanwhile that breach between France and Russia had occurred, which ultimately proved one of the chief causes of Napoleon's downfall. Both Russia and Sweden had declined to carry out the Berlin Decree; and in March, 1812, a treaty was concluded between those powers, in consequence of which Napoleon made active preparations for war. Before entering on it, he was willing to patch up a peace with England, and was ready to make large concessions; but, as he still demanded Spain for his brother Joseph, his proposals were not entertained. Napoleon then undertook his disastrous expedition into Russia. The burning of Moscow, which he entered on September 15, forced him to a retreat, during which the greater part of his vast

host was annihilated either by the inclemency of the weather or the sword of the enemy. Napoleon, abandoning his army to its fate, travelled post-haste to Paris, where he arrived (December 18) thoroughly beaten and discomfited. During the summer a treaty was concluded between England and Sweden, and subsequently between England and Russia; and when the British parliament assembled in November, a grant of 200,000*l.* was voted for the relief of the sufferers in Russia, in addition to a large amount raised by private subscription. The parliament also voted 100,000*l.* to lord Wellington.

§ 18. The French reverses not only prevented Napoleon from sending reinforcements into Spain, but obliged him to recall marshal Soult and 20,000 men from that country, to oppose the advance of the Russians. Thus a brighter prospect was opened to the British arms in the Peninsula. The Spanish provisional government, throwing aside its ridiculous pride, made Wellington commander-in-chief of the Spanish forces, which were little better than an undisciplined rabble. Their greatest service was in guerrilla warfare. The whole force on which Wellington could rely was under 70,000 British and Portuguese, of which about 6000 were cavalry. On May 6, 1813, he entered Spain in three divisions, the centre being led by himself, the right by sir Rowland Hill, the left by sir Thomas Graham. The advance was made by Valladolid, the French retreating before him, till they took up a strong position in front of Vittoria. Vittoria was attacked (June 21), and carried after an obstinate resistance, the French being driven through the town, and pursued till it grew dark. The whole of the French artillery, baggage, and ammunition, together with property valued at a million sterling, was captured on this occasion; and king Joseph himself was nearly seized by a party of the 10th hussars. The French army fled in the greatest disorder to Pampluna; but, as that place would evidently have to sustain a siege or blockade, the garrison would admit none of their countrymen except king Joseph. The remainder of the fugitives pursued their flight, and did not rally till they reached the Pyrenees. Pampluna and San Sebastian were soon invested by the allies, and the passes of the Pyrenees were occupied from Roncesvalles to Irun, at the mouth of the Bidassoa.

Napoleon now sent Soult, with the title of "lieutenant of the emperor," to reorganize the defeated army and defend the frontiers of France. The former commission he executed with great promptitude and skill at St. Jean Pied de Port; the latter was beyond his power, though he made desperate attempts, and even succeeded in regaining two of the mountain passes. These operations ex-

tended from July 24 to August 2, the last six days of which were one continual combat. These engagements are known as the "Battles of the Pyrenees." Soult would have been fairly entangled and surrounded at San Estevan, but for the imprudence of three drunken English soldiers who were surprised near his quarters. His army suffered severe losses in that terrible pass. He now retired behind the Bidassoa, and Wellington halted to besiege San Sebastian.

On August 31, San Sebastian was carried by assault, but with terrible loss; and the castle surrendered a few days after. Pampluna held out till October 31; but Wellington, leaving that fortress invested, crossed the Bidassoa early in that month with his left wing, and Soult retreated to the Nivelle. Before the middle of November all the allied army was on French ground. Wellington had issued a proclamation, containing the strictest injunctions not to molest the peaceable inhabitants, which the Spaniards could not be brought to obey, and at last he was obliged to send most of them back over the frontier. The peasants of the south of France, oppressed by the conscription, welcomed the English as deliverers. On November 10, the French position on the Nivelle was forced. Soult then retired to his entrenched camp at Bayonne, from which he attacked the English posts, but without success. The allies then went for a few weeks into winter quarters.

§ 19. The whole continent had now risen in arms against Napoleon. During his disastrous retreat from Russia, the emperor Alexander had hung upon his rear; and, as the forces of Russia approached the west, they were joined by the Poles, and then by the Prussians. A sentiment of revenge for national degradation had at length aroused the latter. The news of Wellington's glorious campaign in the Peninsula also stimulated the Germans to resistance. Frederick William III., king of Prussia, and the Czar contracted an alliance offensive and defensive (March 1, 1813), which was ratified at Kalisch. This coalition, being the sixth against France, was joined by Great Britain (June 14). Napoleon, however, was still superior in force to the allies. By the most unsparing conscription he had raised 300,000 men, half of whom were despatched into Germany; but they were raw recruits, necessarily much inferior to those by whom he had won his early victories. He gained in May the battles of Lutzen and Bautzen; but they were bloody, and led to little result. The French reoccupied Leipsic and Dresden, and an armistice was agreed upon, from June 4 to August 10, to give time for negotiations mediated by Austria. Napoleon refused to give up his conquests beyond the Rhine; and at the conclusion of the armistice Austria joined the

coalition against him, although the emperor's daughter had been left regent of France. England supplied the Prussians, Hanoverians, and Sweden, with money and stores. Then followed the battles of Gross Beeren, Katzbach, Dresden, and Dennewitz, in all which the French were defeated, and finally the crowning battle of Leipsic (October 16-18), called by the Germans the *Völkerschlacht*, or battle of the nations, from the numbers engaged. Napoleon was completely overthrown, and compelled to a retreat as disastrous as that from Moscow, recrossing the Rhine with less than a quarter of the enormous army he had collected in Germany. He reached Paris (November 9), still self-confident and presumptuous, though beaten. On the 21st of December, 1813, the vanguard of the allied armies crossed the Rhine, and the war was carried into France.

On February 21, 1814, Wellington again took the field, and Soult retired before him across the Gave d'Oléron. On the 27th, he was defeated at Orthez with great loss, and Wellington pushed on to the Adour, directing sir John Hope to invest Bayonne, and marshal Beresford to occupy Bordeaux. On his arrival the mayor and citizens proclaimed Louis XVIII. of their own accord, for Wellington studiously avoided all interference in favour of the Bourbons. Soult now retreated upon Toulouse; and Wellington, who reached that city on March 27, found him posted on the right bank of the broad and rapid Garonne. It was the 9th of April before the British army could be conveyed to the other side, and on the 10th, Easter Sunday, was fought the bloody battle which takes its name from the town. The force of Wellington was a little superior, but Soult was much stronger in artillery. His position was carried, but with considerable loss, and on the night of the 11th he evacuated Toulouse and retreated towards Carcassone. In that night he marched 21 miles: yet some French writers have claimed the battle of Toulouse as one of their victories! Wellington entered Toulouse on the 12th, and in the afternoon he received intelligence that Napoleon had abdicated at Fontainebleau six days before the battle. Soult at first refused to acknowledge the provisional government established in the name of Louis XVIII.; but on his receiving further intelligence, a convention was signed on the 18th. On the 14th, general Thouvenot, though apprized of the state of affairs at Paris, wantonly made a night sally from Bayonne, in which a great number of men were killed and wounded on both sides.

§ 20. All February and March, 1814, Napoleon had obstinately contested with far inferior forces the advance of the allies from the Rhine, displaying all his great qualities as a general. During this campaign a congress of the ministers of the allied powers and of

France was held at Châtillon-sur-Seine, England being represented by lord Castlereagh. They offered those boundaries which France pretended to claim as her natural limits—the Pyrenees, the Alps, and the Rhine; but to these proposals Napoleon refused to accede till too late. Of this campaign it will suffice to say, that after several battles the emperor Alexander and the king of Prussia entered Paris (March 31). The allied sovereigns now refused to treat with Napoleon, who had retired to Fontainebleau. He was compelled to abdicate (April 4), and a provisional government was formed to effect the restoration of the Bourbons. At the instance of the emperor Alexander, Napoleon was allowed to retain his imperial title, the isle of Elba was assigned as his dominion, and he was to receive from France a pension of six million francs. England was no party to this treaty, but afterwards assented to it. Louis XVIII., who during his exile had resided in England, entered Paris in state (May 3), and on the 30th he signed with Great Britain, Austria, Russia, and Prussia, a treaty of peace and alliance, by which the French boundaries, with some additions, were determined and secured as they existed in 1792. The possession of Malta and its dependencies was confirmed to England: the Cape of Good Hope had been secured by a previous treaty with Holland; but all the Dutch East India colonies, except Ceylon, were restored. All the colonies possessed by France in 1792 were also restored, except Tobago, St. Lucie, and the Isle of France; and several islands and colonies were likewise given back to Spain. Hanover was raised to the dignity of a kingdom, with the succession in the male line only. In June the allied armies evacuated Paris. The emperor Alexander, the king of Prussia, and many of their most distinguished generals and nobility, then visited England, when there was a solemn thanksgiving in St. Paul's, and a series of grand fêtes and entertainments.

Contemporaneously with the advance of the allies upon Paris, an English force under sir Thomas Graham, which was afterwards joined by Bernadotte and his Swedes, had been engaged in reducing Holland, and the English suffered severely in attempting to storm the formidable fortress of Bergen-op-Zoom (March 10). By the peace of Paris, Belgium was incorporated with Holland, and formed the kingdom of the Netherlands. Lord William Bentinck, with an Anglo-Sicilian force, assisted by a squadron under sir Edward Pellew, succeeded in reducing Genoa, which was annexed to the kingdom of Sardinia. Pius VII. was restored to the papal throne; and Lombardy, with the addition of Venice and several other places, was made over to Austria, after the expulsion of the viceroy, Eugene Beauharnais. Bentinck appears to have exceeded his powers

in proclaiming the independence of Genoa, and thus exciting hopes which could not be realized. Ferdinand VII. had already been restored to the throne of Spain by Napoleon, without the exaction of any pledge. Soon after, the duke of Wellington, for such he had now been created, arrived at Madrid to mediate between the contending parties; and he advised Ferdinand to grant the Spaniards a constitution, and to rule with liberality and moderation. On his return home the duke received the thanks of both houses, and a sum of 500,000*l.* was voted to him for an estate.

§ 21. Our war with America during this period presented features of little interest. Instructed by the events of 1812, the English government sent out a more powerful class of frigates, and henceforward the engagements terminated for the most part in favour of the British. One of the most remarkable was that between the *Shannon* and *Chesapeake*, a British and an American frigate, of which the latter was considerably superior in weight of metal. Captain Broke of the *Shannon* sent a challenge to the *Chesapeake* in Boston harbour, and a battle was fought (June 1, 1813), when, after an action of fifteen minutes, captain Broke boarded the *Chesapeake*, and carried her off in sight of the disappointed Americans. (Supplement, Note XXXI.)

In 1813 and 1814 the Americans renewed their attempts upon Canada, but without success, and it is calculated that their three invasions cost them 50,000 men. Meanwhile our squadrons ravaged the American coast, the lighter vessels penetrating up the rivers and inflicting considerable damage. In 1814 the British in America were reinforced with some of the veterans of the Peninsula. On August 24 general Ross, with only 1600 men, dispersed in half an hour about 8000 Americans posted on some heights near the river Potomac, entered Washington, the capital of the Union, and burnt the Senate-house, the House of Representatives, the Capitol, the president's residence, the arsenal, dockyards, and other public buildings. Several other American towns were taken; but an attack upon Baltimore was repulsed with great loss, including the death of general Ross (September 13); and an attempt upon New Orleans (January, 1815) was still more unfortunate. After the abdication of Napoleon the Americans began to think of peace, and a treaty was signed at Ghent (December 24, 1814). Both parties agreed to use their endeavours to suppress the slave-trade.

§ 22. In January, 1815, a congress of eight of the principal European powers assembled at Vienna to regulate the affairs of Europe; but they had not proceeded far in their labours when they were astounded with the intelligence that Bonaparte had escaped from Elba. He landed at Cannes (March 1) with 1000 men, and the

troops sent against him joined his standard as he advanced. On the night of March 19 Louis XVIII. fled to Lille, and on the following night Napoleon entered the palace of the Tuileries. The congress at Vienna declared him an outlaw and violator of the common peace, devoted him to public vengeance, and agreed to unite for the maintenance of the treaty of Paris. The duke of Wellington, who was present at the congress, was consulted as to the conduct of the war. The duke impressed upon the English ministry the necessity, even on the ground of economy, of making a grand effort to crush the enemy at once. Both the ministry and the parliament were impressed with the soundness of this advice. The budget of the year was raised to the enormous sum of ninety millions, a considerable part of which went to subsidize the continental nations; and the duke proceeded to Belgium to prepare for the expected campaign.

Napoleon crossed the Belgian frontier (June 14) with about 100,000 infantry, 25,000 cavalry, and 350 pieces of artillery; and advanced by Charleroi. Wellington lay at Brussels with about 76,000 men, not half of whom were British, and some 84 guns; Blücher being at some distance on his left, with 80,000 Prussians and 200 guns; and when Wellington had ascertained the real point of attack, he made the proper dispositions to meet it. On the 15th marshal Ney advanced beyond Charleroi on the road to Brussels, driving back from Quatre Bras an advanced brigade of the Army of the Netherlands under the prince of Weimar. The position was, however, recovered by the prince of Orange; and on the next day, general Picton having arrived with the 5th division and some Germans under the duke of Brunswick, Ney was repulsed from Quatre Bras, though his force was nearly double that of the allies. Meanwhile, on the same day, Napoleon with his main body had attacked the Prussians at Ligny and St. Amand, in front of their head-quarters at Sombref, had driven Blücher back with great loss, and compelled him to retreat to Wavre. But so little aware was he of his victory, that it was not till noon on the 17th that he despatched Grouchy, with a corps of 32,000 men, in pursuit of the Prussians.

Blücher's retrograde movement necessitated a similar one on the part of Wellington, in order to keep up the communication between the allied armies. On the 17th he made a leisurely retreat, undisturbed except by a few cavalry skirmishes, to the position of Mont St. Jean, two miles in front of WATERLOO, which he had previously selected for a battle-field. In the course of the same day Napoleon formed a junction with Ney, when their united forces amounted to about 78,000 men. The night was stormy, with thunder, rain, and wind; the following morning (Sunday, June 18) opened heavily,

but the rain had ceased. Wellington occupied a position extending from a ravine near Merke Braine on the right to the hamlet of Ter la Haye on the left; on which side the communication was open with Blücher at Wavre, through Ohain. In front of his right centre was the château of Hougoumont, in front of his left centre the farmhouse of La Haye Sainte, both occupied by our troops. In the rear of the British centre was the farmhouse of Mont St. Jean, and still further back the village of the same name. The French occupied some heights in front of Wellington's position, and about a mile distant; their right being before the village of Planchenois, and occupying the farm of La Belle Alliance, whilst their left rested on the Genappe road. It was the first time that Napoleon had come into contact with British troops. He was full of confidence, and is said to have exclaimed, "Enfin je vais me mesurer avec ce Vilainton." About ten o'clock the French line was observed to be in motion, and soon a violent attack was made on Hougoumont, defended by a brigade of the guards, who held it throughout the day. The French succeeded better at La Haye Sainte, though it was bravely defended by some of the German Legion, who were all slain; but the post was afterwards recovered. In other parts of the line repeated attacks were made by heavy columns of French infantry, but without success, and Napoleon then had recourse to some desperate charges of cavalry, which were repulsed by the British infantry formed in squares. To put an end to this, Wellington ordered an advance of the brigade of heavy cavalry under lord Edward Somerset, consisting of the life guards, horse guards, and 1st dragoon guards, who completely rode down and dispersed the French cuirassiers, 2000 of them being made prisoners in this charge. At seven o'clock in the evening the British line retained its original position; when Bulow's corps of Prussians, which had arrived at Planchenois and La Belle Alliance, began to engage the French right. Napoleon's chances were now growing desperate, and as a last effort he ordered the advance of his magnificent Old Guard against the British position. He led the advance some way himself, and then took shelter behind some rising ground, leaving Ney, "the bravest of the brave," to head the charge. The guard advanced up the gently sloping ridge in two dark and threatening columns, galled by a flank fire from the British light division. At the top or that ridge the British guards were lying down to avoid the fire of the French artillery; but, as the French columns approached, they sprang up and, at the distance of about 50 yards, delivered a terrible volley into the French ranks, as they were attempting to deploy into line. Their columns shook and wavered, a charge was ordered, and the Old Guard was hurled down the hill in one mingled mass with

their conquerors. The sight of this repulse threw the whole French line into confusion and dismay : Napoleon galloped to the rear, and Wellington, availing himself of the auspicious moment, ordered a general advance. The French army was now in complete rout; Wellington and Blücher met at a house called La Maison Rouge, not far from La Belle Alliance; and the pursuit of the enemy was left to the Prussians, who were comparatively fresh. Many prisoners were made, and 150 guns fell into the hands of the allies. Napoleon himself narrowly escaped capture. It was computed that in the three days' engagements and in the retreat the French lost 30,000 men; and when the remaining fugitives reached the French frontier, the greater part dispersed, never to meet again. But the loss of the allies was also enormous. It is estimated that nearly half the men actually engaged were either killed or wounded. Among the killed were general Picton and general sir William Ponsonby; among the wounded, the earl of Uxbridge (afterwards marquess of Anglesey), general Cooke, general Halkett, colonel Fitzroy Somerset (afterwards Lord Raglan), and others. The prince of Orange was also wounded. The duke of Brunswick had fallen at Quatre Bras, at the head of his black hussars.

§ 23. The allies now advanced upon Paris, which the remains of the grand army evacuated (July 6), and the allies took possession. Blücher wished to pull down the column in the Place Vendôme, blow up the bridge of Jena, and levy 100 million francs on the city; but on all these points he ultimately yielded to the more moderate counsels of Wellington. Napoleon had abdicated (June 22) in favour of his young son, Napoleon II.; but the allies would be content with nothing less than the restoration of the Bourbons, and Louis XVIII., who had re-entered Paris with the allies, quietly resumed the government.

Meanwhile Napoleon, distracted by uncertainty, now thinking of joining the remains of his army beyond the Loire, and now of flying to America, arrived at Rochefort (July 3). But finding all hope of escape cut off by the numerous British cruisers, he surrendered himself to captain Maitland, on board the *Bellerophon*, an English ship of the line, which happened to be in the roads. He had previously written to the prince regent, claiming the protection of the British people, and comparing himself to Themistocles when he sought the hospitality of Admetus. Captain Maitland gave him to understand that he could make no promises as to his reception, and could only undertake to convey him safely to England. Maitland was ordered to proceed to Plymouth Sound, and allow no communication with the shore. The resolution of the allies was communicated to Napoleon (July 31), and on August 7

he was put on board the *Northumberland*, the flag-ship of admiral sir G. Cockburn, and conveyed to the island of St. Helena. Here he lingered till his death (May 5, 1821). He was incontestably the greatest general of modern times, and had taken every capital of importance in Europe, except London: yet he was deficient in the qualities which make a great man, and especially in dignity and fortitude in the endurance of misfortune.

The second peace of Paris, or definitive treaty between France and the allied powers, was signed in that capital on November 20. The settlement of Europe was arranged by the congress at Vienna. The emperor of Russia, the emperor of Austria, and the king of Prussia had also signed what they called the "Holy Alliance"—an agreement to govern on Christian principles; which the duke of Wellington wisely declined to sign, on the ground that it was too vague (September 26).

At the commencement of the war with France in 1793, the English funded debt had been a little under 240 millions. In February, 1816, the unredeemed debt, funded and unfunded, amounted to nearly 900 millions, entailing an annual charge of more than 28 millions. The last three years of the war alone had cost the country very nearly 200 millions.

§ 24. The triumph of the nation was succeeded by a reaction of internal distress and discontent. During the war, the excitement of national feeling and the natural exultation of victory had prevented the people from complaining, and it was not till the struggle was over that they began to feel the burthens occasioned by it. Trade languished from the exhaustion of the continental nations, and their consequent inability to purchase our goods; while through unfavourable seasons the price of wheat rose before the end of 1816 from 52s. to upwards of 100s. a quarter; and the distress was augmented by the corn-law of 1815, which closed the ports to the importation of foreign grain till the price of wheat reached 80s. A multitude of persons were thrown out of employment through the depressed state of trade, and their numbers were swelled by the soldiers and sailors discharged at the termination of the war. Thus seditions and tumults arose, marked in the agricultural districts by incendiary fires, in the manufacturing towns by the breaking of those ingenious machines by which human labour has been to a great extent superseded. The subject of parliamentary reform, previously little more than a speculative question, now began to be agitated among the great mass of the people. A ramification of clubs, called Hampden clubs, was established throughout the country, that of London being presided over by sir Francis Burdett. Other leading members were major Cart-

wright and the demagogue orator Henry Hunt. Their demand for reform embraced annual parliaments and universal suffrage; and a report of a secret committee of the House of Commons in February, 1817, represented these clubs as meditating nothing short of a revolution. In the preceding December dangerous riots had taken place in Spa Fields, which were with difficulty put down through the firmness and courage of sir James Shaw and of the lord mayor.

One result of the peace was the suppression of the Algerine pirates. During the war these nests of robbers had been connived at; but in 1816 sir Edward Pellew (lord Exmouth) proceeded to Algiers with 25 men-of-war, besides gunboats. Being joined by a small Dutch squadron under admiral Van Capellan, he almost completely destroyed, after a few hours' bombardment, the formidable fortifications of Algiers (August 27), together with nine Algerine frigates. A loss, however, of 818 officers and men was sustained by the British. The dey of Algiers now accepted the terms dictated, and 1083 Christian slaves, principally Italians, were liberated.

§ 25. The general feeling of discontent among the lower classes, and an outrage committed upon the prince regent, the windows of whose carriage were broken as he was returning from opening the parliament (January 28, 1817), led to the suspension of the Habeas Corpus Act (February 28). At the same time the execution of the law of libel was severely pressed, and numerous *ex officio* informations were filed against political writers. One of the most remarkable of these prosecutions was that against William Hone, a bookseller in the Old Bailey, for a profane libel, consisting of parodies on the Catechism, the Lord's Prayer, and the Creed. Hone conducted his own defence with considerable ability, and was acquitted by the jury, who seem to have felt that it was the political rather than the profane character of the libels that had excited the indignation of the government (December 18).

The princess Charlotte, only child of the regent, died in childbirth this year (November 6). The infant was still-born. She had espoused (May 16, 1816) prince Leopold of Saxe Coburg, the late king of the Belgians.

In 1818 the prospects of the country seemed improving. Trade was more active, employment more constant, and sedition consequently less rampant. In September a congress of the allies was held at Aix-la-Chapelle in order to settle the withdrawal of the army of occupation from France, of which the duke of Wellington was generalissimo. The duke took leave of the troops by an order of the day dated at Cambray, November 7. On his return to England he was appointed master-general of the ordnance, with a seat in the cabinet.

§ 26. In 1819 was passed the act, commonly known as Mr. Peel's Act, to remove the Bank restriction passed in 1797, and to provide for the gradual resumption of cash payments. May 1, 1823, was assigned as the period for the payment of all notes on demand in the current gold coin of the realm; but the Bank anticipated this period by two years, and began to pay in specie on May 1, 1821.

In August, 1819, Henry Hunt, the demagogue, collected a great meeting in St. Peter's Fields, Manchester, on the subject of parliamentary reform. The attempt to apprehend him produced a disturbance, in which about half a dozen persons were killed and a score or two wounded. This affair obtained among the "Radicals," as the extreme reform party were now called, the name of the Manchester Massacre, or "Peterloo." Hunt and eight or ten of his friends were captured, and, being tried and convicted of a misdemeanour in the following spring, were sentenced to various terms of imprisonment. Such was the alarm occasioned in the public mind by these disturbances, that parliament was opened in November, when the ministers brought in and passed six acts: namely, for the more speedy execution of justice in cases of misdemeanour; to prevent military training; to prevent and punish blasphemous and seditious libels; an act for seizing arms; a stamp act, with the view of repressing libels; and an act to prevent seditious meetings and assemblies. But more effectual means of repression were found in the amendment of the criminal law, the extension of education, the establishment of savings banks, and other measures of a similar philanthropic character.

On January 23, 1820, died the duke of Kent, aged 52; leaving an only daughter, her present majesty, born May 24, 1819. In less than a week afterwards, George III. expired (January 29), at the age of 82, and in the 60th year of his reign, a longer period than any king had ever sat on the English throne. His private conduct had been always unexceptionable; and his plain and unostentatious manner, his warmth of feeling, and his attachment to rural pursuits, had endeared him to a large portion of his subjects. As a sovereign he undoubtedly had the honour and welfare of the nation at heart, Though occasionally somewhat narrow and contracted in his views, these defects are rather to be attributed to his early training than to any want of natural good sense. To the opinions he had once adopted he was apt to cling with a firmness nothing could shake. Unpopular at the outset of his reign, and surrounded by those who either were unable to advise, or unwilling to conciliate, he succeeded, long before his death, in gaining the affection and esteem of his subjects. Queen Charlotte had died in November, 1818.

CHAPTER XXXIV.

GEORGE IV., AND WILLIAM IV. A.D. 1820-1837.

- § 1. Accession of GEORGE IV. Cato-street conspiracy. Prosecution and death of queen Caroline. § 2. Ministerial changes. Commercial panic. § 3. The catholic question. O'Connell and the Catholic Association. Canning's ministry and death. § 4. Battle of Navarino. Kingdom of Greece. The duke of Wellington premier. Repeal of the Test and Corporation Acts. § 5. Catholic emancipation. § 6. Death and character of George IV. § 7. Accession of WILLIAM IV. Earl Grey premier. § 8. Parliamentary Reform Bill. Rejected by the lords. Riots at Bristol, etc. § 9. Proposed creation of peers. Reform Bill carried. Irish Coercion Bill. § 10. Abolition of slavery. Lord Melbourne prime minister. Sir Robert Peel prime minister. Lord Melbourne's second administration. § 11. Municipal Reform Bill. Death of William IV.

GEORGE IV., *b.* 1762; *r.* 1820-1830.

§ 1. GEORGE, prince of Wales, now ascended the throne, with the title of GEORGE IV., at the age of 58. As he had been regent during the last ten years, while his father was in seclusion, his accession produced little or no change in the state of affairs.

The excitement of "Peterloo" was followed by the Cato-street conspiracy, so called because the conspirators were captured in a room over a stable in Cato-street, Edgeware-road (February 23). They consisted of some twenty or thirty persons, headed by one Thistlewood, a man of desperate character; and their design was to murder all the cabinet ministers when they should be assembled at dinner at lord Harrowby's. But they were betrayed by one of their own gang: nine of them were captured, and Thistlewood and four more of the ringleaders were executed (May 1).

One of the first steps of George IV. after his accession was to attempt to procure a divorce from his consort, Caroline of Brunswick. The marriage had never been a happy one. It had been in a manner forced upon the prince as a condition of having his debts paid. The princess's person and manners were distasteful to him, and she soon became the object of his aversion. Though she bore him a daughter, they separated shortly after their marriage; and Caroline went to live abroad in 1814. Her conduct in England had already excited some scandal, and in 1818 a commission was appointed to watch her conduct and collect evidence. Our ambassadors abroad were instructed not to recognize her; and when the king came to the throne her name was omitted from the liturgy.

She determined on returning to England, and arrived (June 6, 1820) the very day on which lord Liverpool had opened an inquiry into her conduct in the House of Lords. In July a bill of pains and penalties was brought in, to deprive her of her rights and privileges as queen, and to dissolve the marriage. In the trial which ensued Mr. Brougham and Mr. Denman acted as her attorney and solicitor general. She was charged in particular with adultery with one Bergami, a menial servant. Several Italian witnesses were examined, and it cannot be doubted that her conduct in Italy had gone far beyond the bounds of discretion; but the witnesses were of a low class, and frequently equivocated: and there was naturally a popular feeling in favour of a woman whose case assumed somewhat the aspect of persecution. At the third reading of the bill, the majority in its favour in the House of Lords had fallen to nine; and, as the bill had still to pass the commons, the ministers determined to abandon it. The popular feeling was expressed by a general illumination. In the following session the commons voted the queen an annuity of 50,000*l*.

The king's coronation having been fixed for July 19, 1821, queen Caroline insisted on being crowned with him, and on having her name inserted in the liturgy. This was refused; and when she repaired to the abbey to view the coronation as a spectator, she was turned back from the door. This disappointment, added to the excitement she had already undergone, was her deathblow. She expired of internal inflammation (August 7), at the age of 52. Her funeral was attended with riots. The mob compelled the procession to pass through the city, and two persons were shot by the military. Her remains were then taken to Harwich to be conveyed to Brunswick.

§ 2. In 1822 lord Sidmouth retired from the home office, and was succeeded by Mr. Peel. In August the suicide of lord Londonderry (formerly lord Castlereagh) created another vacancy in the ministry. Mr. Canning was now the leading man in the House of Commons, but he had incurred the king's displeasure by refusing to take any part in the proceedings against queen Caroline, and had therefore been passed over on the preceding occasion. His great talents, however, could not be entirely overlooked, and the East India Company had offered him the governor-generalship of India, for which he was preparing to depart. But, as his services in England were indispensable, the king was forced to waive his antipathy, and Canning became foreign secretary and leader of the House of Commons. His discharge of that office was marked by a more liberal policy than had prevailed under his predecessor.

As the disciple of Pitt, Canning followed Pitt's principles of

commercial freedom and financial reform. These were adopted in practice by Huskisson, who became president of the Board of Trade in 1823, and taxation was rapidly reduced. The prosperity of the country went on increasing; but towards the end of 1825 the reckless spirit of speculation produced a panic, which was followed by much distress and alarm. Upwards of 60 banks stopped payment in December, 1825, and the following month. The evil was attributed in a great degree to the over-issue of paper money, and measures were taken to restrict the issue of small notes by country bankers, as well as by the Bank of England; and branches of the latter were established in several of the larger trading towns. Joint stock banks were legalized the next year. An extensive system of emigration was adopted to relieve the distress of the nation, and its superintendence was intrusted to the colonial office.

§ 8. About this time Daniel O'Connell began to make himself conspicuous as the advocate of the claims of the Irish Roman catholics. George III. had declared that he would never consent to the admission of catholics to parliament, and his illness has been attributed to the subject having been forced upon his attention by Mr. Pitt. During the life of that sovereign, therefore, the catholics had abandoned all hope of relief; but the case was different on the accession of George IV. After the death of Mr. Perceval, in 1812, the catholic question became an open one in the cabinet. Canning distinguished himself as an advocate of relief, and the subject was frequently debated in parliament, but nothing was done. In this state of things O'Connell, supported by a *rent* levied in Ireland, organized the Catholic Association in the beginning of 1824. In 1825 a relief bill, introduced by sir Francis Burdett, passed the commons; upon which the duke of York went down to the House of Lords, and took a solemn oath that in case he should succeed to the crown he would permit no change. The bill was rejected by the lords; but the duke died soon afterwards (January 5, 1827).

In February, 1827, lord Liverpool was seized with paralysis; and, as it was evident that he would never again be able to attend to business, the king was reluctantly compelled to send for Mr. Canning (April 11), who became first lord of the treasury and chancellor of the exchequer. The duke of Wellington, Mr. Peel, lord Eldon, and some others resigned; and sir John Copley, now created lord Lyndhurst, became lord chancellor. Nothing of importance, however, was done in Mr. Canning's short administration. By many of the aristocracy he was regarded as an adventurer. He had to endure various personal attacks; and anxiety and vexation of mind, added to a violent illness contracted at the duke of York's funeral, brought him to the grave (August 8). He was privately

buried in Westminster Abbey, and a peerage was conferred by the king on his widow. Viscount Goderich* (Mr. Robinson) succeeded Canning as premier.

§ 4. The new administration, like the preceding, lasted only a few months, and the sole important event that occurred while it held office was the battle of Navarino, followed by the establishment of Greek independence. The cause of Greece was supported, from different motives, by Russia, France, and England. These powers had their squadrons in the Levant, the English being under the command of sir Edward Codrington. War had not yet been declared: the Turkish and Egyptian fleet, under Ibrahim Pasha, lay in the bay of Navarino; and there was an understanding that it should remain there till the affairs of Greece were arranged. As the Turks attempted to violate this agreement, a general engagement ensued, and the Turkish and Egyptian fleets were completely destroyed in the course of a few hours (October 20, 1827). By this impolitic act England and France played into the hands of Russia, who was anxious to weaken the power of Turkey; and thus they gave some help towards the long-cherished object of her ambition—the possession of Constantinople. Next year a Russian army marched into Turkey and dictated peace at Adrianople. By this treaty the freedom of Greece was recognized by the sultan (September 14 1829). The three powers decided that Greece should be erected into a separate kingdom; and the crown, after having been declined by prince John of Saxony and prince Leopold of Saxe-Coburg, was eventually conferred, in 1832, on prince Otho, a younger son of the king of Bavaria. Otho was deposed in 1862; the people soon after elected a Danish prince, brother of the princess of Wales, as “George I. king of the Hellenes;” and England gave up the Ionian islands to Greece (June, 1864).

In January, 1828, another change of ministry occurred. Lord Goderich having resigned, the duke of Wellington became premier; when Mr. Goulburn was made chancellor of the exchequer, Mr. Peel home secretary, and lord Palmerston secretary at war. Most of the other ministers retained their offices. In this session was passed the repeal of the Test and Corporation Acts established in the reign of Charles II. It was moved by lord John Russell, and opposed at first by Mr. Peel; but the ministers, having been left in a minority, subsequently withdrew their opposition. For the sacramental test there was now substituted a declaration, if required by the crown, by which the person entering upon any office pledged himself not to use its influence as a means for subverting the established church. On the motion of the bishop of Llandaff the words

* He was created earl of Ripon in 1833; his son was made marquess of Ripon in 1871.

"on the true faith of a Christian" were inserted in the declaration : a clause which, though not so designed, had the effect of excluding the Jews from parliament till the year 1858. This measure was naturally regarded as the forerunner of catholic emancipation.

§ 5. It was evident that the duke of Wellington was prepared, with characteristic good sense, to yield to public opinion. He had, indeed, announced his intention at the same time of opposing the catholic claims, but with the qualification, unless he saw some great change; and this contingency soon afterwards occurred.

In the course of the year Mr. Huskisson resigned office in consequence of being opposed to his colleagues on an election question. He was followed by lord Palmerston, lord Dudley, Mr. Lamb, and Mr. Grant, the "Canning" portion of the cabinet. Mr. Vezey Fitzgerald, who sat for the county of Clare, having become one of the new ministers, was now of course obliged to vacate his seat and appear again before his constituents, and, being an advocate of catholic emancipation, he considered his re-election sure. But O'Connell presented himself, and was returned, affirming that he should be able to take his seat, which, however, he did not attempt to do during the remainder of the session. This event brought matters to a crisis. The ministers perceived that it would be impossible any longer to withhold emancipation, without creating great disturbances, and in the king's speech on opening the session of 1829 a measure of relief was announced. The Catholic Association was first of all to be dissolved; but while a bill for that purpose was in progress the association dissolved itself. Mr. Peel had for many years been the ablest opponent of the admission of catholics to parliament. Session after session, he had distinguished himself by his eloquent speeches against the measure, and had gained the affection and confidence of the high church and tory party. Great was their indignation on finding that their favourite leader was now prepared suddenly to desert them, and to propose in the commons the very measure which he had so frequently denounced as fraught with ruin to the best interests of the empire. Having felt himself bound in honour to vacate his seat for the University of Oxford, upon again presenting himself as a candidate, he was beaten by sir Robert Inglis. He was, however, returned for Westbury, and introduced the Catholic Relief Bill. By this measure a different form of oath was substituted for the oath of supremacy, and there were no offices from which Roman catholics were now excluded except those of regent, of lord chancellor of England and of Ireland, and of viceroy of Ireland.* By way of security the franchise in

* The special oath for catholics was superseded by a general oath of allegiance in 1866, which was further simplified in 1869.

Ireland was raised from 40s. to 10*l.*, and certain regulations were made respecting the exercise of the Roman catholic religion. The bill was finally carried in the House of Lords (April 10), having passed through both houses with considerable majorities.

This measure produced a schism in the tory party, the effects of which lasted for some years. One of its consequences was a duel between the duke of Wellington and the earl of Winchelsea, but without injury to either party. The Catholic Relief Bill was not, however, attended with all the beneficial consequences anticipated by its supporters. It averted the immediate danger of a civil war in Ireland, but it failed to convert the Irish catholics into peaceable subjects, and they soon proceeded to use the new political power which they had obtained more for the interests of their own religion than for the good of the empire.

§ 6. The Roman Catholic Relief Bill was the last act of George IV. He had been for some time in a declining state of health, and had become so nervous and irritable that he almost entirely secluded himself from public view. There had been considerable difficulty in obtaining his consent to the bill, and after he had given it he was filled with alarm for the consequences. He died on June 26, 1830, in the 68th year of his age and the 11th year of his reign. Though his manners were elegant and his taste refined, he had not the qualities calculated to win popularity. With George IV. expired the habits and prejudices of the preceding century, and a new era now set in of rapid popular improvement. Railways had come into use at Stockton and Darlington in 1825; but their effectiveness for locomotion was not fully recognized until the opening of the Liverpool and Manchester line in 1830.

WILLIAM IV., b. 1765; r. 1830-1837.

§ 7. On the death of George IV., the duke of Clarence, his next surviving brother, then in his 65th year, was proclaimed king, by the title of WILLIAM IV. His political opinions were supposed to be more liberal than those of his predecessor, but no change was made in the ministry. The march of events, however, the repeal of the Test Act, the carrying of catholic emancipation by a tory ministry, and in this summer the revolution which occurred in France—by which Charles X. was hurled from his throne in consequence of his attempts on the constitution and on the liberty of the press, and Louis Philippe became king of the French—prepared the minds of men for further progress, and especially for some measure of parliamentary reform, a subject that had long occupied the attention and excited the passions of the

nation. The result of these feelings was manifested in the new parliament, which contained a great proportion of liberal members. But the state of disturbance which prevailed, both on the continent and at home, where there had been many incendiary fires in the rural districts, instead of inclining the duke and his ministry to concession, had determined them not to yield anything to popular clamour. The king's opening speech was firm and uncompromising, and in the debates which ensued the duke of Wellington expressed his determination to oppose any measure of parliamentary reform (November 2, 1830). The unpopularity excited by this declaration was increased by the ministers advising the king to decline an invitation to dine with the lord mayor on November 9. This step was taken in consequence of a communication from alderman Key, the lord mayor elect, who had warned the duke to come with a strong escort. London was in consequence struck with a panic; the country was thought to be on the eve of a revolution; and the Funds fell three per cent. The ministers, however, were soon released from responsibility. Sir H. Parnell having, in the debate on the civil list, carried a motion for a committee of enquiry (November 15), the ministers resigned the following morning. The king now sent for earl Grey, the leader of the whig party, under whose auspices as prime minister a new ministry was formed, on the avowed principle of parliamentary reform. It comprehended lord Brougham, now raised to the peerage, as lord chancellor, lord Althorp chancellor of the exchequer, lord Lansdowne president of the council, lord Palmerston foreign secretary, lord Melbourne home secretary, lord Goderich colonial secretary, and, among others, lord John Russell as paymaster of the forces, and Mr. Stanley, grandson of the earl of Derby, as secretary for Ireland.

§ 8. On March 1, 1831, a bill for parliamentary reform was introduced into the House of Commons by lord John Russell. The alterations proposed were much more extensive than had been anticipated, and were received by the house with shouts of derision. The second reading was carried by a majority of one; but ministers, having been twice defeated in committee, resolved on summoning a new parliament, though the present one had existed only a few months. The elections were attended with great excitement. The tories were denounced as enemies of both king and people. In some places, especially in Scotland, serious riots occurred, and lives were even lost; and in most of the considerable towns only those candidates dared to show themselves who would engage to vote for "the bill, the whole bill, and nothing but the bill." The populace had been led by demagogues to regard the measure as an immediate panacea for all their ills; and thus a great and neces-

sary constitutional reform was carried by popular heat and clamour, and with the excitement of expectations that could never be realized. The House of Commons, which assembled June 14, contained a large majority of reformers. The bill was again introduced by lord John Russell (June 24), and was carried by decisive majorities. It was still, however, violently opposed by a powerful party, who regarded it as an attack upon property; for it was notorious that estates commanding the nomination of a member of parliament fetched a price very far above their intrinsic value. When the bill was brought up to the House of Lords, it was rejected, after five nights' debate, by a majority of 41 (October 7). This step was followed by disgraceful riots. In London the populace, controlled by the admirable organization of the new police, established by sir Robert Peel, contented themselves with breaking the windows of obnoxious anti-reformers; but in several of the provincial towns fearful disturbances ensued. At Nottingham the ancient castle, the residence of the duke of Newcastle, was burnt; at Derby the jail was forced and the prisoners liberated; at Bristol, where the riots lasted several days, many of the public buildings and a great part of Queen's-square were destroyed, and about 100 persons were killed or wounded. Ireland also was in a most disturbed state. After the emancipation of the catholics, O'Connell had raised the cry for the repeal of the Union, and the most frightful nocturnal disorders, and even mid-day murders, became frequent. To add to the misery and confusion, England was visited this autumn for the first time by the Asiatic cholera.

§ 9. The parliament, after its prorogation (October 20), reassembled in December, and in March, 1832, the Reform Bill, introduced by lord John Russell, again passed the commons. The peers now displayed more disposition to yield; but, as it was evident that the bill would be mutilated in committee, lord Grey proposed to the king the creation of a sufficient number of peers to insure its success. As the king demurred, the ministers resigned; but, the duke of Wellington and lord Lyndhurst having failed to construct a tory administration, the king was obliged to yield at discretion, and recal his former ministers. The extreme measure of a large creation was avoided by the good sense of the peers. The duke of Wellington, and about 100 others, agreed to absent themselves; whereupon the bill was carried and received the royal assent (June 1, 1832).

It was the main principle of the Reform Bill, that boroughs having a less population than 2000 should cease to return members, and that those having a less population than 4000 should not return more than one member. By this arrangement 56 boroughs

were totally disfranchised, and 31 more lost one of their members. Thus, 143 seats were transferred to several large towns, such as Birmingham, Manchester, and Leeds, which had grown into importance during the last century. Between 40 and 50 new boroughs were created, including the four metropolitan boroughs of Marylebone, Finsbury, the Tower Hamlets, and Lambeth; each of the last returning two members. An aristocratic counterpoise seemed in some degree to be established by the additions to the county members. The larger counties were divided into districts; and while previously there had been 52 constituencies, returning 94 members, there were now 82 constituencies, returning 159 members. On the other hand, both the county and borough franchises were extended. In the counties the old 40s. freeholders were retained, and three new classes of voters were introduced:—1. copyholders of 10*l.* per annum; 2. leaseholders of the annual value of 10*l.* for a term of 60 years, or of the annual value of 50*l.* for a term of 20 years; and 3. occupying tenants paying an annual rental of 50*l.* In boroughs the franchise was given to all 10*l.* resident householders, subject to certain conditions. Such were the main features of the bill, which undoubtedly involved the greatest revolution the country had experienced since 1688.

There were also important provisions for regulating and shortening elections, and for the registration of voters. Similar bills were passed for Scotland and Ireland, but with some difference in their details, especially as to the amount of the Irish franchise. The parliamentary constitution thus created lasted 36 years, till the new Reform Acts of 1867 and 1868 (see p. 724). The chief alterations meanwhile were the extension of the Irish franchise, and the abolition of the "property qualification" for members. The two boroughs of *Sudbury* and *St. Albans* were disfranchised for corruption; and their four seats were given, in 1861, one to Birkenhead, one to South Lancashire, and two to the southern division of the West Riding of Yorkshire, making the composition of the last reformed parliament, that elected in 1865, as follows:—

	England.	Wales.	Ireland.	Scotland.
Counties ...	147	15	64	30
Universities ...	4	0	2	0
Cities and Boroughs	320	14	39	23
Totals ...	471	29	105	53

The disturbances in Ireland had now reached a frightful pitch. It had become impossible to collect tithe: the collectors were murdered or mutilated; there were regular engagements between the

police and the peasantry; and the protestant clergy were reduced to starvation. To put a stop to this state of things the government carried a Coercion Bill (April 2), which, while it provided a remedy for many of the grievances complained of, enabled the lord-lieutenant to prevent all public meetings of a dangerous character, and to place disturbed districts under martial law.

§ 10. Parliament was dissolved on December 3, and the first reformed House of Commons assembled on February 5, 1833. The reformers had an overwhelming majority, and fears began to be entertained that the church, the aristocracy, and all the older institutions would be swept away. But a strong conservative spirit still existed in the nation. Sir Robert Peel, whom the tories had now forgiven, and again treated as their leader, revived their desponding spirits. He introduced an admirable organization into the party, and pointed out that a return to political power was still far from impossible. Dropping the name of Tory, they now called themselves Conservatives.

The abolition of slavery and the amendment of the poor-law were two of the principal questions which occupied the attention of parliament. While the question of negro freedom was agitated in public meetings in England a dangerous insurrection had broken out among the slaves in Jamaica, which was with difficulty suppressed. A rising had also occurred in the Mauritius. Under these circumstances, ministers brought in and carried a bill for the total abolition of slavery, which had been so long advocated by Wilberforce, Fowell Buxton, and their party. The sum of 20,000,000*l.* was voted as compensation to the slave-owners. But as a great part of this sum was in reality never applied, and the rate of compensation was in some islands about 20*l.* per negro—not a quarter of what they had cost the proprietor—the owner of an estate with 100 negroes received about 2000*l.*, but found his property utterly ruined from the unwillingness of the emancipated negro to work. In this session (1833) an act was passed for redistributing the property of the Irish church, and reducing the number of its bishops from 22 to 12. The charter of the Bank of England was renewed, as was also that of the East India Company, on condition of its giving up its commercial monopoly, and the trade with China was consequently thrown open. The poor-law question was reserved for another administration.

As a considerable portion of his cabinet had resigned, principally on account of a proposed extension of the Irish Coercion Bill, lord Grey was obliged to retire (July 9, 1834). Lord Melbourne now became prime minister, and lord Althorp resumed his former post of chancellor of the exchequer. A new poor-law was passed, the

main feature of which was to abolish local boards and to establish a central board of commissioners. Poor-law unions were formed, and the system of outdoor relief was diminished in a considerable degree.

§ 11. The conservative reaction had, within the last two years, become so marked, that the king, in the autumn of 1834, availed himself of the death of earl Spencer and the consequent elevation to the House of Lords of his son lord Althorp, the chancellor of the exchequer, to dismiss lord Melbourne and his colleagues, and intrusted sir Robert Peel with the formation of a conservative administration (November 14). But the country was not yet ripe for the change. Upon the dissolution of parliament, the conservatives obtained a great accession to their numbers in the House of Commons, but they were still left in a minority. Accordingly, sir Robert Peel, after holding office for a few months, was obliged to retire, and the Melbourne administration resumed office in April, 1835, with a few changes, the most remarkable being that lord Brougham was passed over and the great seal placed in commission, till lord Cottenham (Pepys) was made chancellor. The new ministers were dependent on the support of O'Connell, with whom they had now allied themselves. The chief measure which they carried this session was the reform of municipal corporations on the principle of popular election. In the next year (1836) they passed a bill to allow dissenters to marry in their own chapels, and another for a "general registration of births, deaths, and marriages." In this year also the Tithe Commutation Act was passed, and also an act incorporating the ecclesiastical commission issued the year before, for the management of episcopal and cathedral revenues. It made an arrangement by which two old sees were consolidated into one, Gloucester being united with Bristol, and two new ones were created—Ripon (1836) and Manchester (1847).*

In May, 1837, the king was seized with a dangerous illness, and expired on June 20.

* The episcopate has been further increased by acts of the reign of Victoria. New sees have been founded at St. Albans (1876) and Truro (1877), and an act of 1878 authorizes the endowment of four new bishoprics at Liverpool, Newcastle, Wakefield, and Southwell. But

under all these extensions no increase is made to the number of bishops in the House of Lords; the junior bishops (except of London, Winchester, and Durham) having to wait for vacancies in rotation. The office of suffragan bishop has also been revived.





CHAPTER XXXV.

QUEEN VICTORIA, *b.* 1819. A.D. 1837-1878.

§ 1. Accession of queen VICTORIA. Insurrection in Canada. Chartists. Anti-Corn-Law League. § 2. The queen's marriage. Sir Robert Peel prime minister. Graduated corn-law. Agitation in Ireland. Conviction and fall of O'Connell. § 3. Irish famine, and abolition of the corn-laws. Fall of the ministry. Lord John Russell premier. § 4. O'Brien's rebellion. French revolution. Death of sir R. Peel. § 5. Fall of lord John Russell's ministry. Lord Derby premier. Death of the duke of Wellington. Napoleon III. emperor of the French. Lord Aberdeen's ministry. § 6. War with Russia. Campaign in the Crimea, and siege of Sevastopol. § 7. Lord Palmerston prime minister. Sevastopol taken. Peace of Paris. § 8. War with China. New parliament. Review of Indian history from the time of Warren Hastings. The first Afghan war. § 9. Occupation of Scinde. Annexation of Oude. Mutiny of the Bengal army. § 10. Fall of lord Palmerston's ministry. Lord Derby prime minister a second time. Transfer of India to the crown. § 11. Jewish emancipation. Fall of lord Derby's second ministry. War between France, Italy, and Austria. Establishment of the new kingdom of Italy. § 12. Lord Palmerston's second ministry. End of the Chinese war. Capture of Peking. § 13. Death of the prince consort. § 14. Civil war in America. § 15. Affairs in Italy. Danish war about Schleswig-Holstein. § 16. Death of lord Palmerston. Review of his second administration. § 17. Second ministry of earl Russell. The Reform Bill. Third premiership of lord Derby. § 18. War between Austria and Prussia. Battle of Sadowna. § 19. Second Reform Acts. Abyssinian expedition. The Irish Fenians. § 20. Resignation of lord Derby and first premiership of Mr. Disraeli. Ministry of Mr. Gladstone. Disestablishment of the Irish church. Irish Land Act. § 21. War between France and Germany. Deposition of Napoleon III. The "Alabama" arbitration. § 22. The ballot. Judicature Act. Aahantee war. § 23. Second premiership of Mr. Disraeli (lord Beaconsfield.) § 24. The prince of Wales visits India. The queen proclaimed Empress of India. § 25. War between Turkey and Russia. Treaty of Berlin. Anglo-Turkish treaty. Occupation of Cyprus. Second Afghan war. § 26. Review of the period from the Revolution. Progress of the constitution. Growth of England as a European power. Colonial and Indian empire. § 27. Progress of English manufactures, trade, population, etc. National debt. § 28. View of the moral condition of the people. Religion and missions. § 29. Criminal law, education, etc. § 30. Literature and art.

§ 1. UPON the death of her uncle William IV., our present gracious sovereign, queen VICTORIA, the only child of the duke of Kent, succeeded to the throne. She had just completed her eighteenth year, which had been fixed as her legal majority. As the succession to the crown of Hanover had been settled only in the male line, that country was now separated from the crown of

Great Britain, and became the inheritance of Ernest, duke of Cumberland, the eldest surviving son of George III.

The first year of queen Victoria's reign was marked by insurrections in Canada, which, though assisted by bodies of adventurers from the United States, were put down without much trouble. This led to the union of Upper and Lower Canada (1840). At a later period the British provinces in North America, from the Atlantic to the Pacific, were united, as "The Dominion of Canada," under a viceroy and a free parliament (1867). As the harvests of 1837 and 1838 proved unfavourable, much distress occurred among the lower classes, and the opportunity was seized by the seditious to excite riots and disorders. There had now arisen a considerable body, who called themselves Chartists; that is, they demanded what they called a new charter, or thorough reorganization of the lower house of parliament on the following five principles, styled the five points of "the people's charter,"—namely, universal suffrage, vote by ballot, annual parliaments, the remuneration of members, and the abolition of the property qualification. In the autumn of 1838 many large meetings of chartists were held in the northern counties, and as winter approached they assembled by torchlight. At one of these, held at Kersal Moor, near Manchester, it was computed that 200,000 persons were present. In 1839 a National Convention was formed in London of delegates from the working classes, and a petition, as large in diameter as a coach-wheel, had to be rolled into the House of Commons. A motion for a committee to consider it having been lost by a large majority, chartist riots ensued in several of the principal provincial towns, and especially at Newport, Monmouthshire, where one Frost, a magistrate of the borough, played a principal part. The disturbance was put down, with the loss of about twenty lives, by the energetic proceedings of sir Thomas Phillipps, and Frost, Jones, and Williams, the ringleaders, were convicted and transported. At the same time a more orderly and intelligent agitation was proceeding to remove the chief cause of these disturbances. This was the Anti-Corn-Law League, formed at Manchester in September, 1838, to procure the abolition of the corn-laws, and for the promotion of free-trade principles. The most distinguished advocate of the league was Mr. Richard Cobden, who rapidly acquired great influence in the country.

§ 2. On February 10, 1840, her majesty was united in marriage to her cousin Albert, prince of Saxe-Coburg and Gotha, who was about three months her junior. The parliament voted the prince (afterwards, in 1857, styled prince consort) an annuity of 80,000*l.* for life, and passed a bill for his naturalization.

The commencement of the queen's reign was distinguished by measures of signal importance; among others, a committee of the privy council was appointed to superintend the education of the country, and the penny postage was brought into operation. The Melbourne ministry had never been very strong, and their close alliance with O'Connell and his "tail," as his score or two of adherents in parliament were called, had degraded them in the eyes of the nation. They had also failed in their financial measures, having every year a deficient revenue. In the spring of 1841 sir Robert Peel carried against them a vote of want of confidence, upon which they dissolved parliament. The ministry intimated their intention of proposing a repeal of the corn-laws, and substituting a fixed duty of 8s. a quarter upon corn; but they did not meet with a popular response. The landed interest strained every nerve to defeat their candidates, and when the new parliament met the conservative majority was estimated at nearly 80. An amendment was carried on the address; ministers resigned, and sir Robert Peel became premier for the second time. The other principal members of the government were lord Lyndhurst chancellor, Mr. Goulburn chancellor of the exchequer; sir James Graham held the home office, lord Aberdeen the foreign, lord Stanley war and the colonies, lord Ellenborough the board of control. The duke of Wellington accepted a seat in the cabinet without office. In the session of 1842 sir Robert Peel introduced and carried a new corn-law on the principle of a graduated scale; and, in order at once to supply the constantly deficient revenue and to effect great fiscal reforms, a property and income tax of sevenpence in the pound was imposed on all incomes above 150*l*. A customs act was passed, either repealing, or considerably reducing, such duties as pressed most heavily on manufacturing industry; thus approximating to free trade, and adopting Pitt's policy.

The influence of O'Connell was now at its height in Ireland. Weekly meetings were held in a building called Conciliation Hall, and large sums were collected for the "agitator." Other expedients of sedition were the "monster meetings" held at Tara and other places; but that at Clontarf proved a trap for the agitator himself. In consequence of the regulations issued for the meeting, as well as some seditious expressions used at an assembling of the Repeal Association, O'Connell was arrested (October 14, 1843), and condemned, together with some of his coadjutors, to imprisonment for conspiracy and sedition, by the Court of Queen's Bench in Dublin (February 12, 1844). The judgment was afterwards reversed by the House of Lords (September 4). Peel, in the mean time, had attempted to conciliate the Irish by endowing their college at Maynooth, and estab-

lishing the Queen's Colleges at Belfast, Cork, and Galway (1845). But the blow was irrecoverable; and O'Connell never regained his former influence. His health began visibly to decline, and he died at Genoa (May 15, 1847), on his way to Rome with the double object of benefiting his health and asking the pope's blessing.

§ 3. The question which now principally occupied the attention of the public was that of the corn-laws; and this was now approaching its solution through an unexpected dispensation of Providence. The summer of 1845 was wet and cold; it was plain that the harvest would be deficient not only in England but throughout Europe. In addition to this calamity another appeared, hitherto unknown. Disease had invaded the potato-crops, and the root became unfit to eat. A famine in Ireland, where the potato formed the staple food, was now imminent. The Anti-Corn-Law League redoubled its agitation, and vast sums were subscribed in all quarters in aid of its objects. Lord Morpeth joined it; lord John Russell addressed a letter to his constituents in London, in which, amid taunts directed against sir Robert Peel, he abandoned his scheme of a fixed duty on corn, and declared himself the advocate of free trade. Peel himself, however, had come to the conclusion that a duty on corn could no longer be upheld, and he had brought over the majority of the cabinet to the same opinion; but he felt that he and his colleagues were not the persons to carry a measure which they had always opposed. On December 11 the ministers resigned; and Peel announced to the queen his intention to support, in his private capacity, any minister she might appoint who should propose to repeal the corn-laws. Lord John Russell was now sent for by the queen; but he failed in forming a ministry, and the previous one was restored. In January, 1846, Peel brought in a bill by which the duty on wheat was entirely abolished at the end of three years, while in the interval it was reduced to 4s. per quarter when the price was at and above 53s., and buckwheat and Indian corn were immediately admitted duty free. By another bill the customs duties on silk, cotton manufactures, foreign spirits, and other articles, were reduced, and those on animal food, live animals, vegetables, and the like, were abolished. The measures were carried through both houses by considerable majorities.

The repeal of the corn-laws broke up the powerful conservative party. A large section not only refused to follow sir Robert Peel in his recent change of opinion, but regarded him as an apostate and a traitor. Sir Robert Peel had changed his opinions from honest conviction; but it was unfortunate for his reputation that a second time in his political career his sense of duty compelled him to desert the party which had raised him to power. This party, which was

now known by the name of "protectionists," looked up to lord Stanley as their leader—the only distinguished member of sir Robert Peel's administration who had opposed the repeal of the corn-laws; and Mr. Disraeli was its chief champion in the commons. As Ireland was still in a very disturbed state, sir Robert Peel brought in a bill for the better protection of life in that country, whereupon the protectionists joined the whigs in defeating it. The ministry resigned, and lord John Russell became premier (July 6, 1846).

§ 4. The year 1847 was also marked by great distress both in England and Ireland. The potato-crop again failed; there was a famine in Ireland; and, though the British parliament voted several millions to buy food for the starving Irish, they nevertheless rose in rebellion. O'Connell had now vanished from the scene; and Mr. Smith O'Brien had not the requisite qualities for leading the "young Ireland" party, which aimed at a revolution by open force. His attempt to excite a rebellion in 1848 proved a ridiculous failure: he was captured in a cabbage-garden, convicted of high treason, and sentenced to death, but transported. The Irish, being deprived of their principal agitators, by degrees settled down into a more tranquil state. Copious emigration, the introduction of a more extended corn cultivation, the sale of encumbered estates, and the investment of a large amount of English capital, have since then much improved the condition of the country; and thus the potato-rot, which at first appeared a curse upon Ireland, eventually turned out a blessing.

The revolution by which Louis Philippe was expelled from the French throne, in February, 1848, was felt throughout Europe. It had fostered rebellion in Ireland. It had also produced a slight effect in England, where, however, the materials of sedition were happily not very formidable. The London chartists took occasion to display their force by a procession (April 10), and mustered on Kennington Common to the number of about 20,000; but no fewer than 150,000 citizens had enrolled themselves as special constables, the duke of Wellington had taken the necessary military precautions, and this ridiculous display ended without any breach of the peace.

In 1849 a further advance was made in the principles of free trade, by the partial repeal of the navigation laws.* The prosperity of the country went on rapidly increasing; and sir Robert Peel was gratified with beholding the success of his measures, when his life was suddenly terminated by a fall from his horse (1850). Thus prematurely perished a great minister who understood the commercial interests of this country better than any man who had ever governed

* See Notes and Illustrations (C).

it. If he lacked something of that original and commanding genius which forestalls events and anticipates futurity, he was nevertheless well qualified to discern and provide for the exigencies of the time. His career throughout was noble and disinterested, no less honourable to himself than beneficial to his country.

Since the repeal of the catholic disabilities in 1829, the papal party had pursued an aggressive policy in this country, and the pope now ventured to divide the whole of England into Roman catholic sees, nominating cardinal Wiseman archbishop of Westminster, and designating other Roman catholic prelates by similar territorial titles (1850). To put a stop to these proceedings the ministers introduced the Ecclesiastical Titles Bill, which was carried with some difficulty, was never enforced, and was afterwards repealed (1871)..

§ 5. The beginning of a new half-century, amidst renewed prosperity, was marked by the Great Exhibition of the Industry of All Nations in the "Crystal Palace" in Hyde Park, which was zealously promoted by prince Albert, and was opened by the queen (May 1, 1851).^{*} Enthusiastic believers in social progress were hailing the pledge of peace secured by commerce, when another change in France prepared a new series of troubles and wars. The republic proved a failure, and the popular veneration for Napoleon's memory secured the election as president of his reputed nephew, Charles Louis Napoleon Bonaparte, son of Hortense, the wife of Louis, king of Holland. By a sudden act of violence (*coup d'état*), he overthrew the constitution (December 2, 1851), and was elected by universal suffrage as president for 10 years. Lord Palmerston, having recognized the change, without the consent of his colleagues or the authority of the queen, was dismissed from the office of foreign secretary; but he soon avenged the affront by defeating the government on the Militia Bill (March, 1852). Lord John Russell resigned, and was succeeded by the earl of Derby (formerly lord Stanley) as premier, with Mr. Disraeli as chancellor of the exchequer. In September the duke of Wellington expired somewhat suddenly at Walmer Castle, in his 84th year—a man who had filled a larger space in the history of his country than has perhaps been allotted to any subject. A magnificent funeral was conferred upon him at the public expense. On November 18, 1852, his mortal remains were carried to their resting-place in St. Paul's Cathedral, accompanied with military pomp, passing slowly through the streets, which were lined with myriads of his admiring and sorrowing countrymen. As if his departure had given the signal for restoring the Bonaparte dynasty in France, Louis Napoleon, elected emperor by universal suffrage,

^{*} The site is marked by the memorial to prince Albert.

was proclaimed as NAPOLEON III., on the anniversary of Austerlitz and of his uncle's coronation (December 2, 1852).

The same month saw the fall of the new ministry in England. Though lord Derby had dissolved parliament, and sacrificed the principles of protection, he was left in a minority in the new House of Commons; and before the end of the year was compelled to resign. He was succeeded by a coalition ministry under lord Aberdeen, consisting of the more distinguished friends of sir Robert Peel, the great leaders of the whig party, and a few radicals. In the session of 1853 Mr. Gladstone, as chancellor of the exchequer, produced his memorable budget, on the principles of sir Robert Peel; establishing a duty on the succession to real as well as personal property, and making large reductions of taxation; but the pleasing prospect of the cessation of the income-tax in 1860, and of the gradual conversion of the national debt into a 2½ per cent. stock, was overclouded by a series of new wars in every quarter of the world. The Russian czars had long looked with a covetous eye on Constantinople, and had long waited for a favourable opportunity to seize it. Religion, so often the pretext of secular ambition, was made the ground of strife; and an obscure quarrel of some Greek and Latin monks about the holy places of Palestine, with which the Turks had not meddled, served to excuse the attempt to appropriate an empire. The emperor Nicholas demanded on this ground the control over all members of the Greek church residing in the Turkish dominions—a demand that was naturally rejected by the Porte. In consequence of this refusal, Russian troops crossed the Pruth in July, and took possession of the principalities of Wallachia and Moldavia, but were defeated by Omar Pasha at the battle of Oltenitza; whilst in November, 1853, their fleet, sallying from Sevastopol, utterly destroyed the Turkish navy at Sinope.

§ 6. War was now fairly kindled between Russia and the Porte. For the success of his plans the emperor Nicholas calculated on the subservience of Germany, the disturbed state of France, and the connivance of England, to which he offered Egypt as her share of "the sick man's" inheritance. But England was not ambitious of further acquisitions, and least of all by such means; Turkey claimed her assistance on the faith of treaties; and Napoleon III. hoped to establish his new throne by cordially uniting with Great Britain to repress the ambition of Russia. Austria and Prussia stood aloof, but a combined English and French fleet proceeded to the Black Sea, and shut up the Russians in the harbour of Sevastopol.

As negotiations with Russia during the winter proved ineffectual, war was declared against her by England and France in the spring

(1854). A French army under marshal St. Arnaud, and an English one under lord Raglan (Fitzroy Somerset), assembled at Varna in Turkey, whilst an English fleet under sir Charles Napier was despatched to the Baltic. This force kept the Russian fleet shut up behind the guns of Kronstadt, and, being reinforced by a French squadron, captured the fortress of Bomarsund. The English and French, who had been so often arrayed against each other, were now seen fighting side by side against a common enemy. The gallant defence of the Turks on the banks of the Danube having dissipated all alarm in that quarter, it was determined, towards the end of summer, to transport the allied army from Varna to the Crimea, and to attack Sevastopol. They landed without opposition (September 14) at Eupatoria, on the west coast of the Crimea. Prince Menschikoff, the commandant of Sevastopol, had taken post with a force of about 60,000 men on the heights which crown the left bank of the little river Alma, in order to oppose their advance on that fortress. As he had fortified this naturally strong position with great care, he confidently reckoned on holding it at least three weeks; but it was carried after a few hours' fighting by the allied armies, though with considerable loss (September 20). The Russians flung away their arms and fled; many of their guns were captured, together with Menschikoff's carriage and despatches; and nothing saved their army from annihilation but the want of cavalry to pursue it. Had the allies been in a condition to move forward immediately, it is probable that they might have entered Sevastopol along with the flying enemy; but the care of the wounded and the interment of the dead occasioned delay. The march was then directed towards the harbour of Balaklava, the ancient *Portus Symbolon*, to the south of Sevastopol; which enabled the army to derive its supplies from the sea. The heights south of Sevastopol were occupied, and preparations were made for commencing a siege. This was rendered difficult by the rocky nature of the soil, and it was not till October 17 that the allies were able to open their fire upon the place. The Russians had availed themselves of the interval to fortify it with great skill, and the large fleet shut up in the harbour assisted them with the means of defence.

This siege lasted nearly a twelvemonth, and became one of the most memorable in history. Soon after its commencement, a Russian army of 30,000 men, under Liprandi, endeavoured to raise it by an attack upon our position at Balaklava (October 25), but after a severe struggle they were repulsed. This battle is chiefly memorable for the charge of the light cavalry brigade under the earl of Cardigan, when, by some confusion in the orders, a body of 600 or

700 men charged the whole Russian army, got possession for a little while of their artillery, and cut their way back through a body of 5000 horse, leaving however more than two-thirds of their number dead upon the field!

On November 5 the Russians, having been reinforced, again attempted our position at Inkermann. Advancing early in the morning under cover of a fog, they took our men somewhat by surprise; but, though outnumbered by ten to one, the British troops held their ground with unflinching heroism, till general Canrobert, who had succeeded to the command of the French army after the death of general St. Arnaud, sent a division to their assistance. The Russians were now hurled down the heights, while the artillery made terrible havoc in their serried ranks. Their loss is said to have been as many as the whole number of allies with whom they were engaged. General Pennesfather's division, and the brigade of guards under the duke of Cambridge, were the troops principally engaged upon this occasion. After this terrible lesson the Russians were cautious of venturing on another battle; but the defence of the town was carried on with skill and obstinacy, and many desperate sorties took place. Attempts were made by the fleet under admirals Dundas and Lyons upon the seaward batteries, but they were found to be impregnable. During the winter the army suffered more from excessive fatigue and the weather on those exposed and stormy heights, than from the enemy; and their sufferings were increased by the defective and disorganized state of the commissariat department. An English lady, named Florence Nightingale, devoted herself, during the siege, to the alleviation of these sufferings; and, proceeding with a staff of nurses to the army hospitals at Scutari, undertook the most repulsive offices in tending the sick and wounded.

§ 7. The ministry had become unpopular in consequence of the sufferings of the army, and a motion carried in the commons for an inquiry into their management of the war (January, 1855) caused the resignation of lord Aberdeen, who was succeeded by lord Palmerston. The remaining "Peelites," Mr. Gladstone, sir James Graham, and Mr. Sidney Herbert, soon left the ministry. It was expected that the death of the emperor Nicholas, which took place suddenly (March 2), would have led to the re-establishment of peace; but the war was continued under his son and successor Alexander II. Its interest was principally concentrated on Sevastopol. In the Baltic, admiral Dundas was able to do little more than his predecessor, but the Black Sea fleet was more successful. A squadron under sir Edmund Lyons proceeded into the Sea of Azov, captured Kerteh, Yenikale, and other towns, destroying vast

granaries whence the Russians chiefly derived their supplies, and thus hastened the fall of Sevastopol.

While Prussia stood selfishly aloof, Austria joined the allies, but took little part in the war. Her occupation of the principalities, however, set free the Turkish army to act in the Crimea. The Sardinians, with British aid, despatched to the scene of action a well-equipped little army, under general de la Marmora, which proved of considerable service. In June lord Raglan was carried off by cholera, and was succeeded in the command by general Simpson. Marshal St. Arnaud had died some time before, and now the French commander, general Canrobert, was superseded by general Pélissier. Soon after the arrival of the latter, the French took an outwork called the Mamelon; and on the 5th September the general and final bombardment took place. On the 8th an assault was deemed practicable, and the French effected a lodgment in the fort or tower called the Malakoff. The English storming party also succeeded in gaining possession of the fort called the Redan; but were obliged ultimately to retire, from want of proper support. The possession of the Malakoff, however, which commanded the town, decided its fate, and in the course of the night the Russians evacuated the town, and retired to the forts on the north side of the harbour (September 10).

After the fall of Sevastopol the war was virtually at an end; but the heroic defence of Kars, in Asiatic Turkey, by general Williams, who commanded the Turkish garrison, deserves to be noticed. Time after time the Russians, who rushed to the assault with vastly superior numbers, were driven back with terrible loss; and when at length a capitulation became necessary, the conqueror, Mouraviev, dismissed general Williams with all the honours of war, and expressions of the highest admiration for his bravery (November 28, 1855).

The allied armies established their winter quarters amidst the ruins of Sevastopol, and, had the war continued, there can be little question that the whole of the Crimea would have fallen into their hands; but negotiations for peace, begun under the mediation of Austria, were brought to a successful but somewhat premature conclusion in January, 1856. The Russian protectorate in the Danubian principalities was abolished, the freedom of the Danube and its mouths was established, both Russian and Turkish ships of war were banished from the Black Sea,* except a few small vessels necessary as a maritime police, and the Christian subjects of the Porte were placed under the protection of the contracting powers.

* This stipulation was annulled in 1871; and a new settlement of the whole Eastern question was made by the Treaty of Berlin in 1878 (see page 735).

On these bases a definitive treaty of peace was signed at Paris by England, France, Austria, Prussia, Russia, Sardinia, and Turkey (March 30, 1856). A separate treaty was made between England, France, and Austria, for the defence of the independence and integrity of the Turkish empire. The congress did not separate without coming to an agreement on the long-disputed questions of maritime warfare, by which the rights of neutrals were enlarged and privateering was henceforth to be abolished; but America refused to accede to this arrangement. An omen of the next European question to be brought to the arbitrament of war was given by the presence of count Cavour as plenipotentiary for Sardinia at the congress of Paris.

§ 8. Meanwhile commercial relations had been established with Japan; and now a new war with China gave occasion for the defeat of lord Palmerston by the combined vote of the old whigs, under lord John Russell, the Peelites, and the "peace party," with the conservatives (1857). An appeal to the country returned a new parliament devoted to lord Palmerston, whose name became henceforth the watchword of the moderate liberals. Amidst the enthusiasm of foreign and political victory, the blessings of peace and a glorious summer, it was remembered that our Indian empire had reached its hundredth year; and a proposal had been made to celebrate the centenary of Plassey, when the news came of a mutiny of the sepoye, threatening our expulsion from the peninsula.

We followed the history of our Indian empire to the governor-generalship of lord Cornwallis (p. 641), who reduced Tippoo Sahib, sultan of Mysore, to obedience (1792). Under the weak government of his successor, sir John Shore, Tippoo again rose and endeavoured to form an alliance against us with the French. The attempt was put down under the vigorous administration of lord Mornington (marquess Wellesley), when, under the conduct of general Harris, Tippoo's capital, Seringapatam, was captured by general Baird, and Tippoo was slain (May, 1799). Soon afterwards Arthur Wellesley, brother of the governor-general, began to distinguish himself in India. Three Mahratta chieftains—Holkar, Scindiah, and the rajah of Berar—encouraged by French intrigues, having combined against their sovereign the Peishwah, residing at Poonah, in the Deccan, the governor-general despatched two armies against them, one commanded by his brother, the other by general Lake. The former invaded the territories of the rajah of Berar, took Ahmednuggur, and defeated the rajah and Scindiah at Assaye, although they had 30,000 men and a numerous artillery, commanded by French officers, whilst Wellesley's force was not above a sixth of that number (September 23, 1803). The Mahratta

chiefs were again defeated at Argaum (November 29), and compelled to sue for peace and to cede large tracts of valuable territory. Lake was equally successful in northern India. He defeated a large native force under the French general Perron, stormed and took Alighur, and then advanced against Delhi, where the cause of Scindiah was supported by another French officer named Bourguien. After his defeat on the banks of the Jumna, Delhi, the capital of Hindostan, and the residence of Shah Alum, the last Mogul emperor, easily fell into Lake's hands. Soon afterwards the capture of Agra, and the final defeat of the remnant of Scindiah's forces at Laswari, annihilated his power in that district. By these victories French influence in India was abolished, and a great accession of power and territory accrued to the company.

In 1805 the marquess Wellesley returned home, and lord Cornwallis again assumed the government. He was soon succeeded by lord Minto, but neither of them effected much for our Indian dominion. In 1813 lord Moira (afterwards marquess of Hastings) became governor-general; and under his auspices, and chiefly by the courage and abilities of sir John Malcolm, the Mahrattas, and their allies the Pindarees, were reduced to obedience. Hastings held the government till 1822, and was succeeded by lord William Bentinck. A war with the Burmese, who had annoyed Bengal, ended in their cession of Arracan (1826). In January of that year lord Combermere reduced Bhurtpore, which had resisted the arms of Lake, and was esteemed the strongest fortress in India. During the administration of lord Auckland, Soojah, the expelled usurper of Cabul, was replaced on the throne by the English arms, led by sir John Keane (1839); but in November, 1841, the Afghan insurrection broke out in that city, and the English were obliged to evacuate the country. They endured the most dreadful sufferings in their winter retreat, both from the inclemency of the weather and the attacks of the Afghans. In the Kurd Cabul Pass alone, no fewer than 3000 men are said to have fallen; and ultimately, of the whole retreating army of 4500 men (with no less than 12,000 camp-followers), a few only survived. It was the greatest disaster that the English arms had ever experienced in India. Lord Auckland was superseded in 1841 by lord Ellenborough, who took vigorous measures to avenge the disaster. General Sale was still holding out at Jellalabad. He was relieved by general Pollock, who then, in conjunction with general Nott, advanced against Cabul, and recovered that city (September, 1842). Cabul was again evacuated, after this signal proof that it was not done as a matter of necessity.

§ 9. This first Afghan war was followed by the occupation of Scinde, the region on the lower Indus, where our disasters at Cabul

had encouraged a confederacy of the Amceers, or princes, against us. The conquest was effected by sir Charles Napier, a Peninsular veteran, who in this war displayed feats of the most daring boldness. In the battle of Meeanee (February 17, 1843) he defeated between 30,000 and 40,000 men with a force of only about 2000. He next took Hyderabad, the capital of Scinde; and by another victory near that town reduced the whole country, which was annexed by lord Ellenborough to the company's dominions. In the same year the district of Gwalior was reduced by generals Gough and Grey.

In 1844 lord Ellenborough was succeeded by sir Henry Hardinge. In December, 1845, the Sikhs of the Punjab, or Lahore territory, declared war upon us, and, crossing the Sutlej, advanced on Ferozepore. They were the most warlike enemies we had yet encountered in India. The governor-general himself, an experienced officer, and sir Hugh Gough, the commander-in-chief, advanced against them. Several obstinate engagements followed, till at length the victories of Aliwal and Sobraon (1846) put an end to the campaign, and secured our influence in that country. In 1848, however, the city of Mooltan rose in revolt; and, though the courage of lieutenant Edwardes prevented any serious consequences, it held out for some months. Thus encouraged, other Sikh princes made a stand against lord Gough at Chillianwallah, inflicting upon us great loss (January 13, 1849); but in the following month they were defeated and subdued at Goojerat, when lord Dalhousie, now governor-general, annexed the Punjab to the British possessions.

The whole of the Indian peninsula was now subject to our empire, from Cape Comorin to the Himalaya mountains and the Indus. Not indeed that all the states were annexed, yet even those that remained under their native princes owed us allegiance, and were subject to our superintendence. The last great acquisition was made by the annexation of Oude in 1856. Our empire seemed too firmly established to be shaken, yet already for some years the elements of mutiny had been fermenting in the Bengal army. Symptoms of discontent had been observed as early as 1824, and many other instances subsequently occurred, which were treated with too much leniency and forbearance. At length the introduction of the Enfield rifle necessitated the use of greased cartridges. The grease was mutton fat and wax, but it was whispered among the discontented that it consisted of the fat of swine and cows, abominations both to the Hindoo and the Mahomedan; and it was asserted that the intention was to deprive the Brahmin sepoys of their caste. Symptoms of insubordination and violence began to appear early in 1857. In May many regiments of the

Bengal army were in open mutiny. In that month Delhi, the ancient capital of India, and still the residence of the representative of the Moguls, was seized by the insurgents, with all its immense military stores. Although it was the great arsenal of our artillery, it had been left without the protection of a British force: such was the blind confidence reposed in the sepoys. The capture of Delhi was followed by the revolt of the remaining Bengal regiments. Fortunately the Madras and Bombay armies, with a few exceptions, remained faithful; but almost the whole of Bengal was lost for a time, and many, both in this country and on the continent of Europe, believed that the English would be driven entirely out of India.

Into the horrors of this rebellion, and the determined energy and courage with which it was met, our space will not permit us to enter. It served to bring out British valour in high relief, and the names of Lawrence, of Havelock, and the other numerous officers who distinguished themselves at this trying and difficult conjuncture, will not soon be effaced from the memory of their countrymen. The rebellion received a decisive blow by the re-capture of Delhi by general Wilson on September 21, 1857; and the subsequent victories of sir Colin Campbell, afterwards lord Clyde, who went out to India as commander-in-chief, brought the contest to a close.

§ 10. The mutiny of the Bengal army proved the death-blow of the East India Company. This celebrated company, originally an association of merchants for the purpose of trading to the East, had been deprived of its exclusive commercial privileges upon the renewal of its charter in 1833; but the Court of Directors, elected by the proprietors of East India Stock, still continued to govern India, under the superintendence of the Board of Control, originally instituted by Mr Pitt. Upon the meeting of parliament at the beginning of 1858, the prime minister, lord Palmerston, introduced a bill for placing the government of India in the hands of the crown, and dissolving the East India Company. But before this bill passed into a law, the Palmerston ministry was overthrown.

While count Cavour, who had become foreign minister of Sardinia on January 11, 1855, was maturing his schemes for Italian unity the conspiracy of Orsini to assassinate the emperor of the French led to unexpected results (January 14, 1858). The menaces of certain French officers against England, as the asylum of conspirators, were answered by the revival of the volunteer movement of 1804; and a permanent reserve was thus added to our military forces. To assure France that this meant "not defiance but defence," lord Palmerston proposed to raise the crime of conspiring in England against the life of a foreign sovereign from a mis-

demeanour to a felony. But the national jealousy for Britain as the sanctuary of political exiles took alarm, and the bill was rejected. Lord Palmerston thereupon resigned office, and lord Derby became prime minister a second time, with Mr. Disraeli as leader in the commons (February 20). The new ministry introduced another India bill, which passed through both houses of parliament and received the assent of the crown, and on September 1, 1858, the East India Company, which had founded and governed a mighty empire with pre-eminent ability and success, ceased to rule India, and the company itself was dissolved on January 1, 1874. The queen was proclaimed in India on November 1, 1858, and the governor-general, lord Canning, became the first *viceroy*. India is now governed by a secretary of state,* assisted by a council of 14 members; and the millions of that vast country acknowledge queen Victoria as their only sovereign and empress (see p. 732).

§ 11. The only other legislative measure of this session which requires notice is the admission of the Jews to parliament. In the following session a single oath was substituted for the oaths of allegiance, supremacy, and abjuration, required of members of parliament (April 8, 1859); and this form has since been further amended by the omission of the words objected to by Roman Catholics, who are no longer required to take a separate oath (April 30, 1866). But the attempt of the government to settle the question of further reform in parliament, which had been agitated for several years, ended in their defeat by 330 votes against 291 (March 31, 1859), and was followed by a dissolution (April 19). The *sixth parliament* of queen Victoria was opened on the 31st of May; and, in reply to the speech from the throne, a vote of want of confidence was carried against the ministry by 323 to 310. Lord Derby resigned office, and lord Palmerston became prime minister a second time (June 18, 1859).

The fall of lord Derby's second government was hastened by his supposed want of sympathy with the cause of Italy. A scheme for the liberation of Italy from the Austrian dominion in the north, and Austrian influence throughout the peninsula, had been concerted between Napoleon III. and count Cavour, who secretly promised the cession of Savoy and Nice to France. An ominous speech of the emperor to the Austrian ambassador, at the usual diplomatic reception on New Year's Day, 1859, sounded the alarm

* There are now five secretaries of state: one for home affairs, a second for foreign affairs, a third for the colonies, a fourth for war, and a fifth for India. Previously there had been only three secretaries: one for home; a second for

foreign affairs, and a third for war and the colonies. The last office was divided at the time of the Crimean war, when the subordinate office of secretary at war was merged in the secretaryship for war.

through Europe; and, after fruitless negotiations, the signal for war was given by a summons from Austria to Sardinia to disarm (April 19), whereupon the French armies entered Italy. On the 29th of April the Austrians crossed the Ticino, but their defeats at Montebello (May 20) and Magenta (June 4) were followed on the 21th by the decisive victory of the French at Solferino; and, at a personal interview at Villafranca (July 11), Napoleon and Francis Joseph agreed on the terms afterwards embodied in the treaty concluded at Zurich (November 11). Lombardy was ceded to France, in order to be handed over to Sardinia. The other arrangements were scattered to the winds by the action of the people, who, in Tuscany, Modena, Parma, and the Roman Legations of Ferrara and Bologna (otherwise called the Romagna), annexed themselves by public votes to the kingdom of Sardinia, which thus included all the ancient territory of Cisalpine Gaul, excepting Venetia, but with Tuscany added. Nor did the movement stop here. Giuseppe Garibaldi—who, with Mazzini and Saffi, had governed Rome and defended it against the French in 1849—landed with a body of volunteers at Marsala in Sicily (May 11, 1860), and won the island, except the citadel of Messina. Crossing the straits, Garibaldi entered Naples amidst the cheers both of soldiers and civilians (September 8). Francis II. had fled the day before to Gaëta, the defence of which was protracted, chiefly by the heroism of queen Caroline, to the 13th of February, 1861. The capitulation of Messina on that day month finished the reduction of the kingdom of the two Sicilies, the people of which had meanwhile voted their union to the other liberated states. On the following day (March 14), Victor Emmanuel accepted the title of *King of Italy*, which was recognized by England, in spite of the protest of pope Pius IX., who was still maintained in Rome and in the patrimony of St. Peter by the French army of occupation.

§ 12. Meanwhile, at home, lord Palmerston's second ministry, strengthened by a reconciliation with the Peelites and with lord John Russell, who accepted the office of foreign secretary, had a prosperous beginning. In the year 1860, about 2,000,000*l.* were struck off the annual charge of the national debt by the falling in of the "long annuities;" and now the recovery from the financial pressure of seven troubled years, and the vast expansion of our commerce in consequence of free trade and of the gold discoveries in California, Australia, and Columbia, enabled Mr. Gladstone to complete the work begun by sir Robert Peel. Richard Cobden, the advocate of free trade, fitly shared the work by negotiating a treaty of commerce with the emperor Napoleon. By this treaty the wines and other productions of France were admitted in exchange for our

manufactures, at the apparent cost of a mutual sacrifice of imposts. The year was further marked by the close of the wars with China, which had occurred at intervals during twenty years. The allied armies of England and France stormed Peking (October 12, 1860), and Lord Elgin negotiated a treaty with a minister who seemed at length to have discovered some of the advantages of foreign commerce.

§ 13. The second decennial Exhibition of Industry opened in London on May 1, 1862, but was deprived of the presence of Prince Albert, who has been carried off by fever at Windsor (Saturday, December 14, 1861). He had evinced great interest in all schemes for social improvement. His speeches on such occasions have been collected into a volume by her Majesty's command, and memorials of his life have been composed and published under her direction.

§ 14. Among the most momentous events of the period was the civil war which raged in North America, from 1861 to 1865, between the Northern and Southern States of the Union, ending in the victory of the Northern States. The threatened paralysis of our most extensive branch of industry, through the dearth of cotton, produced great sufferings in the manufacturing districts, which were alleviated not less by the patient endurance of the sufferers themselves, than by the liberality of the rich. (Sup. N. XXXII.)

§ 15. While the federal principle was subjected to so rude a test in the New World, the Old seemed to be mustering its forces for a contest not less great, upon the principle of "nationalities." The people of Germany awaited the revival of the hopes that had been crushed in 1849; while Italy avowedly held the attitude of an armed truce towards Austria till Venetia should be hers, and refused to gratify Napoleon by resigning her claims on Rome. The emperor generously chose the moment of Count Cavour's death to recognize the new kingdom (June, 1861). The impatient enterprise of Garibaldi for the recovery of Rome was put down by the troops of Victor Emmanuel at Aspromonte, in Calabria (August 29, 1862). Two years later (September 15, 1864) a convention was made between Napoleon III. and the king of Italy, for the evacuation of Rome by the French troops before the end of 1866. The capital of Italy was, by this treaty, transferred to Florence, and the further progress of Italian liberation was apparently suspended for two years. It could scarcely have been supposed that the peace concluded about the same time by Denmark with Austria and Prussia would be the prelude to another act of the same drama.

Holstein was a purely German state, a member of the Germanic Confederation, and governed by the king of Denmark only as its duke. Schleswig had only a personal union with the kingdom;

but its population contained a large Danish element, and it did not belong to the Germanic Confederation. To avoid the dismemberment of the Danish monarchy, the great powers framed an agreement, securing the succession both of Denmark and the duchies to prince Christian of Schleswig-Holstein-Glücksberg-Sonderburg (May 8, 1852). But a fresh crisis was prepared when Frederick VII., shortly before his death, promulgated a new constitution, which virtually incorporated Schleswig with the kingdom of Denmark (March 30, 1863).

When Frederick VII. died, and was succeeded by Christian IX. as king of Denmark (November 15, 1863), the estates of Holstein at once refused to take the oath of allegiance; and prince Frederick, son of the duke of Augustenburg, asserted his right to the duchies, in spite of his father's renunciation. His claim was allowed by the diet at Frankfort, and the troops of Saxony and Hanover marched into Altona to carry out the federal execution threatened against the late king (December 24). But when the diet rejected the joint proposal of Austria and Prussia to confine the federal occupation to Holstein, these two powers came forward as parties to the treaty of 1852, demanded of Denmark the revocation of the constitution of March 30, and followed up the demand by war (January 21, 1864). The gallant resistance of the Danes was of no avail against overwhelming force; and a conference of the great powers at London having proved fruitless, Denmark yielded, and the duchies of Schleswig, Holstein, and Lauenburg, were ceded to Austria and Prussia (October 30, 1864). The victors made a provisional arrangement by the convention of Gastein for the occupation of Holstein by Austria, and of Schleswig by Prussia, the latter power receiving Lauenburg as her own, or rather (as Count Bismarck declared) as the king's domain (August 14, 1865). But it was now evident that the position of the two powers in the duchies, and their relations to the Frankfort diet, would bring to a crisis their long-suspended rivalry for supremacy in Germany.

§ 16. It was during the brief period of suspense, that the English statesman, whose untiring devotion to foreign politics, from a time before the congress of Vienna, had made his name the admiration or terror of all Europe, closed his public career of threescore years. Henry Temple, viscount Palmerston in the Irish peerage, died at Brocket Hall, in Hertfordshire, at the age of 81, on the 18th of October, 1865, and was laid beside Pitt and Fox in Westminster Abbey on the 27th. Since his return to power in 1859, he had ruled in the character of a mediator between the two great parties of the state; the whigs accepted him as their head, and the tories trusted his conservatism. Amidst the changes in Italy, the French

commercial treaty, and Mr. Gladstone's financial measures, the war with China, and a resolution to fortify our shores afresh, the House of Commons had turned a deaf ear to proposals for organic change. The new Reform Bill introduced by lord John Russell, in accordance with a vote by which the late government fell, having been encountered by repeated postponements and amendments, was withdrawn on the anniversary of lord Derby's resignation (June 11 1860). Next year, lord John was called to the House of Peers by the title of earl Russell, still retaining the foreign secretaryship (July 30, 1861). The session of 1861 was not marked by any party struggles. The queen's bereavement, the sufferings of our industrial classes, the constant danger to peace from the great American war, followed by the troubles in Poland and Denmark, created a dislike for any change of administration. The prosperity of the country enabled Mr. Gladstone to carry out his financial policy by large remissions of taxation in the years 1861 to 1865. Meanwhile the government was personally weakened by the successive deaths of Mr. Sidney Herbert, shortly after his elevation to the peerage as lord Herbert of Lea (August 2, 1861), of sir George Cornwall Lewis (April 13, 1863), and of the duke of Newcastle (April 25, 1864); while the earl of Elgin, like his predecessors, the marquess of Dalhousie and earl Canning, only returned from his government of India to die (November 20, 1863). The parliament elected in 1859 was dissolved at the end of the session of 1865. in anticipation of its natural decease under the Septennial Act, which would have taken place in the middle of the ensuing session. Besides the praise due to its commercial legislation, it had sanctioned works of public improvement, eminently conducive to public health and comfort. Chief among these were the drainage of London and the embanking of the Thames.

§ 17. On the death of lord Palmerston, the premiership was intrusted, for the second time, to earl Russell, with Mr. Gladstone as leader in the House of Commons. The queen opened her *seventh parliament* (February 6, 1866) in person, for the first time since the prince consort's death. On Monday, the 12th of March, Mr. Gladstone brought forward the government scheme of reform, proposing to extend the franchise to occupiers of houses and land to the annual value of 14*l.* in counties, and 7*l.* in boroughs. But the opposition of the moderate liberals proved fatal; and, after a defeat in committee (Monday, June 18), the government of earl Russell resigned, and lord Derby became premier for the third time.*

§ 18. At the same moment the questions of Schleswig-Holstein and of the supremacy in Germany were settled by the vigorous

* Earl Russell died May 28, 1878, aged 86.

policy of count Bismarck. Italy, seizing her opportunity, formed a secret alliance with Prussia against Austria. A campaign of a few weeks' duration ended in the decisive defeat of the Austrians by the Prussians at Sadowa (July 3, 1866). Its result, settled in the Treaty of Prague, was the exclusion of Austria from the German Confederation, the league of Northern Germany under Prussia (which annexed Schleswig-Holstein, Hanover, Nassau, Hesse-Cassel, and the city of Frankfort); besides the union of Venetia to the Italian kingdom, in the autumn of 1866.

§ 19. The parliamentary session of 1867 opened with a declaration by the government of the necessity for a measure of reform, which ultimately took the shape of household suffrage in towns, conditional upon the payment of rates. Votes were also given to lodgers, and the county franchise was reduced to 12l.* The measures of reform were completed for the present, in the next session (1868), by the passing of Reform Bills for Scotland and Ireland, and an act for the better trial of controverted elections.

At the close of 1867 an expedition was sent to Abyssinia to obtain the release of British and other captives detained by the tyrant Theodore. After storming the hill fortress of Magdala, where Theodore fell by his own hands (April 13, 1868), our troops retired without the loss of a single man in battle, and their commander, sir Robert Napier, was created lord Napier of Magdala.

For some years past, Ireland had been subject to renewed agitation. A more determined opposition was shown to the connection with Great Britain by a party who assumed the name of *Fenians*. It found desperate leaders in men who had been engaged in the American civil war, and who held out hopes of aid from the Transatlantic republic. Their violence induced earl Russell to propose a bill for suspending the Habeas Corpus Act, which was passed through all its stages in one day (February 17, 1866). Various arrests ensued. In Manchester a police officer was shot. In London, to effect the escape of a Fenian prisoner, the wall of Clerkenwell prison was blown down by a barrel of powder in open day, with the destruction of many neighbouring houses and several lives (December 13, 1867). The execution of the one man convicted of this offence is memorable as the last public execution, an act having received the royal assent for carrying out capital sentences within the prison walls (May 29, 1868).

§ 20. Scarcely had parliament reassembled in 1868, when the earl of Derby retired through ill health,† and was succeeded in the premiership by Mr. Disraeli.

Meanwhile lord Stanley, the foreign secretary, had declared that

* See Notes and Illustrations (E). † The 24th earl of Derby died in October, 1869.

"Ireland was the question of the day;" and the government announced to parliament a policy based on what was familiarly called the principle of "levelling up," that is, raising the Roman catholics and protestant dissenters, by educational (and perhaps religious) endowments, to something of the same position as that of the established church. In opposition to this policy, Mr. Gladstone proclaimed that the time was come for the disestablishment and disendowment of the Irish church, and carried a series of resolutions to that effect in the commons (April 30, 1868). The elections in November, under the new Reform Act, were virtually an appeal to the people on this question; and the result was so decisive, that Mr. Disraeli resigned without waiting for the meeting of parliament (December 2), and Mr. Gladstone became prime minister (December 9).

In the *eighth parliament* of queen Victoria (the 20th of the United Kingdom), which met next day, the ministry had a majority of more than 100. In July, 1869, an act was passed, dissolving the connection between the churches of England and Ireland from January 1, 1871. The latter was disestablished and disendowed, its temporalities being vested in three commissioners, with reservation of existing interests. A large sum was granted to the Roman catholic college of Maynooth, and to such of the protestant dissenters as were recipients of the *regium donum*. Any surplus was to be applied to education, and a part of the funds was thus appropriated under the Irish Education Act of 1877. In the same session of 1869, imprisonment for debt (except as a means of enforcing the judgments of county courts) was abolished in the United Kingdom; and three years later in Ireland.

In 1870 Mr. Gladstone took the second step in his Irish policy by the *Land Act*, which provided for the compensation of outgoing tenants, and for loans both to landlords for improvements and to tenants desiring to purchase their holdings. Courts of arbitration were established for the settlement of all claims; and the freedom of contract between landlord and tenant was so far limited as to nullify all agreements in contravention of the purpose of the act. The same session is memorable for the establishment of a system of national education, by means of elective school boards. In these schools all religious creeds were forbidden. A similar measure was passed for Scotland in 1872. In 1871, all religious tests for degrees and offices (except those of an ecclesiastical nature) in the English universities were abolished. (Supplement, Note XXXIII.)

§ 21. On July 19, 1870, the emperor Napoleon declared war against Prussia, and joined his army at Metz on the 28th. All Germany took part in the war on the side of Prussia. The young prince

imperial was present at the first action at Saarbrück on August 2;* and on the 18th, after the battle of Gravelotte, the French Army of the Rhine, under marshal Bazaine, was shut up in Metz. The Army of Châlons, advancing to its relief along the Belgium frontier, under marshal MacMahon, was utterly defeated at Sedan (September 1), and 100,000 men became prisoners of war, with the emperor Napoleon himself (September 2). The immediate result was a revolution at Paris, in which the Second Empire was overthrown, and a provisional government was formed (September 4). On the 20th of the month the German armies invested Paris; Strassburg surrendered on the 28th, the anniversary of its treacherous seizure by Louis XIV. in 1681; and Bazaine capitulated at Metz, with 173,000 men, including 3 marshals of France, 50 generals, and 6000 officers (October 28). At length a Government of National Defence was established in Paris, and, after a gallant resistance, an armistice was concluded (January 25, 1871), and a National Assembly was elected, which met at Versailles (February 13), in order to conclude a peace. On the last day of February, M. Thiers, the new "head of the executive power," signed the Peace of Versailles with king William, who had been elected *German Emperor*† by all the German states, and was inaugurated as the emperor William I. in the hall of Louis XIV. at Versailles, on January 18, the anniversary of the day on which his ancestor was proclaimed king of Prussia (1701). France surrendered the old German province of Alsace (treacherously seized by Louis XIV.) with part of Lorraine, including the old imperial fortress of Metz, and thus lost the portion she already possessed of the coveted frontier of the Rhine. She agreed to pay a war indemnity of five milliards of francs, or 200 millions sterling, within three years, a penalty as unprecedented in magnitude as was the promptitude with which it was discharged before the appointed time. The ex-emperor retired to Chiselhurst, in Kent, where he died on January 9, 1873. On May 24 of the same year the government of M. Thiers was overthrown by a vote of the National Assembly, and marshal MacMahon was chosen president for seven years. Attempts to restore the monarchy, under "Henry V.," based on an agreement between the Bourbon and Orleans families, failed through the obstinacy of the count of Chambord. In 1875 the Assembly laid the bases of a definitive republical constitution,

* Prince Louis Napoleon, son of Napoleon III. and the Empress Eugénie, was born March 16, 1856, lived in England from 1870, studied the military profession at Woolwich, and went with the British army to South Africa, where he was killed by the Zulus (June 1, 1879).

† This title must not be confounded with the old title of Emperor of the Holy Roman Empire. The new German empire is a federation of German states, quite distinct in nature from the ancient imperial union of western Christendom.

with an elective senate as well as a chamber of deputies; and, at the close of 1878, the Republic was considered to be more firmly settled by the return of a republican majority in the senate, followed by the resignation of marshal MacMahon, who was succeeded by M. Grévy.

The only part taken by England in the war was that of ministering, by voluntary efforts, to the sick and wounded, and to the starving population of besieged Paris. But the revelation of designs entertained against Belgium led to new treaties being made by England with France and Prussia severally, for the further security of her independence and neutrality (August, 1870). The interest taken in the war, and the extraordinary success of the German army, called attention to the reorganization of our army. The purchase of commissions was abolished by a royal warrant, and the commons voted funds for compensation to officers (1871). Another consequence of the war was that Russia, supported by prince Bismarck, denounced the clause of the treaty of 1856 which forbade her keeping a fleet in the Black Sea. A conference of the great powers at London, while releasing Russia from that engagement, placed on record, as an essential principle of the law of nations, that no power can liberate itself from the engagements of a treaty, nor modify its stipulations, without the consent of the contracting parties (January, 1871). A difference with the United States, about injuries caused by alleged breaches of neutrality during the civil war, was referred to the arbitration of a court which met at Geneva (1872), and awarded 15½ millions of dollars (about 3,230,000*l.*) to be paid by England on account of the "Alabama claims." * The general dissatisfaction with this result, and with the decision of the German emperor against England on the long-disputed question of the boundary of the two nations in the estuary of San Juan, tended to throw discredit on the principle of arbitration as a means of preventing war.

§ 22. On February 27, 1872, a service of public thanksgiving was celebrated at St. Paul's, attended by the queen and royal family, for the recovery of the prince of Wales from a dangerous illness in December, 1871. The sympathy expressed by all classes on this occasion was so decided a proof in favour of hereditary monarchy, that it served as a timely check on some rash exhibitions of theoretical republicanism. The secret ballot, so long advocated by the radical party, in parliamentary elections, was adopted in the same year. On the reassembling of parliament in 1873, Mr. Glad-

* So called because of the injuries inflicted on American commerce by the famous Confederate cruiser *Alabama*. The court was composed of five members,

appointed respectively by England, the United States, Italy, Brazil, and Switzerland.

stone introduced his measure for destroying the third branch of what he had called the upas tree that overshadowed Ireland. But his Irish University Bill failed to conciliate the catholics, and was defeated by 287 to 284 on the second reading (March 11). The Gladstone ministry resigned; but they returned to office on the 20th, as Mr. Disraeli declined to undertake the government with the existing House of Commons. The attempt at Irish university reform was not renewed; but religious tests were abolished in the Trinity College and University of Dublin (May). Mr. Lowe's last budget reduced the income-tax to threepence in the pound; but the great act of the session was the constitution of a Supreme Court of Judicature, which came into effect (with some subsequent alterations) on November 1, 1875. On that date the ancient Courts of Queen's Bench, Common Pleas, and Exchequer, as well as those of Chancery, of Admiralty, of Probate and Divorce, and the ecclesiastical Court of Arches, ceased to exist as separate tribunals, but their names were retained as those of divisions of the Supreme Court. One of the chief objects in view in this alteration was the fusion of the principles of law and equity. By a subsequent act, the House of Lords retained its ancient prerogative as the ultimate court of appeal, but in the new form of a court composed of the lord chancellor, two lords of appeal, created peers for life, and such peers as are or have been lawyers (1876).

In the autumn of 1873 the country was engaged in a war with the Ashantees in West Africa, in consequence of misunderstandings resulting from the sale to England of the Dutch colonies on the Gold Coast. Under the skilful conduct of sir Garnet Wolseley, the king of Ashantee was defeated; his capital, Coomassie, taken and burnt; and he accepted peace, consenting to abolish human sacrifices (February 6, 1874).

§ 23. During this session the ministry was greatly weakened, and there were manifest proofs of a conservative reaction. The prorogation of parliament (August 7) was followed by important changes in the ministry, Mr. Gladstone resuming the chancellorship of the exchequer (September 9). On January 23, 1874, he suddenly decided on dissolving parliament; and, in his address to his constituents at Greenwich, he announced that, with the sure prospect of a surplus of five millions, and by certain readjustments of taxation, he should be in a position both to abolish the income-tax and remove part of the burthens of local taxation. But the elections, under the joint operation of the late Reform Act and vote by ballot, gave the conservatives a great majority. Following Mr. Disraeli's example in 1868, Mr. Gladstone's ministry resigned without waiting to meet parliament (February 17); and Mr. Disraeli formed a govern-

ment which included the marquess of Salisbury and the earl of Carnarvon, who had separated from him on the reform question in 1867: the earl of Derby was again foreign secretary, and sir Stafford Northcote (a financial disciple of Mr. Gladstone) chancellor of the exchequer. The queen's *ninth parliament* met on March 5. The most important measures of the session were the budget, which abolished the sugar duties and reduced the income-tax to twopence in the pound,* and the act for the regulation of public worship, which provided simpler means of bringing disputes on ritual observances to a judicial decision. By this time it was apparent that the country desired a rest from organic changes, and the ensuing year was mainly occupied with measures of legal, social, and sanitary improvement.

In September, 1874, the annexation of the Fiji Islands, by the desire of the inhabitants, secured a station in the Pacific of great importance for communication with Australia and New Zealand.

§ 24. On January 15, 1875, Mr. Gladstone publicly announced his determination to retire from the leadership of the liberal party; and at a meeting of the liberals (February 8), the marquess of Hartington was requested to accept the vacant post. Sir Stafford Northcote's budget was marked by an effort to reduce the national debt by means of a new sinking fund, providing for the regular annual appropriation of 28,000,000*l.* to the charge of the debt, which was sanctioned by parliament (August 10). In the autumn the prince of Wales set out on a visit to India (October 11), towards the expenses of which the House of Commons had voted a grant of 60,000*l.* He arrived at Bombay (November 8), and was received with enthusiasm by the native princes. On the 19th he proceeded on a visit to the Guicowar at Baroda. On December 2 he landed at Colombo, and on the 10th at Madras, arriving at Calcutta on the 23rd. Here he held a chapter of the Order of the Star of India (January 1, 1876), which was numerously attended by the native princes and their suites in the gorgeous equipage of their several provinces. On the 11th he visited Delhi; and, after a tour in her majesty's Indian dominions, with a splendour and popularity unexampled in the history of any

* This was the lowest scale of the income-tax during the period of one generation (33 years) since its imposition by sir Robert Peel. Its growing produce in that time furnishes a remarkable measure of the increased wealth of the country. In the first complete year of its collection (1843-44) the tax of sevenpence in the pound yielded 8,191,587*l.*; in the year

1874-75 the tax of twopence in the pound yielded 4,306,000*l.* The produce of each penny in 1844 was 471,656*l.*; in 1878, 1,900,000*l.* The estimated income of the country in 1875 was 74,921,872*l.* The scale of the tax has risen since the time in question; and the tendency to resort to it when fresh revenue is wanted is a question much discussed.

European prince, he returned to Bombay (March 11), and embarked for England. In the mean time lord Northbrook had resigned the office of viceroy, and he was succeeded by lord Lytton, son of the famous novelist (April 12).

In commemoration of the prince's visit, and as a sign of the imperial relation of the British power to all India, parliament gave the queen authority to assume the title of *Empress of India*, which was proclaimed in London on April 28, 1876, and in India, with great solemnities, on January 1, 1877.

In November, 1875, Mr. Disraeli had proposed to purchase the Khedive's share of the Suez Canal, at the price of four millions; and the proposal was unanimously sanctioned by the House of Commons (February 21, 1876). At the close of this session, Mr. Disraeli, who was 70 years of age, and had borne for 30 years the strain of leading his party in the commons, was removed to the House of Lords with the title of earl of Beaconsfield.

§ 25. Meanwhile the attention of the nation had been drawn to the misgovernment of Turkey, and the atrocities perpetrated under its feeble and inefficient rule, in consequence of count Andrassy's note, presented to the Porte by the Austrian, Russian, and German ambassadors (January 31, 1876). The Turkish sultan, Abdul Aziz, was deposed (May 30), and committed suicide five days after. He was succeeded by Murad V. But the change of rulers produced no alteration in the sentiments of Europe. The odium into which the Turkish government had fallen was an encouragement for the neighbouring and dependent provinces to rebel. On July 1 and 2 the Servians and Montenegrins declared war and crossed the Turkish frontier. A great battle ensued between the former and the Turks at Alexinatz (August 20), which resulted in the defeat of the Servians eight days after. On August 31, Murad was deposed and Abdul Hamid II. was proclaimed sultan. During the recess popular indignation was stirred to the uttermost by the Turkish atrocities in Bulgaria. The war with Servia still continued, in spite of the friendly intervention of the great European powers, until the Servians were totally defeated (October 29), and Djunis captured.

The embarrassment of Turkey was the opportunity of Russia, which now interfered, ostensibly in behalf of the Christian subjects living under the sultan. But her designs of self-aggrandizement were ill concealed under her professions of philanthropy, and were regarded with uneasiness by this country. On November 7, the marquess of Salisbury was appointed by her majesty as her special ambassador. to attend a conference of the great powers at Constantinople, in order to settle the Eastern question. The conference

opened on December 23, but its proposals were rejected by the Porte, and counter terms were presented by the Turkish delegates in reference to the settlement of Servia and Montenegro. As the appointment of provisional governors for five years, for the three disaffected provinces, was entirely ignored by the Porte, the conference came to a standstill. In the declaration of the marquess of Salisbury that "no common basis for discussion remained," general Ignatiev concurred, and the conference ended (January 20, 1877).

Dissatisfied on its own part with the failure of the conference, from which it had expected more favourable results, the Porte issued a manifesto, contesting the right of the powers to interfere with its subjects and its internal administration (February 5). Its remonstrances were met by a protocol, signed at London by the six European powers, asserting the necessity of reforms, and providing for mutual disarmament on certain conditions (March 31). On the determination of the Porte to listen to no such proposals (April 12), Russia prepared for war, whilst the other great powers determined to observe a strict neutrality. Russia concluded a treaty with Roumania, which not long after proclaimed its independence. It prompted Servia and Montenegro to avail themselves of the opportunity and secure their independence. An engagement took place near Batoum, a port on the south-east coast of the Black Sea, long coveted by Russia (April 26), when the Turks defeated their enemy and inflicted a loss of 800 men. This, and other unexpected successes of the Turks during the earlier part of the campaign, against a foe so vastly superior in numbers and the munitions of war, entirely obliterated the opinion previously entertained of their weakness and incompetence. The expectations of all parties were raised still more when, after various alternations of success, in which the Turks displayed great military capacity and courage, the Russians, in July, were repulsed with great loss before Plevna, which was occupied and defended by Osman Pasha. They made a second attempt (September 11), but with no better success. They now determined to invest and starve the garrison to surrender. The works were completed, but Osman Pasha, though isolated from all help, still held his post with unflinching resolution. Finding that no aid was at hand, he resolved, on December 10, to force his way through the Russian entrenchments. But the attempt was unsuccessful. He was wounded and driven back, and compelled to surrender. This disastrous event cost the Turks 30,000 prisoners and 400 guns. It was still more ruinous to their cause, as in the previous month the Russians had taken Kars by assault, inflicting on the Turks the loss of 12,000 men killed and wounded, and 300 guns (November 18). Meanwhile, the Russian advanced force crossed the Balkans, defeated the Turks, and took Sofia.

Such heavy losses following in rapid succession convinced the Porte that all further attempts at continuing the war were hopeless. In the last days of the year, the sultan requested the mediation of England; but the request, which our government merely consented to forward, was refused by Russia (December 31, 1877). The Porte decided to sue for an armistice, while the Russian forces penetrated the Balkans by the Trojan Pass, and, surrounding the Turkish army, which had for many months clung to the Shipka Pass when its presence in Bulgaria might have turned the scale, forced about 32,000 men to lay down their arms (January 8-10, 1878). While the Turkish envoys set out for the camp of the grand-duke Nicholas, their last army in Roumelia, under Suleiman Pasha, was totally defeated by general Gourko, and driven off to the coast of the *Ægean* (January 16, 17), whence its remains were transported by sea for the defence of Constantinople, and Adrianople was yielded up without a blow (January 19, 20).

In England the feeling roused by these events united the great majority of the people in the resolve to check what now seemed the manifest designs of Russia on Constantinople, and the threatened danger to our communications with India. After the failure of the attempt to settle the question by the influence of the European powers, Great Britain had announced her fixed policy of conditional neutrality, that is, so long as her interests were not endangered. But, when the Turkish defence was breaking down, parliament was summoned before the usual time, in the prospect (said the queen's speech) that "should hostilities be prolonged, some unexpected occurrence may render it incumbent on me to adopt measures of precaution" (January 17). The proposal to send up the British fleet within the Dardanelles was opposed in the cabinet by the earls of Carnarvon and Derby, and the former resigned the seals of the colonies (January 24). But when the news arrived that the Russians were threatening Gallipoli and the Dardanelles, and had advanced within 30 miles of Constantinople, the liberals withdrew their opposition to the vote of 6,000,000*l.* demanded by government for military preparations, and lord Derby announced that the fleet had been ordered to enter the Sea of Marmora (February 8). On the same day, the severe terms exacted by Russia for an armistice became known, and the Turks yielded up the outer lines commanding Constantinople. On the 24th the grand-duke Nicholas fixed his head-quarters at San Stefano on the Sea of Marmora, close to Constantinople; and here a *preliminary* treaty was signed, by which Roumania, Servia, and Montenegro were to be independent states; a tributary but self-governing principality of Bulgaria was to be created, reaching from the Black Sea to the *Ægean*, and leaving to

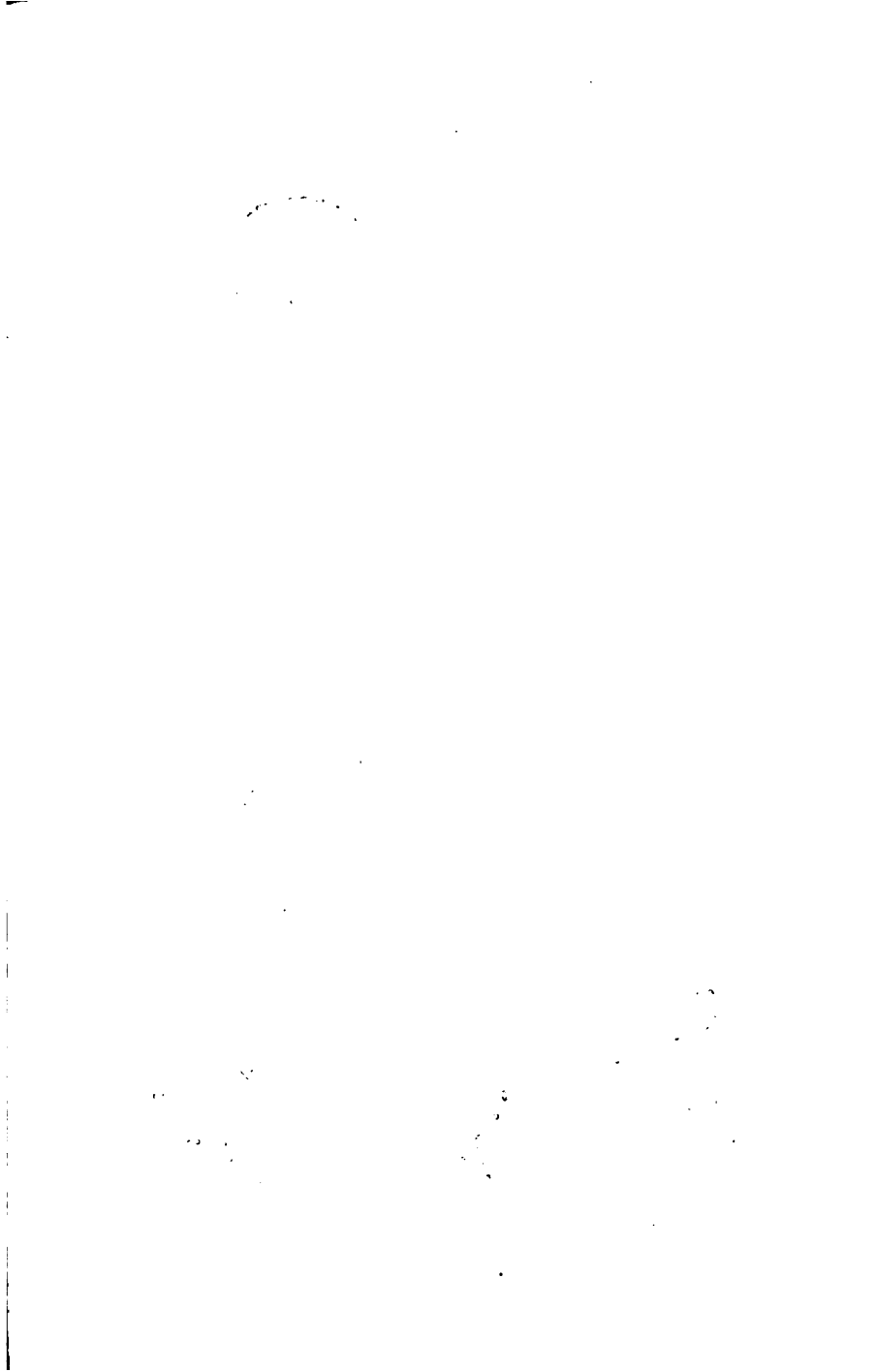
Turkey only a narrow territory about Constantinople, the Sea of Marmora, and the straits; Russia was to receive back the part of Bessarabia which had been taken from her in 1856 to cut her off from the Danube, her Roumanian allies being compensated for the spoliation by the Dobrudja (the marshy tract south of the delta of the Danube). In Asia, Russia was to gain most of Armenia, including Batoum, Kars, and Erzeroum; and Turkey was to pay a huge indemnity, under the penalty of further territorial loss in case of default. The long-contested protectorate of Turkish Christians was to be yielded to Russia, and the opening of the straits was reserved for the decision of Europe (March 3).

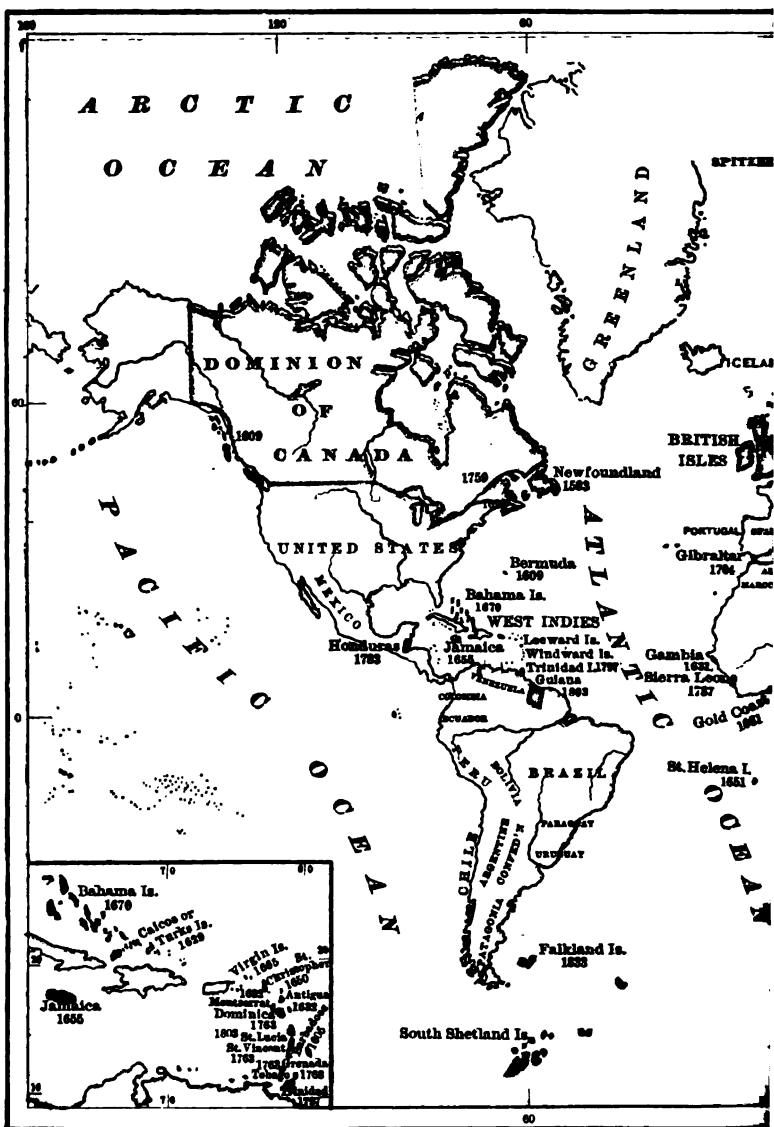
So manifest a reversal of the treaty of 1856 raised questions which concerned all Europe, and Russia did not deny that they ought to be settled in a congress; but she held out against the firm demand of Great Britain, that the treaty as a whole should be laid before the congress. In the midst of preparations for the possibility of war, with the clear approval of the great majority of the British people, Lord Derby announced that he had resigned rather than take part in the measures of the cabinet (March 28). These proved to be the calling out of the army reserves, and the bringing a force of 7000 Indian troops to be in readiness at Malta. The marquess of Salisbury, succeeding lord Derby at the foreign office, issued a circular despatch, vigorously criticizing the treaty of San Stefano. While acutely analyzing its terms, he proved that it would establish the complete supremacy of Russia over Turkey, not so much by any single article as by "the operation of the instrument as a whole." This remarkable state paper produced a most striking effect on the powers of Europe, who now saw for the first time that England was in earnest. Austria, cold and dubious before, now threw in her lot with England, and prince Bismarck advised Russia to listen to reason. Still, as is now well known, the two nations were on the brink of a war which would have become general; and Russia was preparing an army in Central Asia to attack India through Afghanistan, while her princes promoted subscriptions for fitting out American privateers. But the Russian ambassador, count Schouvalov, laboured earnestly in conjunction with our government for peace, and their secret negotiations resulted in a written agreement (May 30) as to the chief points that should be yielded or insisted on at the congress, which prince Bismarck invited to meet at Berlin on June 13. England was represented by lords Beaconsfield and Salisbury, by whose ability and the proof of earnestness given by the presence of her prime minister (a very unusual step on such occasions), as well as by prince Bismarck's resolution, the congress was brought to a successful issue, and the *Treaty of Berlin* was signed (July 13, 1878).

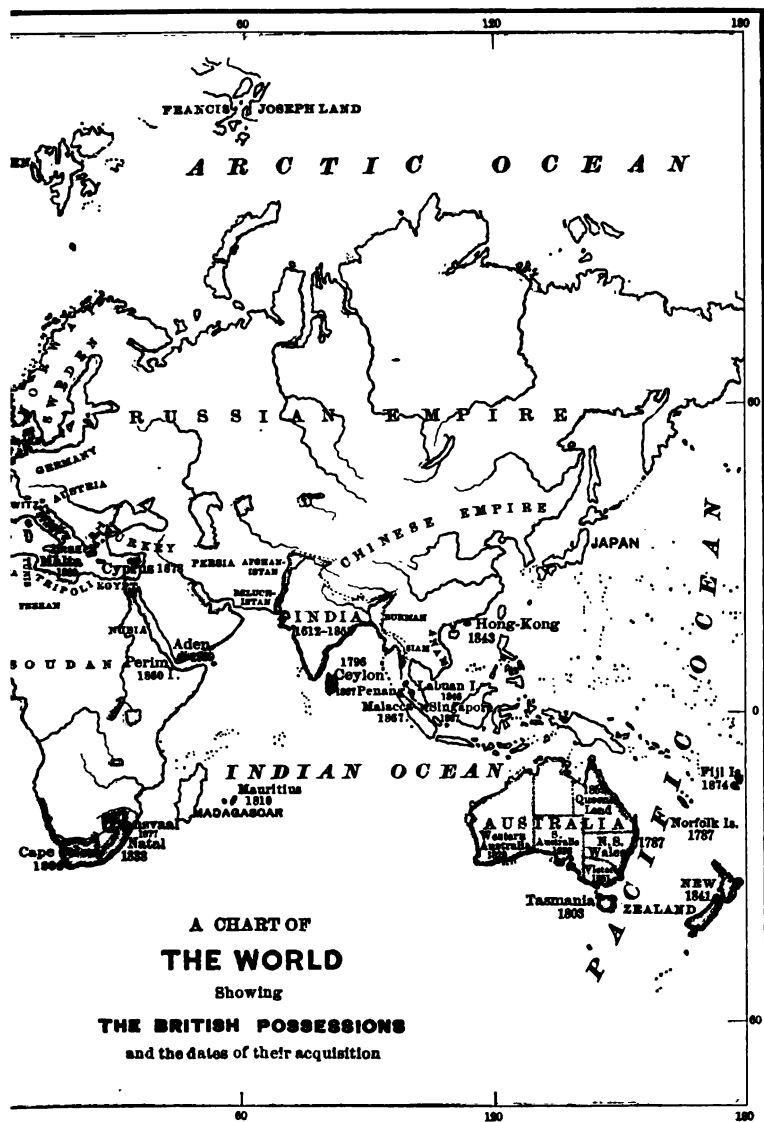
The independence of *Roumania*, *Servia*, and *Montenegro* was confirmed: the two latter states gained new frontiers, and *Montenegro* the long-desired outlet to the sea in the port of Antivari; while the brave Roumanians, like the dwarf who fought beside the giant, had to give up the territory which brought Russia back to the Danube, receiving the Dobrudja in exchange at the expense of the Bulgarians; but new stipulations were made for the free navigation of the Danube, and the fortresses on its banks were to be razed. The people of *Bosnia* and the *Herzegovina*, who had begun the war for liberation, were handed over to Austria, under the name of an occupation, which had to be enforced by a brief war. But the great modification of the treaty of San Stefano consisted in the division of general Ignatiev's huge *Bulgaria*. The old province known by that name, between the Danube and the Balkans, was placed on the same footing of virtual independence held hitherto by *Servia* and *Roumania*, as a principality tributary to the Porte, but self-governed ("autonomous"), under a prince to be elected by the people and approved by the sultan and the powers.* That part of Roumelia (the region south of the Balkans) in which a Bulgarian population predominated (though mingled with Turks and Greeks) was constituted the new province of *Eastern Roumelia*, under the direct political and military authority of the sultan, but with a certain degree of self-government ("administrative autonomy"), and under a Christian governor-general to be named by the Porte, with the assent of the powers, for five years: its internal order to be maintained by a native gendarmerie, but with the sultan's right to maintain military posts on the frontiers, by sea and land, including the Balkans. The Sublime Porte undertook to carry out reforms under the superintendence of the powers, and to establish religious liberty, abolishing all civil and political disqualifications on religious grounds, Christians being under the protection of the consular and diplomatic agents of the powers; but no sanction was given to the special claim of Russia in this respect; nor was any alteration made as to the navigation of the straits. The organic law granted to Crete was confirmed, and made an example for reforms to be introduced in other provinces. An article of the treaty reserved the right of the powers to mediate between Turkey and Greece, if they should be unable to agree on the rectification of the frontier, to the advantage of Greece, suggested by them to the Porte in a separate protocol. In Asia, Russia had to give back Erzeroum, retaining Kars and

* An Assembly of Notables held in the spring of 1879 settled the new constitution of Bulgaria, and elected as their prince Alexander Battenberg of Hesse, a

nephew of the empress of Russia. About the same time the sultan appointed Aleko Pasha, a Bulgarian Christian, governor of Eastern Roumelia.







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gaining Batoum, which the czar declared his intention of making a free port; Turkey giving up also some frontier territory to Persia. The treaties of 1856 and 1871 were maintained in all points not abrogated or modified by the present treaty; while the remaining points in the treaty of San Stefano (the most important being the war indemnity) were left to be settled between Russia and Turkey, who concluded a new treaty early in 1879. Such was the settlement of the great Eastern question, which virtually replaced the treaty of Paris after a lapse of 22 years.

But in assenting to those gains in Asia, which some who knew Russia well believed to be her chief object in the war, England had resolved to take a new security against possible dangers to her interests in the far east, and especially to her communications with India. Ten days before the congress assembled, a convention of defensive alliance between Great Britain and Turkey had been signed at Constantinople (June 4, 1878), to take effect conditionally on Russia's obtaining those very gains in Asia; and accordingly the convention was laid before parliament on the same day on which the treaty of Berlin was signed. England engaged to join Turkey in defending the territories left to her in Asia against any future attempts at conquest by Russia; while, in return, the sultan promised to introduce reforms to be hereafter agreed on, and, as a provision for executing these engagements, he assigned the island of Cyprus to be occupied and administered by England. That "place of arms" was chosen as commanding the chief access from the Mediterranean to Syria and the Euphrates valley, and well placed for the defence of the Suez Canal. Without anticipating the verdict of history, it is but fair to place on record the claim of lord Beaconsfield that he had brought back to his country "peace with honour."

The storm in Europe had an afterclap in further Asia, which revealed much more of the danger that had been narrowly averted. The continued conquests of Russia in Central Asia had raised into a question of the first moment the position of Afghanistan, the mountain territory on the north-west of India, commanding the passes of the Hindu Kush and the Suleiman range, between Central Asia and the Punjab. Since the chequered events of the first Afghan war (1839-1842), it had been our settled policy to maintain a friendly influence with the independence of Afghanistan. But now the reigning ameer, Shere Ali (son of Dost Mohammed), had shown the resolution to place himself in the hands of Russia, receiving her envoy at Cabul, while he turned back a British envoy on the frontier. To avenge an insult which threatened our whole influence in Asia, and to secure a new safe frontier by the possession of the passes commanding the Punjab, a British army entered

Afghanistan (November, 1878), and speedily accomplished its military object, while Shere Ali fled, in the vain hope of help from Russia, and died early in 1879. His son and successor, Yakub Khan, after some delay, sought an interview with the British general, and agreed to a treaty securing the new frontier required, and admitting a British resident at Cabul (May, 1879).

For the present our history finds its resting-place at the close of the year 1878, darkened by a long and severe depression of trade, and under the cloud of the first gap made by death among the children of the queen. On the seventeenth anniversary of the prince consort's death, and the seventh since the recovery of the prince of Wales from death's door, the devoted daughter and sister who had lovingly tended both, princess ALICE MAUD MARY, grand-duchess of Hesse-Darmstadt, died at Darmstadt of diphtheria, received through "the kiss of death" while again tending her suffering children (December 14, 1878); but she left her memory as an undying honour to her mother's reign.

§ 26. On casting a retrospective glance at the period comprised in this Book, our attention is chiefly arrested by the progress of the country in material wealth and power. The principal steps taken for the advance or security of our political rights may be summed up in a few words: they are—the passing of the Bill of Rights and Act of Settlement, and the securing of the independence of the judges and the liberty of the press, in the reign of William III.; the abolition of general warrants in that of George III.; the repeal of the Test and Corporation Acts, and the emancipation of the Roman catholics, under George IV.; and the reform of parliament under William IV. and Victoria. The events under the Stuart dynasty had left little to be done for our constitutional freedom, but everything to be achieved for our national greatness. The union with Scotland, and subsequently that with Ireland, combined the three kingdoms into an imperial whole. The position of England as a European power was extended by the wars of William and Anne, and by the military genius of Marlborough. But it was in the wars with the French republic and empire that all the energy and resources of the nation were displayed, and Great Britain became the leading power in Europe. During the same period, owing to our maritime supremacy, our colonial empire received a vast extension. Our colonies in North America were lost under George III., but were more than replaced by the subjugation of India, and the establishment of a new colonial empire in the South. The Canadas, Nova Scotia, and Newfoundland, with

several of our sugar colonies, were either retained or newly acquired. In Europe the acquisition of Gibraltar, Malta, and Cyprus, have secured us the command of the Mediterranean; in Africa the Capo of Good Hope affords valuable assistance to our Indian commerce. In the other hemisphere, at our very antipodes, Australia and its dependencies will form eventually a new British world; and an ever-increasing portion of the habitable world is peopled by a race of Anglo-Saxon origin. Compared with these results, the conquests of the Romans shrink into insignificance. Their settlements were for the most part mere military occupations—provinces, not colonies.

§ 27. During the period under review, the trade, wealth, and population of Great Britain have been rapidly augmented. They received a considerable impulse during the long and peaceful administration of sir Robert Walpole; but the beginning of the reign of George III. is the epoch of the great increase of our trade and manufactures. The potteries began a new course of prosperity under Wedgwood (1762); the cotton manufactures were developed in Lancashire and Yorkshire. In 1775 James Watt procured an act vesting in him "the sole use and property of certain steam-engines, commonly called *fire-engines*, of his invention." About the same time Arkwright began to spin by rollers; James Hargreaves, a poor weaver, invented the spinning-jenny; Samuel Crompton introduced the mule in 1779. In consequence of these inventions the cotton manufactures of Manchester and the North increased a hundredfold. In order to convey them, and to facilitate internal traffic, a network of canals was constructed, and highways were improved; whilst ultimately both these means of conveyance have been in some degree superseded by the invention of railways. The origin of English canals may be dated from the act of 1755. The duke of Bridgewater obtained his first act in 1759. The length of the canals in England now exceeds 2200 miles. Even till towards the end of the last century the roads in many parts of England were impassable in bad weather. The best coaches on a long journey travelled no more than four or five miles an hour. After the peace, roads were improved by the use of broken stones and granite introduced by MacAdam, and the pace was in many instances accelerated to eight or ten miles an hour. Great as this seemed then, it is as nothing compared with the speed of modern railways. The first act for a public railway was passed in 1801. It was not intended for passengers. Even the Liverpool and Manchester line was principally constructed with a view to the conveyance of goods; and it was not anticipated that passengers would venture to avail

themselves of it to any great extent. But when it was opened in September, 1830, it was found that its greatest success would be derived from the number of persons conveyed by it. At the end of 1877 the United Kingdom had above 17,000 miles of railway, with a capital of 674 millions sterling, and the net receipts exceeded 29 millions. One inestimable advantage derived from railways is the facility and cheapness of postal communication. Under the old system, and in the days of mail-coaches, a single letter conveyed 400 miles cost 1s. People wrote no more than they could help, and stratagems of all sorts were used to evade the postage; so that between 1815 and 1835 it was found that the post-office revenue had actually decreased, although, in the ratio of the progress of trade and population, it ought to have been increased by half a million. To improve this state of things, sir Rowland Hill's scheme of postal reform, by which the postage of all single letters, to whatever distance carried, was reduced to 1d., was adopted by the ministry, and came into operation in January, 1840. Steam-vessels did not come into general use till after the peace. They went on gradually increasing from eight English-owned steam-vessels in 1815, to 2496 in 1864, and 4564 in 1877. Other wonderful inventions have been brought into public use during the last half-century—such as gas and electric lighting, steam-printing, photography, the electric telegraph, with its recent marvellous developments in the telephone, etc.

The progress in our home manufactures and trade was accompanied with a corresponding increase in foreign commerce. The warehousing system, introduced by Mr. Pitt in 1803, by which the duties on goods, instead of being paid immediately on their landing, were collected on their delivery to the purchaser, proved of great service in extending trade by husbanding the capital of our merchants. But above all, the free-trade measures of sir Robert Peel have been attended with the greatest benefit, and promise to augment our commerce to an almost unlimited amount.

The surprising increase in industry and wealth during the last century has naturally been attended with a corresponding increase of population. Before the establishment, in 1801, of a regular census to be taken every 10 years, there were no means of estimating very accurately the number of the people; but, from the best calculation that can be made, it seems probable that the population of England and Wales at the time of the revolution of 1688 did not much exceed $5\frac{1}{2}$ millions. The whole increase during the first four reigns of the Stuart dynasty was not perhaps more than half a million. During the 18th century, and especially in the latter half of that period, the population went on steadily increasing, and the first

census of 1801 showed a population in England and Wales of 9,872,980. Since that time the increase has been still more rapid, the last census, in 1871, showing a population of 22,712,266. A corresponding increase has also taken place in Scotland; while in Ireland an increase of from about 5,000,000, in 1801, to above 8,000,000, in 1841, was followed, through the famine and emigration, by a decrease to about $5\frac{1}{2}$ millions in 1871. The total population of the United Kingdom has almost doubled in the 70 years, from about 16 millions in 1801 to nearly 32 millions in 1871. In England and Wales it has more than doubled itself. It is chiefly among the portion of the people employed in manufactures and trade that this increase has occurred; for, while the persons engaged in these occupations have increased at the rate of upwards of 30 per cent., those employed in agriculture have increased at the rate of only $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent.

The vast augmentation of the national debt during this period is a remarkable feature in the history of the country. At the accession of the house of Hanover (1714) it did not much exceed 36 millions, and it remained for some years at about that amount. Yet in 1736 we find it complained of in the *Craftsman* as the source of all the national distress; and twenty years afterwards it was predicted, in the *Letters* of Samuel Hannay, that if it ever reached 100 millions the nation must become bankrupt. Yet a little afterwards, at the close of George II.'s reign, and chiefly through the wars of that monarch, it had reached upwards of 130 millions without the occurrence of the anticipated catastrophe. Even Hume, in the third volume of his *History of England*, written in 1778, when the debt was about 150 millions, observed that it "threatened the very existence of the nation." In 1793, when the first war with revolutionary France broke out, the amount of the debt was little short of 240 millions; at the peace of Amiens in 1802 it was nearly 500 millions. From that period till 1815, during the portentous struggle with Napoleon, it was increased, as we have already said, to 900 millions.* The history of the efforts to reduce the debt is interesting and instructive. Under George I. and II., Walpole and Pelham set the example of making a decided impression on the annual charge (*in which the bulk of the debt consists*),† by the reduction of interest

* In many works the national debt is greatly understated by recording only the amount of the permanent funded debt, to which, however, must be added the floating unfunded debt, and the estimated value of terminable annuities. Including these items, the best estimate of the debt

at the close of the great war in 1815 reaches the total of 902,264,000*l.*

† The student should clearly understand that the bargain with the holder of stocks is to pay a certain annuity, not to discharge the nominal principal sum on which that annuity is reckoned.

in times of cheap money. But as to the capital, the sum of the story has been—slow and small reductions in times of peace swallowed up at once on the return of war. In the forty years (nearly) of peace (1816–1853) a reduction of 100 millions was effected, in spite of the Syrian, Chinese, Afghan, and other minor wars, and the new loans of 20 millions for the West Indian compensation, and 10 millions for the Irish famine. But in two years the Russian war raised the debt again from about 800½ to about 831½ millions. This increase was effaced in ten years of peace and prosperity, aided by the falling in of terminable annuities to the amount of above 2,000,000*l.* per annum in 1860 and 1867. The annual charge on the permanent debt has also been reduced to a uniform interest of three per cent. (with trifling exceptions); but, on the other hand, it has been partially increased by the policy, instituted by Mr. Gladstone and followed by Mr. Disraeli and Mr. Lowe, of converting sums of perpetual stock into terminable annuities, which is really a disguised process of paying off portions of the capital sum annually in the form of higher interest. The only other effective means of reduction has been by the *automatic* operation of an act of George IV., by which, a balance being struck *every quarter* of income and expenditure *for the year then ending*, if then a surplus is shown, *one-fourth of that surplus* is applied during the ensuing quarter to the reduction of debt by the purchase and cancelling of stock,—an operation most effective during the years of large surpluses which have prevailed since the Russian war. By such means a reduction of more than 20 millions has been made in the last five years. On the 1st of April, 1875, the total amount of the national debt was 775,348,386*l.** At the same date the annual charge for the debt was a little under 27,360,000*l.*; and sir Stafford Northcote proposed a plan for its reduction, by appropriating a fixed annual sum of 28,000,000*l.* to the payment of the annual charge and the cancelling of a portion of the principal. Meanwhile the country seems to carry this burthen with a lighter step than when it was seven times smaller.

§ 28. We turn our view from the material to the moral condition

* It is important to distinguish the heads:—

Unredeemed funded debt ..	2714,797,715
Unfunded debt	5,239,000
Value of terminable annuities	55,311,671
	<hr/>
	2775,348,386

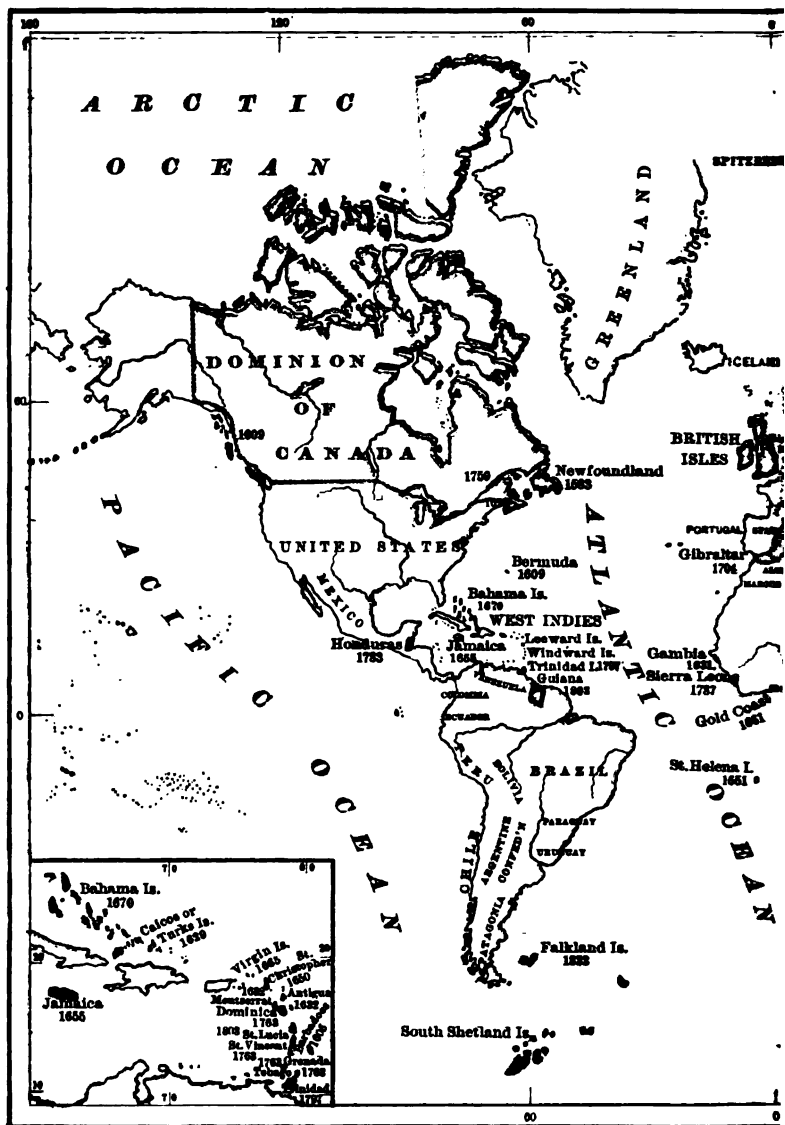
On March 31, 1879, the permanent funded

debt amounted to 709,402,000*l.*, and the terminable annuities were estimated at 42,776,000*l.*, making a total of 752,178,000*l.*, just 150 millions less than in 1816. The reduction of the funded debt is (1879) proceeding at the rate of five millions annually, under the joint operation of the terminable annuities and of sir Stafford Northcote's sinking fund (*Budget speech*, April 3, 1879).

of the nation. With regard to religion, we may notice the societies that have sprung up with a view to the propagation of Christianity: such as the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, founded in 1699; the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts, established in 1701; the London Missionary and Church Missionary Societies, and the British and Foreign Bible Society, all founded in 1804; besides numerous others. Several of these societies collect a revenue of upwards of 100,000*l*. The sect of the Methodists, founded by Wesley and Whitfield about the middle of last century, is likewise a remarkable growth of the age. Other sects have risen and enjoyed brief popularity. In 1831 rose the followers of the celebrated Edward Irving, professing to be endowed with the gift of tongues. In the present times we have our Mormons, and other strange sectaries.

§ 29. One great symptom of moral improvement has been the mitigation of the severity of the criminal law, introduced about the commencement of the present century by Samuel Romilly. Previous to 1808 the offence of privately stealing 5*s*. from the person was punishable with death, as well as a great many other offences, such as sheep-stealing, shop-lifting, etc.; and it was no uncommon thing to see several criminals executed together at Newgate on a Monday morning. At length the feeling of juries began to revolt against such exorbitant punishments. They refused to convict, and thus the laws became virtually inoperative. Yet some of the judges, as lord Ellenborough and lord Eldon, continued to support the old system. In 1833 a Royal Commission was appointed to examine the state of the criminal law. One of the first results of their report was the act passed in 1836 for allowing counsel to prisoners indicted for criminal offences; and in 1837 a bill was passed remitting the penalty of death in 21 out of 31 cases in which it was previously inflicted, while in the remaining 10 cases it was considerably restricted. Other ameliorations have subsequently taken place, and the penalty of death is now retained only for wilful murder and high treason. A commission has framed a Code of Criminal Law, which awaits the sanction of parliament.

The present century has likewise witnessed a great advance in the education of the people, especially of the middle and lower orders. Lord Brougham's is the most conspicuous name at the head of this movement, and he has been ably seconded by a host of enlightened men. In 1823 the London Mechanics' Institute was founded, and was soon followed by others in different parts of the country. The establishment of the Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge in 1826, and the opening of the University of



under his followers, till the revived study of pure Greek architecture produced works of correct classic beauty (such as those of Smirke and Wilkins), but little suited to our climate and national taste. The ensuing Gothic revival has been chiefly indebted to the labours of Pugin, Barry, Gilbert Scott, and Street; but its chief merit consists in reproducing the types of our genuine old English architecture rather than in any works of original genius.

NOTES AND ILLUSTRATIONS.

A. POOR LAWS.

In the statute 11 Rich. II. (1388) we first find mention of the "impotent poor," who are directed to remain and abide in certain places; either those in which they were at the time of the proclamation of the statute, or the places in which they were born. But no provision is made for their maintenance. Indeed, during the Roman catholic times, begging was allowed on the part of the impotent poor, who were chiefly supported by the abbeyes, convents, and other religious establishments. Thus, even so late as 1530, just before the breach with Rome, the statute 22 Hen. VIII. c. 10, which inflicts severe punishment on sturdy vagabonds and valiant beggars "being whole and mighty in body," allows the aged and impotent poor to beg and live off alms, provided they confined themselves to certain districts; and they received a letter authorizing them to beg within those limits. The chief object in all the early enactments upon pauperism was to restrain vagrancy. The first act for the relief of the impotent poor was passed in 1536 (27 Hen. VIII. c. 25), by which collections were ordered to be made in the parishes for their support. But by the same statute incorrigible vagrancy is, on a third conviction, made felony, with the penalty of death. The dissolution of the religious houses in that reign had the effect both of increasing the number of vagabonds and beggars, and of diminishing their means of support. The increase of pauperism is shown by several severe statutes on the subject passed in the short reign of Edward VI. But at the same time provision was made for the relief of the poor; and the voluntary collections, such as had been first ordered under 27 Hen. VIII. c. 25, were by a long series of

statutes almost insensibly converted into compulsory assessments.

At length, by the 43 Eliz. c. 2 (1601), compulsory assessment for the relief of the poor was fully established; and this statute was till recent times the text-book of the English poor-law. The overseers of each parish were directed by this statute to raise by taxation the necessary sums "for providing a sufficient stock of flax, hemp, wool, and other ware or stuff, to set the poor on work, and also competent sums for relief of lame, blind, old, and impotent persons, and for putting out children as apprentices." The justices were empowered to send to prison all persons who would not work, and to assess all persons of sufficient means for the relief of their children and parents. Power was given to the parish officers to build, at the expense of the parish, poor-houses for the reception of the impotent poor only. These are the chief provisions of this celebrated statute. Workhouses were first established in 1722 by 9 Geo. I. c. 7. They were not at first intended so much as a refuge for the poor, or as a test by which real destitution might be discerned, but, as their name implies, with a view to derive profit from the labours of the poor. The workhouses were in fact a kind of manufactories carried on at the risk of the poor-rate; and though they at first diminished the cost of relief, they ultimately increased it, by pauperizing the independent labourer. In the reign of George II. the amount expended in relief was under three-fourths of a million. In 1775 it amounted to 1,720,000*l*. From that period it went on rapidly increasing, and in 1818 it reached its maximum of nearly 8 millions. This large fund was subject to great abuses of administration, which begot habits of improvidence among the poor by encouraging early

marriages, etc. Labourers' wages were frequently paid in part from the rates; and thus a portion of the farmer's labour was done at the expense of the parish. At length, in 1832, a commission was appointed to inquire into the practical operation of the poor-laws. In February, 1834, they made their report, and a bill founded upon it, the Poor-Law Amendment Act, was soon afterwards introduced by lord Althorp, and received the royal assent on August 14, 1834. By this act all bodies charged with the relief of the poor are placed under the control of a central board of three commissioners, who are to make rules and regulations, binding upon the local boards. One important power given to them is that of uniting several parishes for the purpose of a more economical administration. The system of paying wages out of the poor-rate is abolished; and, except in extreme cases, to be determined by the commissioners, relief is only given to the able-bodied poor within the workhouse. After this period, in the face of a rapidly increasing population, the sums expended have rapidly diminished. In the administration of the law, the "workhouse test" has been greatly mitigated. The "Poor-Law Commissioners" have now been superseded by the "Local Government Board," with a president who is a member of the government. On this subject see sir G. Nicholls's *Hist. of the English Poor-Law*, 2 vols. 8vo; Porter's *Progress of the Nation*, sect. I. ch. 4; and the article PAUPERISM in the *Penny Cyclopædia*.

B. CORN LAWS.

The earliest enactments on this subject were to forbid the exportation of corn, while its importation was freely admitted; but in later times the policy of the legislature was altogether different. The first statute extant on corn is the Dictum de Kenilworth (1266), and the next the 34 Edw. III. c. 20 (1360), which forbids its exportation, except to certain places where it was necessary to the king's interest, and to be named by him. At a later period, in the reigns of Richard II. and Henry VI., we find this policy reversed, and liberty given to export to any places; though subject, in the latter reign, to restriction in case the price of corn reached 6s. 8d. the quarter for wheat. Since no attempt was made to prevent the importation of corn, we may infer

that it was produced in England as cheap, or cheaper than in neighbouring countries. In the reign of Edward IV. we find the first protective law in favour of the agriculturist, importation of corn being forbidden by 3 Edw. IV. c. 2, unless the price of wheat exceeded 6s. 8d. the quarter. But agriculture seems to have much declined in England towards the end of the reign of Henry VIII. and in that of Edward VI., which was probably in some degree owing to the great change of property consequent on the dissolution of the abbeys and religious houses. Thus the statute, 25 Hen. VIII. c. 2, positively forbids the exportation of corn; and the statute 5 and 6 Edw. VI. c. 8, entitled "An Act for the Maintenance and Increase of Tillage and Corn," attempted to make the cultivation of corn compulsory, by exacting a fine of 5s. payable by each parish on every acre of land in each deficient in tillage when compared with the quantity that had been tilled at any period after the accession of Henry VIII.

The act of Hen. VIII. forbidding the exportation of corn was repealed in the reign of Mary; but the price at which exportation was allowed was gradually raised, till in 1670 it was enacted that wheat might always be exported as long as it was under 53s. 4d. per quarter. At the same time heavy import duties were imposed; and the design of the legislature seems to have been to keep wheat at an average of about 53s. 4d. Nay, in 1689 the landowners obtained the payment of a bounty of 5s. per quarter on the exportation of wheat when the price did not exceed 48s., and on other grain in proportion. These bounties were not repealed by law till 1815, though they had been for some time virtually inoperative.

Regulations were also made respecting the home trade in corn; and in the reign of Elizabeth it was made an offence, under the name of *engrossing*, and punishable with imprisonment or the pillory, to buy corn in one market in order to sell it in another. The act 15 Chas. II. c. 7, legalized engrossing when the price of wheat did not exceed 48s. Till a very recent period engrossing continued to be regarded by public opinion as a heinous offence, and even lord Kenyon violently denounced from the bench a corn-factor accused of it.

By a bill of 1773 importation was allowed at the nominal duty of 8d. whenever

the price of wheat should be above 48s. Subsequently, in 1791 and 1804, this price was raised to 54s. and 63s.; and in 1815 the importation of wheat for home consumption was positively forbidden when the price was under 80s., and other corn in proportion. Various modifications were introduced between that time and 1829, when the principle of a graduated duty or sliding scale was introduced; the duty, when the price was 62s., being 24s. 8d. and gradually diminishing as the price advanced, till at 73s. and upwards it fell to 1s. The operation of this principle, however, was found to be inconvenient and unsalutary; and at length, by Peel's bill of 1846, of which an account has been given in the text, the trade in corn was ultimately left entirely free. The duty of 1s. per bushel, retained by sir R. Peel for the registration of statistics, was abolished by Mr. Lowe in 1869. See the article CORN in the *Penny Cyclopædia*.

C. NAVIGATION LAWS.

The first Navigation Act was introduced by Whitelock in the time of the Commonwealth (1658), and was intended as a blow to Dutch commerce; its main provisions were embodied in the act which till very recently formed the foundation of our commercial system in this respect (12 Chas. II. c. 18). By this act it was provided that no goods should be imported into England from Asia, Africa, or America, except in an English-built ship, navigated by an English master, and having at least three-fourths of its crew English. With regard to Europe, goods imported into England from any European state in a foreign ship were subject to a higher rate of duty than if imported in an English one. The first deviation from this act arose from the treaty of Ghent with the United States of America in 1815. The States, soon after the establishment of their independence, had retaliated on England by a navigation law similar to her own; but this mutually restrictive system was found to be so inconvenient and unprofitable, that it was abandoned at the period mentioned, and the ships of the two countries were placed reciprocally on the same footing. With this exception, all the provisions of the act were maintained till 1822, when Mr. Wallace, president of the Board of Trade, introduced five bills effecting various important relaxations. The provisions respecting

Asia, Africa, and America, were repealed, and also that clause which forbade foreign goods to be brought into England from Europe in a foreign ship, except direct from the place of production, and in ships belonging to the country of production. Certain enumerated goods were also allowed to be brought from any port in Europe in ships belonging to the port of shipment; and Dutch ships, which by the Navigation Act were forbidden to enter English ports with cargo, were placed on the same footing as those of other nations. Other relaxations were made in favour of our West India colonies.

In the following year, the Prussians having notified that unless some relaxation were made in favour of their ships heavy retaliatory duties would be imposed on English ships entering on their ports, Mr. Huskisson, now at the head of the Board of Trade, introduced what are called the Reciprocity Acts (4 Geo. IV. c. 77 and 5 Geo. IV. c. 1), by which the king was authorized to permit, by order in council, the importation and exportation of goods in foreign vessels at the same duties as those imported in British vessels were liable to, in the case of those countries that should levy no discriminating duties on goods imported in British vessels; and the vessels themselves of such countries were to pay no higher tonnage duties than were chargeable on British vessels. On the other hand, power was given to impose additional duties on the goods and shipping of those countries which should levy higher duties on British vessels than on their own. Under these acts treaties of reciprocity were concluded with most of the principal nations of the world. But in 1849, in the ministry of lord John Russell, and on the motion of Mr. Labouchere, the navigation laws were repealed, except as to the British coasting trade, the provisions coming into force on January 1, 1850.—See *Porter's Progress of the Nation*, sect. iii. ch. 9.

D. AUTHORITIES FOR THE PERIOD COMPRISED IN BOOK VI.

The principal authorities for the reigns of William III. and Anne are—Bishop Burnet's *History of His Own Times*; Evelyn's *Diary*; principal Carstairs's *State Letters and Papers*; Macpherson's *Original Papers* (1688-1714); Macpherson's *Hist. of Great Britain from the Restoration to the House of Hanover*; Dalrymple's

Memoirs of Great Britain and Ireland; Grimblot's and Verne's *Letters of William III.*; *Lexington Papers*; Harris, *Hist. of the Life and Reign of William III.*; Coxe, *Correspondence of the Duke of Shrewsbury with King William*; Bolingbroke's *Letters and Correspondence*; Somerville's *Political Transactions from the Restoration to the end of William III.*; *Mémoires du Duc de Berwick*; Ker of Kerland's *Memoirs of Secret Transactions*; Boyer's *Annals of the Reign of Queen Anne*; Lockhart's *Memoirs and Commentaries on the Affairs of Scotland*; Coxe, *Memoirs and Correspondence of the Duke of Marlborough*; *The Letters and Despatches of John Duke of Marlborough, 1702-1712*, edited by general sir G. Murray; Swift's *Four Last Years of the Reign of Queen Anne*; Somerville's *Hist. of Great Britain during the Reign of Queen Anne*; earl Stanhope's *Reign of Queen Anne*; Wyon, etc.

It would be quite impossible within the limits of this work to recite all the works that might be used for the Georgian and Victorian era, and we shall therefore content ourselves with indicating a few of the principal ones: Coxe, *Memoirs of Sir Rob. Walpole*; idem, *Memoirs of the Pelham Administration*; Dr. Wm. King's *Anecdotes of His Own Times* (relating to the pretender Charles Edward); Bubb Dodington's *Diary* (1749-1761); Burke's *Letters and Writings*; Orford (H. Walpole), *Mem. of Last Ten Years of George II.*; *Mem. of Reign of King George III.*; Malmesbury's and colonel Chester's *Journals*; duke of Buckingham's *Journals of George III.*, etc.; the *Annual Register* (commencing 1758);

Lord Mahon's *Hist. of England, from the Peace of Utrecht to the Peace of Versailles, 1783*; Wellington's *Despatches*, both series; Adolphus and Jesse's *Hist. of George III.*; Craik and M'Farlane's *Pictorial History during Reign of George III.*; H. Martineau, *Hist. of England during Thirty Years' Peace*; Charles Knight's *Popular History of England*; the recent *Lives and Memoirs of lord Shelburne*, lord Althorp, lord Melbourne, lord Palmerston, lord Russell, and other statesmen; the *Life of the Prince Consort*; Kinglake's *Crimean War*; Spencer Walpole's *History of England from the Peace of Paris*; Justin McCarthy's *History of Our Own Times*, etc.

E. STATE OF THE REPRESENTATION, 1878.

The following table shows the composition of the House of Commons under the Reform Acts of 1867-9, as compared with that under the Act of 1832 (see p. 704):—

	England.	Wales.	Ireland.*	Scotland.
Counties .	172	15	64	23
Universities†	5	0	2	2
Cities and boroughs	286	15	39	26
	463	30	105	60

* There was no redistribution of seats for Ireland. The grand total of 656 members was left unaltered by both acts; but, since 1865, six seats have been suppressed by the disfranchisement of two English and two Irish boroughs for corrupt practices (viz. Beverley, Bridgewater, Sligo, and Cashel), making the actual total 652; but a bill is promised to fill up these vacancies before the dissolution of the present parliament.

† The University of London obtained one member; those of Edinburgh and St. Andrews together, one member; those of Glasgow and Aberdeen together, one member.

TABLES.

SOVEREIGNS OF ENGLAND SINCE THE CONQUEST.

	Order	Name.	Birth.	Accession.	End of Reign.	Years.	Age.
NORMAN.	1	WILLIAM I.	End of 1027	cr. Dec. 23, 1066	Sept. 9, 1087	21	60
	2	WILLIAM II.	1057 or 1059	cr. Sept. 26, 1087	Aug. 2, 1100	13	40?
	3	HENRY I.	About 1065	cr. Aug. 5, 1100	Dec. 1, 1135	35	67
	4	STEPHEN	Probably 1095	cr. Dec. 26, 1135	Oct. 25, 1154	19	58
PLANTAGENET.	5	HENRY II.	March, 1133	cr. Dec. 19, 1154	July 6, 1189	35	56
	6	RICHARD I.	Sept. 13, 1157	cr. Sept. 3, 1189	Apr. 8, 1199	10	42
	7	JOHN	Dec. 24, 1166	cr. May 27, 1199	Oct. 19, 1216	17½	50
	8	HENRY III.	Oct. 1, 1207	cr. Oct. 29, 1216	Nov. 16, 1272	56	65
	9	EDWARD I.	Jun. 18, 1239	pr. Nov. 30, 1272	July 7, 1307	55	68
				cr. Aug. 2, 1274			
	10	EDWARD II.	Apr. 25, 1284	pr. July 8, 1307	{ deposed Jan. 30, 1327 ob. Sept. 21, "	20	43
	11	EDWARD III.	Nov. 13, 1312	pr. Jan. 24, 1327 (dated from Jan. 25.)	Jun. 21, 1377	50½	65
	12	RICHARD II.	Feb. 1366	pr. Jun. 23, 1377	{ deposed Sep. 30, 1399 ob. Mar., 1400.	23	34
LAN- CASTLE.	13	HENRY IV.	1366	Sept. 30, 1399	Mar. 20, 1413	14	47
	14	HENRY V.	Aug. 9, 1386	Mar. 21, 1413	Aug. 31, 1422	9	34
	15	HENRY VI.	Dec. 6, 1421	Sept. 1, 1422	Mar. 4, 1461 ob. May, 1471	39	50
YORK.	16	EDWARD IV.	Apr. 29, 1441	Mar. 4, 1461	Apr. 9, 1483	22	42
	17	EDWARD V.	Nov. 4, 1470	Apr. 9, 1483	Jun. 26, 1483	3 m.	13
	18	RICHARD III.	Oct. 21, 1450	Jun. 26, 1483	Aug. 23, 1485	2	35
TUDOR.	19	HENRY VII.	1456	Aug. 23, 1485	Apr. 21, 1509	24	53
	20	HENRY VIII.	Jun. 28, 1491	Apr. 23, 1509	Jan. 28, 1547	38	56
	21	EDWARD VI.	Oct. 12, 1537	Jan. 28, 1547	July 6, 1553	6½	16
	22	MARY I.	Feb. 18, 1516	July 6, 1553	Nov. 17, 1558	5	43
	23	ELIZABETH	Sept. 7, 1533	Nov. 17, 1558	Mar. 24, 1603	45	70
STUART.	24	JAMES I.	Jun. 19, 1566	Mar. 24, 1603	Mar. 27, 1625	22	59
	25	CHARLES I.	Nov. 19, 1600	Mar. 27, 1625	Jan. 30, 1649	24	48
		Commonwealth		Jan. 30, 1649	May 8, 1660	11	..
		OLIVER CROMWELL (Protector)	Apr. 25, 1660	Dec. 16, 1663	Sept. 3, 1658	5	60
		RICHARD CROMWELL (Protector)		Sept. 3, 1658	May 25, 1659 ob. 1674	1	..
	26	CHARLES II.	May 29, 1630	Jan. 30, 1649 pr. May 8, 1660 Feb. 6, 1668	Feb. 6, 1685	36 (25) 4	55 68
STUART (Second Branch).	27	JAMES II.	Oct. 15, 1633	Feb. 6, 1685	Dec. 11, 1688 ob. Sept. 16, 1701		
	28	{ WILLIAM III. . . . }	Nov. 4, 1650	Feb. 13, 1689	Mar. 8, 1702	13	52
	29	{ MARY II. }	Apr. 30, 1662	Feb. 13, 1689	Dec. 28, 1694	6	33
		{ ANNE }	Feb. 6, 1665	Mar. 8, 1702	Aug. 1, 1714	14½	50
	30	GEORGE I.	May 28, 1680	Aug. 1, 1714	Jun. 11, 1727	13	67
	31	GEORGE II.	Oct. 30, 1683	Jun. 11, 1727	Oct. 25, 1760	33	77
	32	GEORGE III.	Jun. 4, 1738	Oct. 25, 1760	Jan. 29, 1800	60½	62
	33	GEORGE IV.	Aug. 12, 1762	Jan. 29, 1800	Jun. 26, 1830	10	68
	34	WILLIAM IV.	Aug. 24, 1765	Jun. 26, 1830	Jun. 20, 1837	7	72
	35	VICTORIA I.	May 24, 1819	Jun. 20, 1837			

NOTE.—The regnal years of the earlier kings are dated from their coronation, till Edward I., whose coronation was postponed by his delay in returning from Palestine. John's regnal years are dated from Ascension Day, though a movable feast. From Edward III. it became the rule to date from the proclamation. Lastly, from the death of Henry VIII., the principle was established that, from the moment a king dies, his lawful successor begins to reign.

TABLE OF THE PRINCIPAL CONTEMPORARY EUROPEAN

The Years show the com-

ENGLAND.	SCOTLAND.	FRANCE.
William I. 1066	Malcolm III. 1057	Philip I. 1060
William II. 1037	Donald VI. 1093	
Henry I. 1100	Duncan II. 1094	
	Donald VI. restored 1095	
	Edgar 1098	
	Alexander I. 1107	Louis VI. 1108
Stephen 1135	David I. 1124	Louis VII. 1137
Henry II. 1154	Malcolm IV. 1153	
	William the Lion ... 1166	Philip II. 1180
Richard I. 1189		
John 1199		
Henry III. 1216	Alexander II. 1214	Louis VIII. 1223
		St. Louis IX. 1226
	Alexander III. 1249	
Edward I. 1272		Philip III. 1270
		Philip IV. 1285
	Margaret 1286	
	— died 1290	
	John Balliol 1292	
	Interregnum 1296	
Edward II. 1307	Robert I. (Bruce) ... 1306	Louis X. 1314
		John I. 1316
		Philip V. 1316
		Charles IV. 1322
Edward III. 1327	David II. (Bruce) ... 1329	Philip VI. 1328
		John II. 1350
		Charles V. 1364
	Robert II. (Stuart) 1371	
Richard II. 1377	Robert III. 1390	Charles VI. 1380
Henry IV. 1399		
	James I. 1406	
Henry V. 1413		
Henry VI. 1422	James II. 1437	Charles VII. 1422
Edward IV. 1461	James III. 1460	Louis XI. 1461

SOVEREIGNS FROM THE PERIOD OF THE CONQUEST.

menocement of their Reigns.

GERMANY AND EMPERORS.	SPAIN.	POPES.
Henry IV. 1056	LEON AND CASTILE.	Alexander II. ... 1061
Henry V. 1106	Sancho II. 1065	Gregory VII. ... 1073
Lothaire II. 1125	Alfonso VI. (Leon) 1072	Victor III. ... 1086
Conrad III. (of Ho- henstaufen) ... 1138	Alfonso VII. ... 1109	Urban II. ... 1088
Frederick I. (Barba- rossa) 1152	Alfonso VIII. ... 1126	Pascal II. ... 1099
Henry VI. 1190	Sancho III. ... 1157	Gelasius II. ... 1118
Philip 1198	Alfonso IX (Leon) 1158	Calixtus II. ... 1119
Otho IV. 1198	Henry I. 1214	Honorius II. ... 1121
Otho IV. (alone) ... 1208	Ferdinand III. ... 1217	Innocent II. ... 1130
Frederick II. 1212	(Unites Leon and Castile, 1230.)	Celestine II. ... 1143
Conrad IV. 1250	Alfonso X. 1252	Lucius II. ... 1144
William 1250	Sancho IV. 1284	Eugenius III. ... 1145
Interregnum ... 1254	Ferdinand IV. ... 1295	Anastasius IV. ... 1153
Richard of Cornwall 1257	Alfonso XI. 1312	Adrian IV. ... 1154
Alfonso of Castile 1257	Peter the Cruel ... 1350	Alexander III. ... 1159
Rudolf I. (of Hape- burg) 1273	Henry II. 1368	Lucius III. ... 1181
Interregnum 1291	John I. 1379	Urban III. ... 1185
Adolphus of Nassau 1292	Henry III. 1390	Gregory VIII. ... 1187
Albert I. (of Austria) 1298	John II. 1406	Clement III. ... 1187
Henry VII. 1308	Henry IV. 1455	Celestine III. ... 1191
Interregnum 1313	ARRAGON.	Innocent III. ... 1198
Louis IV. (of Bavaria) 1314	Sancho Ramirez ... 1063	Honorius III. ... 1216
Frederick of Austria 1314	Peter of Navarre ... 1094	Gregory IX. ... 1227
Louis IV. (alone) ... 1330	Alfonso I. 1104	Celestine IV. ... 1241
Charles IV. 1347	Ramiro II. 1134	Innocent IV. ... 1243
Wenceslaus 1378	Petronilla and Ray- mond 1137	Alexander IV. ... 1251
Robert, or Rupert ... 1400	Alfonso II. 1162	Urban IV. ... 1261
Sigismund 1410	Sancho VII. 1194	Clement IV. ... 1265
Albert II. 1438	Peter II. 1196	Gregory X. ... 1271
Frederick III. ... 1440	James I. 1213	Innocent V. ... 1276
	Peter III. 1276	Adrian V. ... 1276
	Alfonso III. 1285	John XXI. ... 1276
	James II. 1291	Nicholas III. ... 1277
	Alfonso IV 1327	Martin IV. ... 1281
	Peter IV. 1336	Honorius IV. ... 1285
	John I. 1387	Nicholas IV. ... 1288
	Martin I. 1395	Celestine V. ... 1294
	Ferdinand of Sicily 1412	Boniface VIII. ... 1294
	Alfonso V. 1416	Benedict XI. ... 1303
	John II. 1453	Clement V. ... 1305
	CASTILE.	John XXII. ... 1316
	Ferdinand V. 1474	Benedict XII. ... 1334
	(Marries Isabella of Cas- tile, 1479, and unites Castile and Arragon.)	Clement VI. ... 1342
	Philip I. 1501	Innocent VI. ... 1352
		Urban V. ... 1362
		Gregory XI. ... 1370
		Urban VI. ... 1378
		Boniface IX. ... 1389
		Benedict XIII. ... 1394
		Innocent VII. ... 1401
		Gregory XII. ... 1406-1415
		Alexander V. ... 1409
		John XXIII. ... 1410-1415
		Martin V. ... 1417
		Eugenius IV. ... 1431
		Nicholas V. ... 1447
		Calixtus III. ... 1455
		Pius II. 1458

TABLE OF THE PRINCIPAL CONTEMPORARY

ENGLAND.	SCOTLAND.	FRANCE.
Edward V. ... 1483		Charles VIII. ... 1483
Richard III. ... 1483		Louis XII. ... 1498
Henry VII. ... 1486	James IV. ... 1488	Francis I. ... 1515
Henry VIII. ... 1509	James V. ... 1513	Henry II. ... 1547
Edward VI. ... 1547	Mary ... 1542	Francis II. ... 1559
Mary ... 1553		Charles IX. ... 1560
Elizabeth ... 1558	James VI. ... 1567 (Unites the crowns on the death of Elizabeth, 1603.)	Henry III. ... 1574
		Henry IV. ... 1589
		Louis XIII. ... 1619
James I. ... 1603	RUSSIA.	Louis XIV. ... 1643
	<i>Emperors from Peter The Great.</i>	Louis XV. ... 1715
Charles I. ... 1625	Peter the Great ... 1689	Louis XVI. ... 1774 (Beheaded, 1793)
Commonwealth ... 1649	Catherine I. ... 1725	(Louis XVII., nominal, Died in prison 1795, aged 10.)
Charles II. ... 1649 (Restored 1660.)	Peter II. ... 1727	Republic ... 1792
	Anne ... 1730	Napoleon I. emperor 1801
James II. ... 1685	Ivan VI. ... 1740	— abdicated ... 1814 (Napoleon II. nominal)
William and Mary ... 1689	Elizabeth ... 1741	Louis XVIII. ... 1814
William III. (alone) 1694	Peter III. ... 1762	Charles X. ... 1824
Anne ... 1702	Catherine II. ... 1762	Louis Philippe ... 1830
George I. ... 1714	Paul ... 1796	Republic ... 1848
George II. ... 1727	Alexander I. ... 1801	Napoleon III. emperor ... 1852
	Nicholas ... 1825	Republic ... 1870
	Alexander II. ... 1855	M. Thiers, president 1871
		Marshal MacMahon, president ... 1873
		M. Grévy, president 1878
George III. ... 1760	PRUSSIA.	
	<i>(From the Establishment of the Kingdom.</i>	
George IV. ... 1820	Frederick I. ... 1701	
William IV. ... 1830	Frederick William I. 1713	
	Frederick II. (the Great) ... 1740	
	Frederick William II. 1786	
	Frederick William III. 1797	
	Frederick William IV. 1840 (Proclaimed German emperor, 1871)	
Victoria I. ... 1837		

LIST OF THE ARCHBISHOPS OF CANTERBURY

1533. Thomas Cranmer. Burnt at Oxford Mar. 21, 1556.	1633. William Laud. Translated from London. Beheaded Jan. 10, 1645. The see vacant 14 years.
1556. Reginald Pole, cardinal. Ob. Nov. 17, 1558.	1660. William Juxon. Translated from London. Ob. June 4, 1663.
1559. Matthew Parker. Ob. May 17, 1575.	1663. Gilbert Sheldon. Translated from London. Ob. Nov. 9, 1677.
1576. Edmund Grindal. Translated from York. Ob. July 6, 1583.	1678. William Sancroft. Deprived Feb. 1, 1691. Ob. Nov. 24, 1693.
1583. John Whitgift. Translated from Worcester. Ob. Feb. 29, 1604.	1691. John Tillotson. Ob. Nov. 22, 1694.
1604. Richard Bancroft. Translated from London. Ob. Nov. 2, 1610.	1695. Thomas Tenison. Translated from Lincoln. Ob. Dec. 14, 1715.
1611. George Abbot. Translated from London. Ob. Aug. 4, 1633.	

EUROPEAN SOVEREIGNS, &c.—continued.

GERMANY, AND EMPERORS.	SPAIN.	POPEs.
	<i>The United Kingdom of Spain.</i>	Paul II. 1464
Maximilian I. ... 1493	Ferdinand V. 1512	Sixtus IV. 1471
	Charles I. 1516	Innocent VIII. ... 1484
Charles V. 1519	(The emperor Charles V.)	Alexander VI. ... 1492
		Pius III. 1503
		Julius II. 1503
		Leo X. 1513
		Adrian VI. 1522
		Clement VII. ... 1523
		Paul III. 1534
		Julius III. 1550
Ferdinand I. 1558	Philip II. 1556	Marcellus II. ... 1555
Maximilian II. ... 1564		Paul IV. 1555
Rudolf II. 1576	Philip III. 1598	Pius IV. 1559
		Pius V. 1566
		Gregory XIII. ... 1572
		Sixtus V. 1585
		Urban VII. 1590
		Gregory XIV. ... 1590
		Innocent IX. 1591
		Clement VIII. ... 1592
		Leo XI. 1605
		Paul V. 1605
Matthias 1612	Philip IV. 1621	Gregory XV. 1621
Ferdinand II. 1619		Urban VIII. 1623
Ferdinand III. ... 1637	Charles II. 1665	Innocent X. 1644
Leopold I. 1658	Philip V. 1700	Alexander VII. ... 1655
Joseph I. 1706		Clement IX. 1667
Charles VI. 1711		Clement X. 1670
Charles VII. 1742		Innocent XI. 1676
Francis I. 1745	Ferdinand VI. ... 1746	Alexander VIII. ... 1689
Joseph II. 1765	Charles III. 1759	Innocent XII. 1691
Leopold II. 1790	Charles IV. 1788	Clement XI. 1700
Francis II. 1792		Innocent XIII. ... 1721
(<i>End of the Holy Roman Empire, 1806.</i>)		Benedict XIII. ... 1724
William I., German emperor 1871	Ferdinand VII. pr... 1808 (Joseph Bonaparte.)	Clement XII. 1730
	Ferdinand restored 1814	Benedict XIV. 1740
	Isabella II. 1833	Clement XIII. ... 1758
	Republic 1868	Clement XIV. ... 1769
	Amadeus, king ... 1870	Pius VI. 1775
	(Abdicated 1873)	Pius VII. 1800
	Federal Republic ... 1873	Leo XII. 1823
	Alfonso XII., king 1874	Pius VIII. 1829
		Gregory XVI. 1831
		Pius IX. 1846
		Leo XIII. 1878

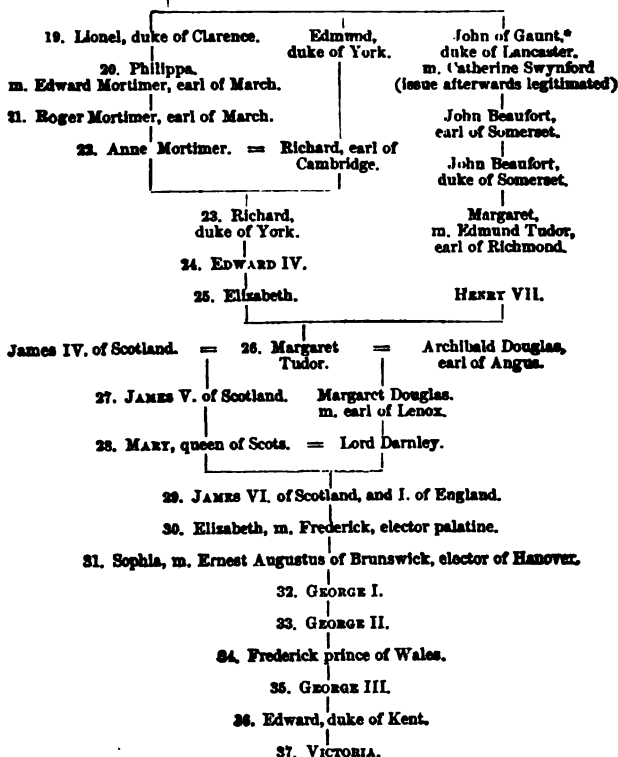
FROM THE TIME OF THE REFORMATION.

1716. William Wake. Translated from Lincoln. Ob. Jan. 24, 1737.	1783. John Moore. Translated from Bangor. Ob. Jan. 18, 1805.
1737. John Potter. Translated from Oxford. Ob. Oct. 10, 1747.	1805. Charles Manners Sutton. Translated from Norwich. Ob. July 21, 1828.
1747. Thomas Herring. Translated from York. Ob. Mar. 13, 1757.	1828. William Howley. Translated from London. Ob. Feb. 11, 1848.
1757. Matthew Hutton. Translated from Oxford. Ob. Mar. 19, 1758.	1848. John Bird Sumner. Translated from Chester. Ob. Sept. 6, 1862.
1758. Thomas Secker. Translated from Oxford. Ob. Aug. 3, 1768.	1862. Charles Thomas Longley. Translated from York. Ob. Oct. 27, 1868.
1768. Frederick Cornwallis. Translated from Lichfield and Coventry. Ob. Mar. 19, 1783.	1868. Archibald Campbell Tait. Translated from London.

GENEALOGICAL TABLES.

AA DESCENT OF VICTORIA I. FROM EGBERT.

1. EGBERT. 2. ETHELWULF. 3. ALFRED THE GREAT. 4. EDWARD THE ELDER.
5. EDMUND. 6. EDGAR. 7. ETHELRED. 8. EDMUND IRONSIDE. 9. Edward (not a
king. 10. Margaret, wife of Malcolm, king of Scotland. 11. Matilda, wife of
HENRY I. 12. MATILDA or MAUD, empress in Germany, and wife of Geoffrey
of Anjou. 13. HENRY II. 14. JOHN. 15. HENRY III. 16. EDWARD I. 17. ED-
WARD II. 18. EDWARD III.

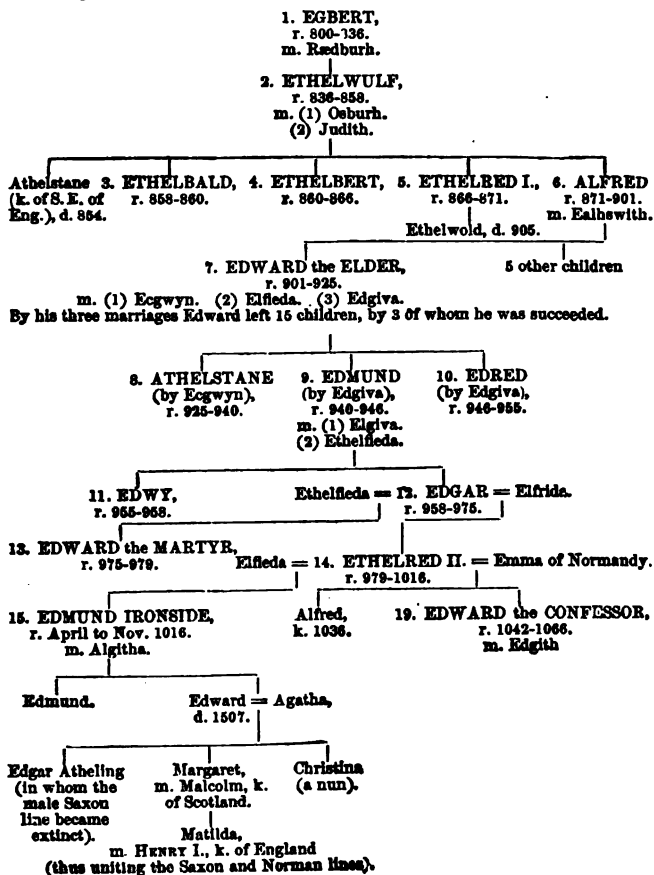


* John of Gaunt was older than Edmund, but the latter is placed before him for typographical convenience.

A.—GENEALOGICAL TABLE OF THE HOUSE OF CERDIC.

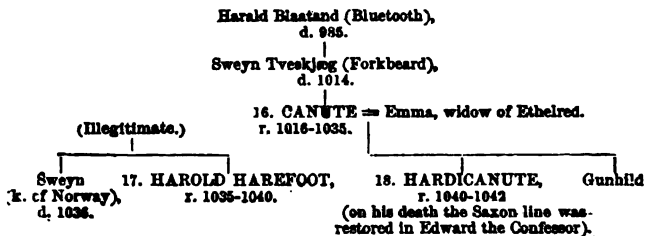
*** The numbers mark the succession of the kings before the Conquest.*

Cerdic, the ancestor of the kings of England of the Saxon line, founded the kingdom of Wessex A.D. 519. Cerdic died in 534; and from him Egbert, the first king of England, is descended as follows:—1. Cynric, king of Wessex (r. 534-560). 2. Ceawlin, king of Wessex (r. 560-591). 3. Cuthwine. 4. Cutha. 5. Ceolwald. 6. Cenred. 7. Ingild. 8. Eoppa. 9. Eafa. 10. Ealhmund, king of Kent, whose son Egbert was elected to succeed Brihtric in the kingdom of Wessex A.D. 800. The line then proceeds as follows:—



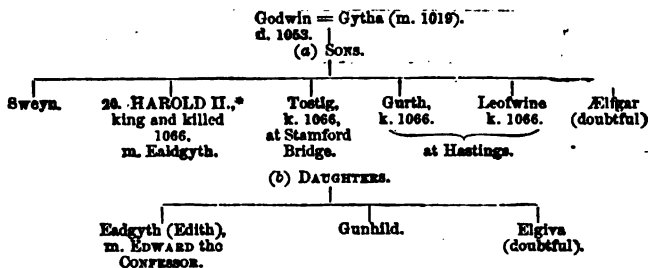
B.—GENEALOGY OF THE ANGLO-DANISH KINGS OF ENGLAND.

* * *The numbers mark the succession of the kings before the Conquest.*

**C.—FAMILY OF EARL GODWIN.**

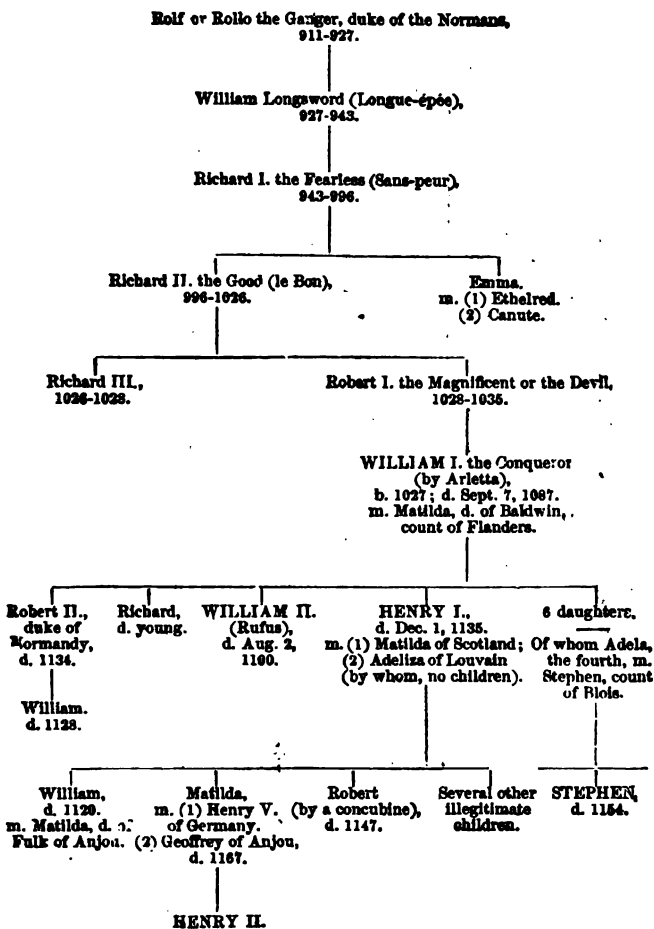
(See Freeman, *Norman Conquest*, vol. ii., App. F., p. 552.)

* * *The number (20) belongs to the succession of the kings before the Conquest.*



* For the children of Harold, see Freeman, *Norman Conquest*, vol. iii., App. B., p. 754.

D.—THE NORMAN LINE.



E--GENEALOGICAL TABLE OF THE HOUSE OF PLANTAGENET,

PART I.—FROM HENRY II. TO EDWARD I.

MATILDA.
Daughter of Higway I. and Matilda of Scotland, who was the daughter of Margaret, who was the daughter of Edward
= **GEORGE PLANTAGENET,**
Count of Anjou,
d. 1141.

Widow of the emperor HENRY V.

HENRY II.
b. 1133; acc. 1154; d. 1189.
= Eleanor, countess of Poitou and Aquitaine,
the divorced wife of Louis VII., king of France.

WILLIAM, *
b. 1154;
d. 1156.

HENRY, *
b. 1153;
d. 1183.
m. Margaret
of France.

RICHARD L,
b. 1187;
sec. 1199;
d. 1199.
m. Berengaria
of Navarre
(no issue).

ARTHUR,
d. of Brittany;
supposed to have been
put to death by
king John.

EDWARD L.
b. 1899; acc. 1978; d. 1977.
m. (1) Eleanor of Castile,
d. 1590.
(2) Margaret of France,
m. 1568; d. 1517.

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HENRY III.,
b. 1207; acc. 1216;
d. 1272.
m. Eleanor of
Provence.

III.
i.
Beauregard,
m. John
de Dreux
duke of
Britany.

10

Richard,
of Cornwall,
the Romans,
d. 1573.

Edmund,
earl of
Cornwall.

Margaret, the
(giving)

100

Twice crowned in his father's lifetime, and sometimes styled HENRY III.

H.—GENEALOGICAL TABLE OF THE HOUSE OF YORK.

DESCENDANTS OF LIONEL OF ANTWERP AND EDMUND LANGLEY.

(1) Elizabeth de Burgh, heiress of Ulster. = LIONEL OF ANTWERP, duke of Clarence, b. 1338; d. 1398. m. (2) Isabella, d. of Calais II., duke of Milan. 7th son of EDWARD III. b. 1311; d. 1402. m. Isabella of Castile.

EDMUND MORTIMER, earl of March, d. 1298. = PHILIPPA, heiress of Clarence. Edward, earl of Rutland, d. of Albemarle, d. of York, favourite of Richard II., k. at Agincourt, 1415. Richard, earl of Cambridge, b. by Henry V., 1418. m. Anne Mortimer, whence came the House of York.

Walter, d. of Thomas, earl of Kent, b. 1289; d. in Ireland, 1404 (no issue). = Roger Mortimer, Sir John Mortimer, Elizabeth Mortimer, m. daughter of Owen Gwendower. ex. 1402. m. Henry Percy (Hotspur). Philippa, m. (1) earl of Pembroke, (2) earl of Arundel, (3) Poyning, lord St. John.

Edmund Mortimer, b. 1289; d. in Ireland, 1404 (no issue). = ANNE, heiress of MORTIMER. Richard, earl of Cambridge, son of Edmund Langley. RICHARD, duke of York, claimant of the crown, and head of the party of the "White Rose," b. at Wakefield, 1400. m. Cecily Nevill, daughter of Ralph, earl of Westmorland.

EDWARD IV., b. 1441; acc. 1461; d. 1483. m. Elizabeth Woodville, widow of sir John Grey. RICHARD III., b. 1450; acc. 1483; k. 1485. m. Anne Nevill, d. of Richard, earl of Warwick. Elizabeth, m. John duke of Suffolk. Margaret = Charles the Bold, duke of Burgundy.

EDWARD V., b. 1470; acc. 1483; murdered 1483. Richard, duke of York, b. 1473; m. Elizabeth of York. Catherine, m. Sir William Courtenay. Edward, earl of Warwick, ex. 1480. m. Margaret, countess of Salisbury, ex. 1480. m. Richard Pole. Edmund Pole, earl of Suffolk, ex. 1513. Richard Pole, earl of Lincoln, k. at Stoke. Richard Pole, m. Anne Nevill, d. of Richard, earl of Warwick. Richard Pole, m. Anne Nevill, d. of Richard, earl of Warwick. Richard Pole, m. Anne Nevill, d. of Richard, earl of Warwick. Richard Pole, m. Anne Nevill, d. of Richard, earl of Warwick.

HENRY VIII., Edward Courtenay, etc. m. Mary of Exeter (Daughter of Duke of Devon). Henry Pole, lord Montacute, ex. 1541. Arthur Pole, cardinal.

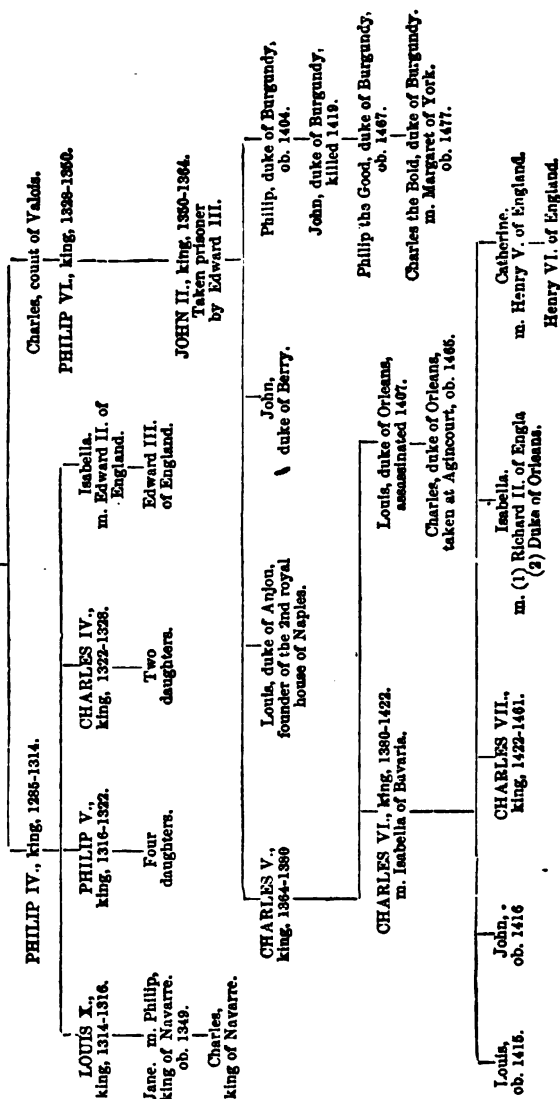
Great-grandson of Roger Mortimer, the first earl of March, i.e. of the Welsh Marches, executed in 1390.

I.—GENEALOGICAL TABLE OF THE KINGS OF FRANCE

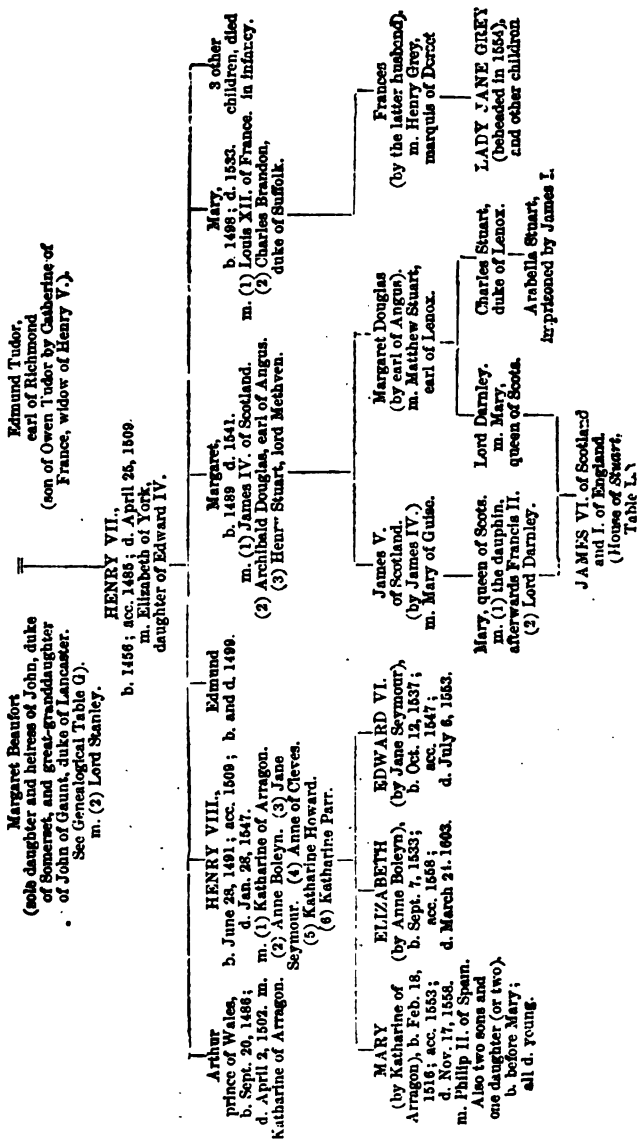
FROM PHILIP III. TO CHARLES VII.

(In Illustration of the Wars between England and France.)

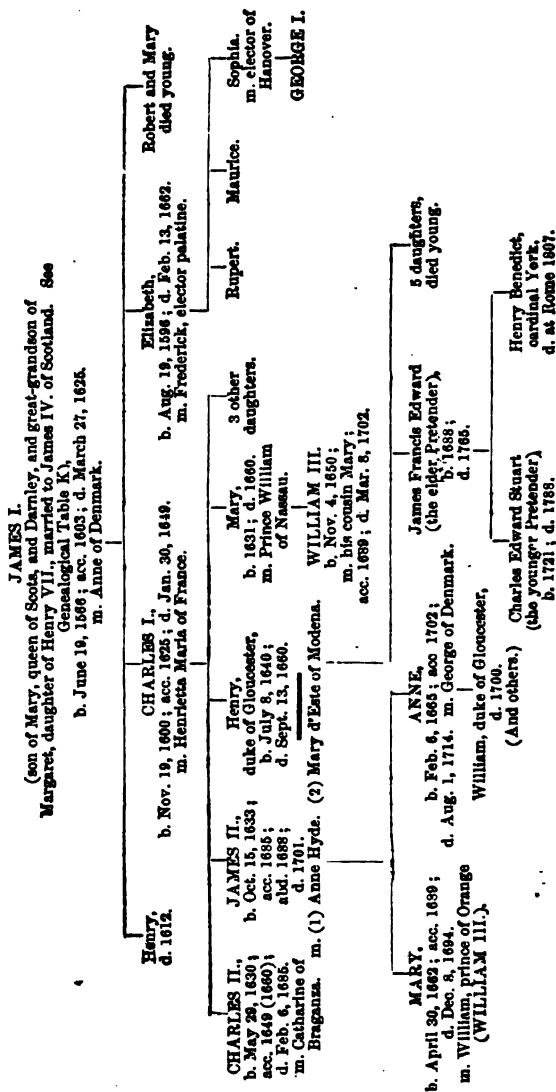
PHILIP III., king, 1270-1285.



K.—GENEALOGICAL TABLE OF THE HOUSE OF TUDOR.



I.—GENEALOGICAL TABLE OF THE HOUSE OF STUART.



GEORGE I. (son of the duke of Brunswick-Luneburg, afterwards elector of Hanover, and Sophia, youngest child of the elector palatine and Elizabeth, eldest daughter of James I. See Table I, b. May 23, 1680; acc. 1714; d. June 11, 1727. m. Sophia Dorothy of Zell.

GEORGE H.,
b. Oct. 30, 1883; arc. 1727; d. Oct. 25, 1760,
rr. Wilhelmina Carolina of Brandenburg-Ansbach,

Sophia Dorothy
m. 1706, Frederick William, afterwards king of Prussia.

Frederick, prince of Wales,
b. Jan. 30, 1707; d. March 30, 1751.
m. Augusta of Saxe-Gotha.

William Augustus, duke of Cumberland, b. 1721; d. 1765 (unm.)	Anne, m. prince of Orange, d. 1750.
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Elizabeth	1788	1800	1810	1820	1830	1840	1850	1860	1870	1880	1890	1900	1910	1920	1930	1940	1950	1960	1970	1980	1990	2000	2010	2020	2030	2040	2050	2060	2070	2080	2090	2100	2110	2120	2130	2140	2150	2160	2170	2180	2190	2200	2210	2220	2230	2240	2250	2260	2270	2280	2290	2300	2310	2320	2330	2340	2350	2360	2370	2380	2390	2400	2410	2420	2430	2440	2450	2460	2470	2480	2490	2500	2510	2520	2530	2540	2550	2560	2570	2580	2590	2600	2610	2620	2630	2640	2650	2660	2670	2680	2690	2700	2710	2720	2730	2740	2750	2760	2770	2780	2790	2800	2810	2820	2830	2840	2850	2860	2870	2880	2890	2900	2910	2920	2930	2940	2950	2960	2970	2980	2990	3000	3010	3020	3030	3040	3050	3060	3070	3080	3090	3100	3110	3120	3130	3140	3150	3160	3170	3180	3190	3200	3210	3220	3230	3240	3250	3260	3270	3280	3290	3300	3310	3320	3330	3340	3350	3360	3370	3380	3390	3400	3410	3420	3430	3440	3450	3460	3470	3480	3490	3500	3510	3520	3530	3540	3550	3560	3570	3580	3590	3600	3610	3620	3630	3640	3650	3660	3670	3680	3690	3700	3710	3720	3730	3740	3750	3760	3770	3780	3790	3800	3810	3820	3830	3840	3850	3860	3870	3880	3890	3900	3910	3920	3930	3940	3950	3960	3970	3980	3990	4000	4010	4020	4030	4040	4050	4060	4070	4080	4090	4100	4110	4120	4130	4140	4150	4160	4170	4180	4190	4200	4210	4220	4230	4240	4250	4260	4270	4280	4290	4300	4310	4320	4330	4340	4350	4360	4370	4380	4390	4400	4410	4420	4430	4440	4450	4460	4470	4480	4490	4500	4510	4520	4530	4540	4550	4560	4570	4580	4590	4600	4610	4620	4630	4640	4650	4660	4670	4680	4690	4700	4710	4720	4730	4740	4750	4760	4770	4780	4790	4800	4810	4820	4830	4840	4850	4860	4870	4880	4890	4900	4910	4920	4930	4940	4950	4960	4970	4980	4990	5000	5010	5020	5030	5040	5050	5060	5070	5080	5090	5100	5110	5120	5130	5140	5150	5160	5170	5180	5190	5200	5210	5220	5230	5240	5250	5260	5270	5280	5290	5300	5310	5320	5330	5340	5350	5360	5370	5380	5390	5400	5410	5420	5430	5440	5450	5460	5470	5480	5490	5500	5510	5520	5530	5540	5550	5560	5570	5580	5590	5600	5610	5620	5630	5640	5650	5660	5670	5680	5690	5700	5710	5720	5730	5740	5750	5760	5770	5780	5790	5800	5810	5820	5830	5840	5850	5860
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GEORGE III.,
b. June 4, 1738; acc. 1
d. Jan. 29, 1820. m. Sophia Ch
Mecklenburg-Stroell

Edward Augustus,
duke of York,
of d. 1767
(unn.).

<p> Derick, berland, 1790. Attrell </p>	<p> Augusta. m. Char's William Ferdinand, duke of Brunswick-Wolfenbuttel. </p>	<p> Caroline Matilda, m. Christian VII. king of Denmark. Frederick, king of Denmark. </p>
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Frederick William,
duke of Gloucester,
b. 1778: d. 1894.
m. princess Mary, daughter of
George III. (no issue).

Jack William,
of Gloucester,
18: d. 1894.
Mary, daughter of
111 (no issue)

William Frederick,
of Brunswick, fell at Quatre
Bras, June 16, 1815.

Charles Frederick Williams

Charles Maximilian, duke of Brunswick after his brother's execution, b. 1803.

GEORGE IV.
 Aug. 12, 1763;
 acc. 1890;
 June 26, 1830.
 n. Caroline of
 Brunswick.

WILLIAM IV.,
duke of Clarence,
b. Aug. 24, 1765;
acc. 1830;
m. Adelaide of
Saxe-Meiningen
(no surv. issue).
d. June 20, 1837.
m. Victoria
of Saxe-
Coburg-
Gotha,
b. 1793;
d. 1861.
m. Frederica
of Mecklenburg-
Schwerin,
b. 1795;
d. 1857.
m. Ernest,
duke of
Cumberland,
b. 1771;
d. 1857.
m. Ernest,
duke of
Cumberland,
b. 1771;
d. 1857.

[illegible]

VICTORIA,
b. May 24, 1819; noc. 1867.
m. Feb. 10, 1840, ALBERT,
second son of Ernest I.,
duke of Saxe-Coburg and Gotha, b. 1819,
d. Dec. 14, 1881.

George,
duke of
Cambridge,
b. 1812.

Augusta,
b. 1822.
m. duke of
Sachsenburg-Stralitz,
June 28, 1843
(has issue).

Albert Edward,
Prince of Wales,
b. Nov. 9, 1841.
Princess Alexandra
of Denmark,
March 10, 1863.

Alfred,
 duke of
 Edinburgh,
 b. Aug. 6, 1844.
 m. grand-duchess
 Marie of Russia,
 Jan. 29, 1874.

Leopold,
 Apr. 7,
 1853.

Alke,	Helena,	Beatrice,
b. 23, 1845; d. 14, 1878.	b. May 23, 1848; m. Christian, p. of Louis, 1871.	b. Apr. 14, 1857
Louis,	Angustenberg,	Louisa,
of Hesse, L. 1857.	July 6, 1857.	b. Mar. 18, 1842; m. marquis of Lornia, 1871.

SUPPLEMENTARY NOTES.

Note I., page 234.

America first appears in the history of England at the close of the fifteenth century. When Columbus, disappointed, was about to leave Portugal for Spain, he sent his brother Bartholomew to ask assistance of the British monarch, Henry VII. The application was not made until several years had elapsed; and when Henry sent Bartholomew to invite his brother to England, Christopher had returned from his brilliant first voyage of discovery. King Henry, early in 1498, gave Sebastian Cabot, one of his subjects, a commission to go on a voyage of discovery, and furnished two small vessels for the purpose. Cabot first saw the North American continent at Labrador in June, 1498. Columbus discovered the South American continent a few weeks later. To England belongs the honour of furnishing the first discoverer of the North American continent.

Note II., page 316.

Some Huguenots, returning to France from the coast of South Carolina in a small brigantine, were rescued from their capsized vessel floating near the English shores. They were nearly starved. Taken before queen Elizabeth, they gave such an account of the beautiful country they had left that an intense desire was created among the English to colonize that region. In 1584, the queen gave Walter Raleigh a commission to send an expedition to America. Two ships, fitted out by him, sailed for the pleasant region described by the wrecked Huguenots. They touched land a little farther north, on the coast of North Carolina. The commanders of the two vessels, on returning to England, gave glowing accounts of the beauty of the region they had visited. Raleigh afterwards attempted to colonize the country, which was

called VIRGINIA. He never saw North America himself. This was the first attempt at English colonization in America.

Note III., page 354.

It was on the banks of the river Powhatan, in Virginia, where the English adventurers planted a settlement in the spring of 1607, and not "in the bay of Chesapeake," as mentioned in the text. They named the river James, in honour of the king of England, and their settlement they named James Town. This was the first permanent English settlement made in America. It was more than 50 miles from the entrance to Chesapeake Bay. No vestige of that first capital of Virginia now remains, excepting the ruins of the tower of the first substantial church built there. In 1613, a bond of friendship between the Indian emperor Powhatan and the English settlement at James Town was made by the marriage of the dusky ruler's daughter Pocahontas to John Rolfe, one of the settlers. They became the ancestors of some families distinguished in Virginia society. It was at James Town, twelve years after the settlement was planted, that the first representative government in America was established.

Note IV., page 356.

An important event in English history occurred in America in 1620. A congregation of nonconformists, who had fled to Holland from persecution in England, had been formed at Leyden under the pastoral care of Rev. John Robinson. They were loyal Englishmen, and desired to live under English rule if they could have freedom in their method of divine worship. They made arrangements with the Plymouth Company, to whom king James had granted a large domain in America, to make a settlement there. In the fall of 1620, a company of 101 persons sailed from England for America under the charge of elder William Brewster, a coadjutor of Robinson in Holland. They came in the *Mayflower*, and late in December landed near Cape Cod, and there began a settlement, to which they gave the name of New Plymouth. Before landing, a compact for the establishment of a civil government was drawn up, and on the lid of the chest of elder Brewster, in the cabin of the *Mayflower*, it was signed by the men of the little company of "Pilgrims," as they called themselves. They chose John Carver to be their governor, and thus they laid the foundations of a state in the region which captain Smith, the real founder of Virginia, had explored and named New England.

Note V., page 371.

Another important event in English history occurred in America 12 or 15 years after the "Pilgrim" immigration. King James persecuted the Roman Catholics as well as the non-conformists in England. George Calvert, a Roman Catholic, a crown officer, and a court favourite, desirous to have an asylum for his coreligionists, sought a grant of a domain in America from Charles I., the son and heir of James. Calvert had been created lord Baltimore by James. He died before a charter was obtained; but Charles gave one to his son and successor, Cecil Calvert. The domain was in the region of Chesapeake Bay, and was named Maryland, in honour of Charles's queen, Henrietta Mary. Late in 1633, lord Baltimore sent his brother, Leonard Calvert, with about 800 persons, to make a settlement in Maryland. They arrived in the spring of 1634; and, at a place which they named St. Mary, they began a settlement, and founded the colony of Maryland. Although a larger proportion of immigrants were Protestants, it was essentially a Roman Catholic colony, the first that ever came to America from England. The ruling class, from governor down, were Roman Catholics. The colony was composed, lord Baltimore wrote to Wentworth, of "very near 20 gentlemen of very good fashion, and 300 labouring men," who had taken the oath of supremacy before leaving England, and were, of course, Protestants.

Note VI., page 451.

Governor Berkeley of Virginia was a staunch loyalist, and ruled the colony under a commission sent to him from prince Charles, the decapitated king's heir, who was an exile from England in Breda. The Republican parliament of England was offended by this persistent attachment of Virginia to royalty, and, early in the spring of 1652, sent sir George Ayscue with a powerful fleet to reduce the Virginians to submission. Meanwhile Berkeley and the Cavalier, or Royalist, party in Virginia, had resolved not to submit, and had sent a messenger to Breda to invite prince Charles to come over and be their king. He was preparing to come, when affairs took a turn in England which foreshadowed a speedy restoration of monarchy there. When the prince ascended the throne as Charles II., he did not forget the loyalty of the Virginians. He caused the arms of that province to be quartered with those of England, Scotland, and Ireland, as an independent member of the empire. From this

circumstance, Virginia acquired the title of "The Old Dominion." Coins with these quarterings were struck as late as 1778.

Note VII., page 459.

England claimed the territory in America occupied by the Dutch, and named by them New Netherland, as a part of her domain, the right to which the Hollanders disputed, because the river upon which a larger portion of the territory lay was discovered by Henry Hudson when in the service of the Dutch. The latter had built a flourishing commercial station at the mouth of the stream, which was named Hudson's River, in honour of its discoverer. In 1664, king Charles gave the domain of New Netherland to his brother James, duke of York, and the same year a land and naval force captured New Amsterdam, the name of the commercial village at the mouth of the river. The commander of the expedition took possession of the town and the whole territory, and the name of each was changed to New York. After a brief season of repossession by the Dutch, New Netherland passed into the permanent control of the English, and has ever since been called New York, in honour of the duke.

Note VIII., page 487

Late in the seventeenth century, William Penn, a son of admiral Penn, a favourite of king Charles II., procured from that monarch a charter for a province in America. This son had become a member of the despised and persecuted sect called Quakers, but the friendship which Charles felt for the father was extended to William, and he gave him a charter for a province, lying mostly on the Delaware River. The consideration was the relinquishment of claims to a debt of \$80,000, due from the crown to Penn's father. The charter was given in 1681. Penn proposed to call the domain "New Wales." The king's Welsh secretary objected. Then he suggested "Sylvania"—wooded country. Against the wishes of Penn, the king caused his name to be prefixed to the last title suggested by the proprietary, and it was named in the charter PENNSYLVANIA. Penn came to America in 1782, and laid out the city of Philadelphia. The colony prospered from the beginning, for it was founded upon justice.

Note IX., page 516.

The revolution in England (1688-89) had a powerful and salutary effect upon the English-American colonies. While in England the religious aspect of the movement in the change of dynas-

ties was conspicuous, in the American provinces the change was marked by a rapid development of democratic ideas and principles. Connecticut resumed its ancient charter, of which it had been deprived, and Andros, who was arbitrary governor of all New England, was driven from Boston, when local self-government was established in Massachusetts. In New York the democratic element, in the absence of a royal governor, became politically dominant for a while. When a governor appointed by the king came, Jacob Leisler, who had been chosen ruler by the people, was hanged, and his estates were confiscated; but democracy had taken too firm root to be eradicated. From that moment it grew, and bore abundant fruit. The spirit of liberty, fostered by the results of the revolution in England in 1688, ruled the colonies until 1776, when they declared their independence of the British crown. Their triumph was made complete by the terms of peace in 1783, which decreed the dismemberment of the British empire.

Note X., page 528.

In the revolution in England in 1688, king James II. was driven from the throne, and took refuge with his kinsman and coreligionist, Louis XIV. of France. The latter espoused his cause, and war ensued between the two countries. William of Holland, husband of James's daughter Mary, then reigned in England jointly with his wife. In this war the English and French colonists in America became involved, and the operations were important events in English history. It is known in American history as "King William's War." The French were usually joined by their Indian allies in expeditions against the English frontiers. In 1690, French and Indians penetrated New York almost to Albany, destroying Schenectady by fire, and massacring many of its inhabitants. They desolated the New England frontiers. The people of that region and of New York joined in a land and naval expedition against Canada, but failed. The English colonies suffered much during that war, which was ended by the treaty of Ryswick, in 1697.

Note XI., page 541.

King William and queen Mary being both dead, the princess Anné, Mary's sister, by the Act of Settlement became queen in 1702. The dethroned James died the previous year. The king of France having acknowledged James's son as rightful king of England, war was renewed between the two countries, and

their respective colonies in America were involved in it. That conflict was known in America as "Queen Anne's War." In this war New England suffered dreadfully from the incursions of French and Indians along its frontiers. An expedition sailed from Boston in 1710, and, assisted by a fleet from England, captured a portion of Nova Scotia. In the following year 7000 land troops and a powerful English fleet started for Quebec; but disaster in a storm near the mouth of the St. Lawrence caused the loss of eight ships and 1000 men, and the expedition was abandoned. Peace was secured by a treaty at Utrecht in 1713. For 30 years afterwards the New England colonies enjoyed quiet.

Note XII., page 588.

In the war between England and France in 1744, the American colonies of the two countries again became involved. This conflict is known in American history as "King George's War," George II. then being on the throne of England. The French had a strong fort at Louisburg, on the island of Cape Breton, eastward of Nova Scotia. In the spring of 1745, a provincial army sailed from Boston, and were joined by an English fleet, under admiral Warren, from the West Indies. They besieged the fortress and town of Louisburg, both of which surrendered to the English a month after the first attack. The following year a powerful French fleet, commanded by the duke d'Anville, was sent to recapture Louisburg. The fleet bore a large land force. Storms wrecked many of the vessels, and disease swept away many of the soldiers and sailors. The expedition was a failure. Peace ensued in 1748, by a treaty at Aix-la-Chapelle. By that treaty Louisburg was restored to the French.

Note XIII., page 597.

After the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle, circumstances made the English colonies in America anxious to form a general political union. It had been attempted by the New England colonies. The principal causes which produced this desire now were the encroachments of the British government upon the liberties of the colonies in the form of navigation acts and other restrictive measures, and the increasing rapacity of the royal governors. In the wars they had lately passed through, the colonists had discovered their strength. In 1754, a colonial convention of delegates was held at Albany, at which Dr. Franklin submitted a plan for union, similar in its general features to our national

Constitution. It was adopted by the convention and submitted to the colonial assemblies and the British cabinet. It was rejected. The former thought there was too much *prerogative* in it; and the latter discovered too much *democracy* in it.

Note XIV., page 598.

Hostilities between the English and French colonists in America began about boundaries in 1754. The French traded with the Indians in the country west of the Alleghany Mountains, from Lake Erie to the Mississippi and New Orleans. They built forts in these regions, and the English became jealous of them, because, through the Jesuit priests and the more intimate social relations with the Indians, the French had almost unbounded influence over the barbarians. The English and French claimed the right to the country around the head-waters of the Ohio River, and far down its valley. From disputes they proceeded to blows. The two home governments soon perceived that the struggle must be a strife for power and dominion in America; and in 1756, after actual war had been going on between the rival colonists for nearly a year, England declared war against France. It was a severe struggle for full seven years, and ended by a treaty in 1763. By this war France was stripped of nearly all its domain in America. Chiefly through the prowess of the colonial troops, Canada was conquered, and with it fell French power from the mouth of the St. Lawrence, along the Great Lakes, and in the valleys of the Ohio and Mississippi rivers; also in Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, Cape Breton, and St. John. This conflict is called in American history the "French and Indian War;" in Europe, the "Seven Years' War."

Note XV., page 612.

The statement that Dr. Franklin "expected little else than acquiescence from his countrymen" is an error, originating, doubtless, in a statement made in a pamphlet written by dean Tucker at that time. Franklin was then in England, acting as a colonial agent. He opposed the Stamp Act from its first inception. When it was made a law, he wrote to Charles Thomson, from London, July 11, 1765, "Depend upon it, my good neighbour, I took every step in my power to prevent the passage of the Stamp Act. . . . The sun of liberty is set; the Americans must light the lamps of industry and economy." When asked by a committee of parliament whether the Americans would pay the stamp-duty, he said, emphatically, "No, never, unless compelled by force of arms."

Note XVI., page 614.

William Pitt (earl of Chatham) was the chief author of the bill for the repeal of the Stamp Act. It was accompanied in its passage by another bill, introduced by Mr. Pitt, which was called the Declaratory Act, for it declared that parliament had the right "to bind the colonies in all cases whatsoever"—the vital point at issue between Great Britain and her American provinces. The Americans, jubilant because of the repeal, overlooked, for the moment, the significance of the Declaratory Act. In their effusion of gratitude, an equestrian statue of the king and a statue of Pitt were voted by New-Yorkers. A statue of Pitt was also erected at Charleston. But there were sagacious men, like Christopher Gadsden of South Carolina, who shook their heads in doubt about the blessing. Gadsden, at a meeting of some of his political friends, warned them not to be deceived by this show of justice. "The fangs of the dragon of oppression," said he, "by Pitt's Declaratory Act, have been left untouched." The fact was soon made manifest by new obnoxious acts of parliament.

Note XVII., page 616.

The statement in the middle paragraph on this page, that "it became customary to strip those who refused to enter into these [non-importation] agreements, and to cover them with tar and feathers," is a repetition of false statements made by the crown officers in the colonies at that time. There are very few well-attested cases of that mode of treatment being practised during the struggles here alluded to, and these were inflicted upon persons guilty of the most flagrant offences. The writer has never met with any account of this punishment being inflicted upon persons because of mere difference of opinion, as in the case of non-importation agreements. In these cases there was social ostracism, nothing more.

Note XVIII., page 618.

In the account given on this page of the transmission of Hutchinson's letters to Boston, the impression is left on the mind of the reader that Dr. Franklin was guilty of a violation of his solemn promise. In the *publication* of the letters, Franklin had no part. When he sent the letters to Mr. Cushing, chairman of the Committee of Correspondence of the Massachusetts Assembly, he wrote to that gentleman: "I am not at liberty to make the letters public; I can only allow them to be seen by yourself, by

the other gentlemen of the Committee of Correspondence, by Messrs. Bowdoin and Pitts of the council, and Drs. Chauncey, Cooper, and Winthrop, with a few such other gentlemen as you may think fit to show them to. After being some months in your possession, you are requested to return them to me." When, afterwards, the committee urged the necessity of being allowed to retain copies, Dr. Franklin replied, "I have permission to let the originals remain with you as long as you may think it of any use. I am allowed to say that they may be shown and read to whom and as many as you think proper." But copying of them was positively forbidden.

Not long afterwards the letters were read to the Massachusetts Assembly in secret session. This reading was soon followed by printed copies of the letters in pamphlet form, purporting to be "from copies recently received from England." By whom they were copied is not known. Dr. Franklin had no hand in it. And when the publication appeared in England, and innocent persons were suffering for being accused of sending the letters to America, Franklin at once published a card, in which he said, "I alone am the person who obtained and transmitted to Boston the letters in question." He was promptly dismissed from the office of colonial postmaster-general.

Note XIX., page 618.

It was in this congress that the colonies, through their representatives, first announced their determination to stand by each other in the coming struggle in the following resolution, adopted on the 8th of October, 1774:

"Resolved, That this Congress approve the opposition of the inhabitants of the Massachusetts Bay to the execution of the late acts of parliament; and if the same shall be attempted to be carried into execution by force, in such case all America ought to support them in their opposition."

That resolution sounded the key-note of the war that followed. It was the first planting of the seed of our Union.

Note XX., page 619.

The expression "militiamen, part of their main army," gives an erroneous impression of the military situation. The only "main army" then existing was the great mass of the masculine citizens capable of bearing arms, who, for months, had been training throughout New England, in every neighbourhood, to be ready to seize their muskets at a minute's warning. These were

the famous "minute men" of the Revolution. Those on Lexington Green on the morning of April 19, 1775, were the *minute men* of the neighbourhood.

The men who seized the forts at Ticonderoga were from Connecticut, Western Massachusetts, and the New Hampshire Grants, afterwards Vermont, the whole led by Ethan Allen of the latter region.

The "force of 20,000 men" was not *raised* in New England; it was the spontaneous gathering there, within three days, of the patriotic people from the hills and valleys of New England when they heard of the affair at Lexington and Concord.

Note XXI., page 620.

The British troops sailed from Boston in March, but did not proceed to Staten Island, at the entrance to the harbour of New York, until the following July.

Note XXII., page 621.

The Declaration of Independence was signed on the day it was adopted by every member who voted for it. The voting in the congress was by colonies, and majorities were not of individuals, but colonies. There was a division among the individual members of two of the colonies; but a majority of the delegates of each of those colonies gave their votes for independence. So it was that the vote was unanimous, every colony voting for independence. The members were required to sign the Declaration as an evidence of their concurrence. This was done on ordinary paper. It was afterwards engrossed on parchment, and was again signed by all the members present. This was done, by 54, on the 2d of August, 1776. Two others, not then present, signed it afterwards.

The statement at the bottom of the preceding page (620) concerning independence needs some transpositions. The delay in the colonies in accepting the issue concerning independence mostly preceded the action in congress in favour of the measure. Paine's "Common Sense" appeared at about the beginning of the year 1776. A motion was made in June declaring the colonies free and independent states, when a committee was appointed to draft a preamble to the resolution, in which the reasons for the act were declared. The resolution was passed on July 2, and the declaration on July 4.

Note XXIII., page 621.

Howe landed his troops on the western end of Long Island,

several miles from Brooklyn. The battle was fought near that little village. The Americans evacuated Long Island, and retired to the northern end of Manhattan Island, on which the city of New York stands. Howe's army crossed over to that island, several miles north of the city. The American army retired into New Jersey, after fighting the British at White Plains, and losing Fort Washington on Manhattan (or York) Island. They were pursued by Cornwallis to the banks of the Delaware. Soon afterwards the battles of Trenton and Princeton occurred. The British were expelled from New Jersey, excepting at one or two points, and the American army went into winter-quarters at Morristown, in East Jersey.

Note XXIV., page 622.

Burgoyne and his army were on the east side of the Hudson River, when a detachment was sent to Bennington, 85 miles eastward of that stream. None of Burgoyne's army had yet crossed the Hudson.

General Gates was in chief command of the American army opposed to Burgoyne from the middle of August, and he behaved so timidly that at the second battle (October 7) the impatient Arnold, although deprived of all command by Gates, who was jealous of him, put himself at the head of his old troops, and by his skill and prowess saved the Americans from defeat. But for Arnold, no doubt the British army would have so scattered the American forces in the battle on the 19th of September that Burgoyne would have easily reached Albany a victor. On that occasion, Gates would give no order, and seemed disinclined to fight at first. The chief credit of the defeat of Burgoyne probably belongs to Arnold.

Note XXV., page 625.

John Paul Jones entered the Firth of Forth *before* the action with the *Serapis*. In that battle his own ship, the *Bonhomme Richard*, was so shattered that it sank soon after the contest ceased, and Jones, in another vessel, sailed for Holland with his prizes.

Note XXVI., pages 628, 629.

The British occupied the *island* of Rhode Island, and, in the summer of 1778, general Sullivan led a considerable force to expel them. A French fleet, under admiral D'Estaing, went into Narraganset Bay to assist the Americans. A British fleet appeared off Newport; and D'Estaing went out to attack it. A furious

storm dispersed and greatly damaged both fleets, when D'Estaing, instead of returning to help Sullivan, went to Boston to have his vessels repaired. The French were not "blockaded in Newport harbour" at all. Sullivan, for lack of co-operation on the part of the fleet, was compelled to withdraw from Rhode Island.

The battle of Eutaw Springs was not the "last action" of the Revolution; the siege of York Town and the capture of Cornwallis occurred afterwards.

The chief commander of the French allies of the Americans in the siege of York Town was lieutenant-general count de Rochambeau, who had arrived in America with a French army the previous year. St. Simon was a gallant French officer who came with troops from the West Indies in the vessels of De Grasse. La Fayette was an officer of the American army under the immediate command of Washington.

Note XXVII., pages 632, 633.

A *preliminary* treaty of peace was signed on November 30, 1782; the definitive treaty of peace was not signed until September 3, 1783, by David Hartley on the part of Great Britain, and by Dr. Franklin, John Adams, and John Jay on the part of the United States. In the latter treaty the articles alluded to in the text were incorporated. Although Mr. Adams was treated kindly by the king, his ministers treated him with so much indifference as an American ambassador that he finally left England in disgust. It was believed in Great Britain (and with reason) that the feeble league of states under the Articles of Confederation would soon dissolve and be suppliants for re-admission to membership in the British empire. The British government scornfully refused to enter into any reciprocal commercial relations with the United States, or to send a resident minister to the seat of our general government. We were not a nation; only a league of independent states, bound by a tie as impotent as a rope of sand.

Note XXVIII., page 641.

The year 1789 was a memorable one in the annals of England, for in America was then established a power that was destined to become her rival for the mastery of the seas and the advantages of the world's commerce. The league of states had been superseded by a consolidated national government under an admirable constitution, which gave it wonderful vitality. It was at once perceived that a real *nation* was born, and that it was the

child of the will of the people. England hastened to send a resident minister to the seat of our national government, over which Washington had been called to preside. The constitution had been ratified by the people of the States in 1788. In March, 1789, Congress first met under it, and on the 30th of April Washington was inaugurated President. Other European powers sent ambassadors, and the United States took a conspicuous place in the family of nations.

Note XXIX., page 661.

Napoleon Bonaparte, then first consul of France, struck a severe blow at England's supremacy as a maritime power by the sale of Louisiana to the United States in 1803. It added 900,000 square miles to our territory. When the bargain was closed by an American minister (Robert R. Livingston), Bonaparte said to him, prophetically, "This accession of territory strengthens for ever the power of the United States; and I have just given to England a maritime rival that will, sooner or later, humble her pride."

Note XXX., page 673.

The British, by "Orders in Council," and the French, by "Decrees," concerning blockades of ports, etc., played a desperate game with the world's commerce at the beginning of the present century, violated the rights of neutral nations, and so impudently defied the power of the Americans that hostilities were begun by the United States against the French, chiefly on the ocean. The conduct of British cruisers led to a war between the United States and Great Britain in 1812-15. To depredation on American commerce the British added the obnoxious practice of reclaiming deserters from the royal navy by entering American vessels, searching them, and carrying away deserters found in them, in defiance of remonstrances. This claimed right of search and impressment, and its practical operation, produced great irritation in America. Countervailing measures were adopted, such as embargoes and non-intercourse. Because of these various offences, the United States declared war against Great Britain in June, 1812.

Note XXXI., page 689.

It is an error to say that after 1812, in the second war for independence, naval engagements terminated, for the most part, in favour of the English. The statement concerning the battle of Bladensburg, that preceded the sacking of the capital, is quite erroneous. The Americans were 7000 strong, of whom 900 were raw recruits. Ross had a much larger force of veteran soldiers,

It was overwhelming numbers that caused the defeat of the Americans, who lost only 26 killed and 50 wounded, while the loss of the British was about 500 killed and wounded. The British were not on "heights near the Potomac," but at Bladensburg, on the Anacosta, five miles from the Potomac. The "Senate House" and the "House of Representatives" composed the Capitol. The dock-yards were burnt by the Americans themselves to prevent them and their contents falling into the hands of the British. No other "American towns were taken" after the destruction of Buffalo, excepting the little village of Hampden, Maine, which the British held a few hours.

Note XXXII., page 723.

The statement that war raged "between the Northern and Southern States of the Union, ending in the victory of the Northern States," is a misrepresentation, proceeding, undoubtedly, from a misapprehension of the character of our Civil War. It was not a war between the States, but a war of the government of the United States for the defence of the life of the republic against its enemies in armed insurrection in the slave-labour states. In that war the inhabitants of the free-labour states were mostly loyal to the Union, and volunteered, by hundreds of thousands, to assist the government in its efforts to save the nation from destruction.

In that struggle, the unfriendly spirit of the British government and the ruling classes in Great Britain exhibited towards the government of the United States was conspicuous. At the instance of her ministers, the British queen, before an American minister could reach England, issued a proclamation, declaring the insurgents entitled to belligerent rights; and the British ministry, by secret circulars, sought to form a combination of European powers against the Republic of the West. They allowed the insurgents to have ships built, armed, manned, and victualled in English ports to depredate upon American commerce; and swarms of fleet steamers came from British ports with supplies of arms, ammunition, and clothing for the insurgents, and so prolonged the war. These steamers ran the blockade of Southern ports. One of the piratical vessels, built and fitted out in England, was the *Alabama*, which plundered and destroyed a large number of American merchant vessels. The United States government held the British responsible for her injuries to American property, and arbitrators decided that the British government should pay for such damages \$15,500,000 in gold.

Note XXXIII., page 727.

In the year 1870 the claims of the government of the United States upon that of Great Britain for damages inflicted upon the American shipping interest by the depredations of the English-Confederate privateer *Alabama*, and other vessels built in England for the insurgents, caused much diplomatic correspondence between the two governments. A Joint High Commission, composed of persons chosen by the respective governments, met in Washington city in February, 1871, and on the 8th of May following they concluded and signed a treaty, by which it was agreed to leave the decision of the matter in dispute to arbitrators. These were chosen by the respective governments. They met at Geneva, Switzerland; and at a final meeting, in September, 1872, this tribunal decided that the British government should pay to the government of the United States the sum mentioned in Note XXXII., to be given to its citizens for losses incurred by the depredations of English-Confederate cruisers.

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